AFRICAN LANGUAGE INFLUENCES IN CREOLES LEXICALLY BASED ON PORTUGUESE, ENGLISH AND FRENCH, with Special Reference to Casamance Kriul, Gambian Krio and St. Lucian Patwa.

by

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ABSTRACT

This study comprises an analysis of three creoles of Portuguese, English and French lexical inputs, i.e. Casamance Kriul, Gambian Krio and St. Lucian Patwa.

Highlighted in this study are grammatical similarities shared between African languages and creoles having lexical inputs from three different European languages.

These common African influences are described in each creole by means of chapters focussing upon the following viewpoints:

1. Historical,
2. Descriptive,
3. Sociolinguistic,
4. Lexical,
5. Literary (oral) and
6. African Grammatical

The historical backgrounds, especially for Patwa, underline the trans-Atlantic dimensions of Creole social development, and, especially for Kriul and Krio, its inter-ethnic context.

The descriptive and sociolinguistic chapters indicate the importance of social pressures upon the grammatical structure of creole languages and suggest a framework for the analysis of resultant socio-linguistic correlations. Within the latter, a distinction is drawn between 'relexifying' creoles such as Patwa, 'decreolizing' creoles such as Krio, and creoles which remain relatively less affected by other languages due to their established prestige, as exemplified by Kriul.

Within the lexical and literary chapters, new evidence of the perpetuation of African lexical items in creole oral literature, especially that of Patwa, is offered within an outline for a new in-depth analysis of literary form and content in African and creole oral literature. African grammatical features in creoles are analysed for both their particular local and their wider general influences upon creoles.

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CONTENTS

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The mistakes are mine.

To my mother Ernesta

with love and respect.

1) SOURCES

The sources for the language and historical material used in this thesis may be outlined as follows:

A. LANGUAGE MATERIALS

The main written materials used were as follows (see bibliography for full references).

Creole Languages:

Guinea Bissau	Wilson, W.A.A. 1962
Sierra Leone	Hancock, I.F. 1971[1]
Jamaican	Cassidy, F.G. and Le Page, R.B. 1967 (eds.) (abbreviated as C. L. P.)
Haitian	Comhaire-Sylvain, S. 1936
Martinican	Jourdain, E. 1956
French	Goodman, M.F. 1964

African Languages:

Wolof	Sauvageot, S. 1965
	Guy-Durand, V.J. 1923
Bambara	Dea Perea Blanca, F. S. 1905
	Bazin, H. 1906 (1965 edition)
Mandinka	Delafosse, M. 1955
	Rowlands, E.C. 1959
Twi/Fante	Christaller, J.G.1933
	Rapp, E.L. 1958
Ewe	Westermann, D. 1930
Yoruba	Abraham, R.C. 1958
Hausa	Abraham, R.C. 1962
Balanta	Wilson, W.A.A. 1961
Manjak	Carreira, A. and Basso-Marques, J. 1947
Bainuk	Field notes of Wilson, W.A.A.
	Basso-Marques, J. 1948
Dyola (Fogny)	Sapir, J.D. 1965
	Weiss, P. 1940

1. Note also Fyle, C.N. and Jones, E.D. Krio-English Dictionary, C.U.P. for S.L.U.P., 1980, published after completion of this study.

Igbo	Igwe,G.E. and Green,M.M. 1970
Umbundu	Valente,J.F.1973 and Alves,P.A.1951
Bantu languages	Guthrie, M. 1967-1971

Caribbean Languages:

Arawak and Island Carib	Breton, R. 1665 and 1667 Taylor, D. 1938, 1951 and 1977 Edwards, W. 1979

European Languages:

18th. century Portuguese	Bluteau, R. 1712-21
Modern Portuguese	Michaelis, H. 1961
Modern English	Murray, J.A. 1901
English Dialects	Wright, J. (ed.) 1898 (1970 edition) (abbreviated as E. D. D.)
Historical French	Larousse, 1947 Von Wartburg, W. 1928 etc. Pope, M.K. 1934
French Dialects	Godfroy, F. 1880
Modern French	Larousse, 1927

The oral sources consist of recordings made by the researcher in the following languages (see pp. 731-750 of the appendix)

Creole Languages:

Casamance Kriul
Guinea Bissau Kriul
Cape Verde Islands Kriul
Kriul spoken by immigrants in Banjul, Gambia
Gambian Krio
Sierra Leone Krio
St. Lucian Patwa
Seychelles creole French

African Languages:

Mandinka
Wolof
Manjak
Twi/Fante

Mende
Yoruba
Dyola (Fogny)
Ewe/Fon
Gã

Both oral and written sources were used in association with personal information, given by the following, whose help is fully acknowledged:

Caribbean Languages:

Arawak and Island Carib	Mrs.E.Charette, Amerindian Languages Project and Dr. W. Edwards, both of the University of Guyana

Creole Languages:

Casamance Kriul	Mr.A.Barry, S.O.A.S
Guinea Bissau Kriul	Dr. W.A.A. Wilson
Sierra Leone Krio	Dr. David Dalby, Reader in West African Languages,S.O.A.S, Mr. J.A. Karimu, S.O.A.S and Mr. E.H. Wilson
Mauritian creole	Mr. P.Baker, S.O.A.S and I.A.I

African Languages:

Wolof, Twi/Fante and African languages in general	Dr. David Dalby
Yoruba and Igbo	Mr.F.W.D. Winston, Lecturer in West African languages,S.O.A.S
Mandinka	Professor G.Innes, S.O.A.S and Dr. D. Diallo, I.A.I
Kongo and Bantu languages in general	Dr. H.Carter, Reader in Bantu Languages, S.O.A.S
Lingala and Kinyarwanda	Dr. B.Kamanzi (R.I.P), Univ.Nationale du Zaïre
Bainuk and Balanta	Dr. W.A.A. Wilson
Manjak	Mr. V.Preira, Senegalese Embassy, London
Ewe	Dr. F.Adzaku, Instit. of Neurology, Univ. of London

Wolof	Mrs. F. Renner, S.O.A.S
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Gã	Miss A.Mate and Mr. W. A. Adodoadji, S.O.A.S

European Languages:

Portuguese	Mr. I.Cisse, Senegalese Embassy, London, Mrs. C. Carvalho, Mr.M. Delgado and Mrs.D.Delgado
French	Dr.H.Wise, Queen Mary College, Univ. of London

B. HISTORICAL MATERIALS

The published and unpublished data used in the historical chapters are drawn from the following archives and libraries, whose help is gratefully appreciated by the researcher:

Archives:

Public Records Office, London (abbreviated as P.R.O)
National Archives, Banjul, Gambia
National Archives, Dakar, Senegal and the
Archives of the Catholic Church, Castries, St.Lucia.

Libraries:

The British Library, London (abbreviated as B.M)
The library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (abbreviated as S.O.A.S)
The library of the Institut Fondementale d'Afrique Noire, Dakar, Senegal (abbreviated as I.F.A.N) and
The library of the Folk Research Centre, Castries, St.Lucia.

In addition to the above, the following additional sources are acknowledged in the writing of the following chapters:

CHAPTER	SOURCE
Pt.I, ch.1, pt.II, ch.1, Pt.III, ch.1,	Mr.I.Mendez, Mr.D.Jones (R.I.P) Dept.of History, S.O.A.S and Dr. W.Rodney (R.I.P)
Pt.I, ch.2,	Mr.A.Barry, S.O.A.S and Mr.V.Preira, Senegalese Embassy, London
Pt.I, ch.3, pt.II, ch.3, Pt.III, ch.3,	Dr.D.Hudson, University College, London
Pt.I, ch.5, pt.II, ch.5, Pt.III, ch.6,	Prof.G.Innes, S.O.A.S and Dr. B.W. Andrzejewski
Pt.III, ch.6,	The Folk Research Centre, Castries, St.Lucia[1]

1. See Bulletin of the Folk Research Centre (St.Lucia) June 1979:3 for a description of the taped material made available to me by the Folk Research Centre. These proved invaluable and have been acknowledged wherever included in the thesis.

2) METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE COLLECTION AND USE OF ORAL DATA

For the collection of comparable oral data in each of the creole languages considered, a questionnaire (see appendix 1) was formulated in two parts:

i) a linguistic section, and
ii) an oral literature section.

LINGUISTIC SECTION

Creole languages differ most radically from the metropolitan languages from which most of their lexicon is derived in terms of their grammatical structure. In order to exemplify these differences, the questionnaire was designed to focus on the use of creole grammatical features corresponding to those embodied in the English or French sentences selected.

The identification of major creole features was arrived at, firstly, by constructing a pilot questionnaire in my own creole, St. Lucian Patwa, and then by translating it into English. Speakers of Kriul, Krio and Patwa resident in London were asked to translate the sentences in the pilot questionnaire into their respective creoles. On the basis of their responses the sentences were modified to favour the use of common grammatical features in the three creoles, as well as a few which were more typical of one creole e.g. the suffixation of the Patwa definite article.

After consultation with colleagues at S.O.A.S. and the I.A.I., many creole grammatical features found to be convergent with those in African languages were similarly anticipated by modification of the pilot questionnaire. In the final form of the questionnaire, sentences were grouped according to obvious grammatical criteria. In order to avoid predicting speaker reaction, however, sentences exemplifying different grammatical features ~~groups~~ were interspersed within each sentence group. The final main questionnaire was then formulated in both English and French.

In addition to this main questionnaire a supplementary questionnaire was devised to analyse w ~ r alternation in Patwa.[1] This consisted of a reading passage and a word list which included items where w ~ r ~~both~~ word initially and medially (w ~ r alternation does not occur word finally in Patwa).[2]

During fieldwork[3] the sentences in this questionnaire were read out to creole and African language speakers, who translated them into their respective ~~creole~~ languages. Fifty-five Casamance Kriul speakers, four speakers of Guinean and Cape Verde Islands Kriul dialects, forty-seven Gambian Krio speakers, sixty-two St. Lucian Patwa speakers, fourteen speakers of ten West African languages[4] and two speakers of Seychelles French Creole were so interviewed[5]. These interviews were all recorded [6] and transcribed selectively.

In the synchronic descriptions of the creoles, sub-sections and/or individual sentences in the questionnaire illustrating particular grammatical features are referred to. In the socio-linguistic chapters[7], where selected creole grammatical features are contrasted with a set of social categories, reference lists are given to the selected sentences illustrating these features[8].

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1. Described in detail in pt.III,ch.2,pp.422-427.
2. See appendix for both main and supplementary questionnaires. See also pt.III,ch.2,pp.601-613.
3. In Gambia and Senegal between October 1977 and February 1978, in London in October 1978, in St. Lucia in April 1979 and in Mahe, Seychelles in May 1979.
4. The West African languages recorded were used as comparative background data to the analysis of the creoles.
5. Data on the individual creole speakers only is given in the appendix.
6. The recordings are available in the Sound Archives of S.O.A.S. library (catalogue number: MT 1152).
7. I.e. pt.I, ch.3; pt. II, ch.3; and pt.III, ch.3.
8. See pp.26 & 27.

ORAL LITERATURE SECTION

A set of questions was constructed in Patwa as part of the pilot questionnaire, aimed at eliciting items of Patwa oral literature. Speakers of other creoles resident in London were asked to tell prose narratives, proverbs and other items of oral literature in their respective creoles. Their responses, coupled with advice from colleagues having both a native and/or academic acquaintance with African oral literature, were used as the basis for an expansion of the questions in the original Patwa questionnaire, aimed at eliciting examples of oral literature genres common to the three creoles and to African languages, i.e.:

prose narratives (question 1)
proverbs (question 2)
riddles (question 3)
songs (questions 4, 5 and 10)
beginning, ending and failing formulae (questions 6, 7 and 8)
tongue twisters (question 9).

During fieldwork the ten questions were put to the same speakers who translated the 'Linguistic section', and their responses were recorded. Oral literature genres used over the radio or spontaneously performed as part of a ceremonial occasion were also recorded.[1]

A speaker's use of a genre can therefore be referred to in terms of his/her response to a particular question as described below.

Where the speaker gives more than one example of a genre they are given the letters (a), (b), (c), etc.; 1(b) for example, would refer to the second prose narrative told by a speaker.

In the chapters on oral literature, such references are important and, where relevant, the appropriate counter number of the recorded material is also given. A table indicating the actual questions on oral literature responded to by each speaker is also given in each chapter on oral literature.

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1. And also deposited in the Sound Archives of S.O.A.S. library.

NOTES ON QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to aid analysis of and reference to the above recorded material the sub-sections of the questionnaire were numbered (1-32), so that, for example, 1(a) refers to the first sentence in the first sub-section of the questionnaire. The 'Linguistic section' and 'Oral literature section' are referred to as L. and O. respectively.

Speakers were each given a number[1] preceded by abbreviations[2] referring to the African creole and/or African language in which they responded to one or both sections of the questionnaire. These abbreviations were organised as exemplified:

LANGUAGE	SPEAKER	NUMBER	SECTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE(AND SENTENCE)
Gambian Krio	G.	2	L. 1 (a)
Casamance Kriul	K.	4	O. 1
St. Lucian Patwa	P.	5	L. 4 (b)
Wolof	WOL:	1	O. 10

G.2/L. 1(a) therefore refers to speaker number 2 of Gambian Krio and his translation of sentence (a) in part 1 of the 'Linguistic section' of the questionnaire and WOL:1/O. 10 to the response of Wolof speaker number 1 to question 10 in the 'Oral literature section' of the questionnaire. Such references are followed, where relevant, by a tape counter number (in brackets and preceded by the abbreviation C.N:).

Of crucial importance to this thesis is the discussion of grammatical features common to the creole languages, as well as also to specific African languages.[3]

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1. Related to the order in which they were interviewed.
2. See pp.52-53 for the total list of abbreviations used, including those for creole and African languages.
3. As previously outlined in Dalphinis, M., 1977 (a), (b) and 1979(b).

FORMAL VERSUS INFORMAL SPEECH

The use of metropolitan languages by creole speakers is associated in their 'communicative competence'[1] with the formal domains of education and government. By asking creole speakers to translate sentences from metropolitan languages (English and French) into their respective creoles, a more formal use of each creole language was achieved. As different social settings give rise to different speech styles, such use of each creole in a formal situation is defined as formal. Indeed Labov includes the social context as one of the variables upon which different speech styles are dependent.[2]

In Creole and many African cultures, the use of traditional oral literature genres[3] presupposes an informal in-group setting, e.g. around the cooking-pot at night in rural St. Lucia. In asking creole speakers to perform these genres, the same informal setting was assumed as part of the background of the speakers. Their speech styles were consequently defined as informal. This view contrasts with that of Labov who indicates that "Any systematic observation of a speaker defines a formal context" (his underlining).

Formal creole speech is often indicative of metropolitan language influences and is therefore assumed to be the major domain of decreolization, in contrast to informal creole speech.

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1. Hymes, D. (1971) in Pride, J. B. and Holmes, J. 1972:269-293.
2. Labov, W. (1970) in Pride, J. B. and Holmes, J. 1972:180-181.
3. Obviously if I were recording the epic genre amongst the Mandinka or other oral genres used only in a formal social setting, such a use of oral literature, would, by contrast to that of creole societies (above), be defined as formal.

Informal creole speech, not having as high an influence from metropolitan languages, may be described as the domain of mainly creole features.[1]

This would suggest that in observing speakers during the recording of oral genres we bear in mind that:-

> "No matter how casual or friendly the speaker may appear to us, we can always assume that he has a more casual speech, another style in which he jokes with his friends or argues with his wife."[2]

This "observer's paradox" can, according to Labov, be avoided "by various devices which divert the speaker's attention away from speech ..... e.g. We can also involve the subject in questions and topics which recreate strong emotions he has felt in the past" .....[3] The recounting of oral genres in African and Creole communities is such a device, as the speaker's attention is focussed on factors such as the telling of the genre, on remembering the story, on communicating emotion by gesture, etc., rather than on the formal use of language.

It could be argued that such a definition of 'formal' and 'informal' is relative, as various degrees of either formality and informality can be recognised within any speech community. Such finer distinctions of speech style(s)/setting(s) are, however, not under central discussion within this thesis.

As creole oral literature imposes its own structure upon speech, e.g. in the use of beginning and ending formulae and of refrains, it could be argued that oral literature has its own formality and is a type of 'formal' speech. From this view-point certain degrees of formality in the performance of creole oral literature genres could also be recognised, e.g. the song genre

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1. See p.50.
   The validity of these assumptions is examined in the thesis.
2. Labov, W. (1970) in Pride, J. B. and Holmes, J. 1972:181.
3. Ibid. : p.182.

when used by specialists could be contrasted with song genre when used by non-specialists.[1] The type of internal structure imposed by creole oral literature is however different from the external formality imposed in the use of creoles within the setting of metropolitan languages.

It is possible to view all such speech styles as 'formal' because they conform to a set of rules for speech acts or discourse analysis.[2]

The definition of formal/informal adopted in this thesis, however, is in terms of the social context and its influence(s) upon (a) speech item(s).[3]

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1. e.g. the different levels of structuring of Krio gumbe is dependent upon whether it is being performed by (a) specialist(s) or non-specialist(s). See pt.II, ch.5, pp.334-36.
2. Described, respectively, by Searle, J.1965 and Labov, W., 1970.
3. See p.50 of the definition of linguistic vocabulary.

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

In order to identify similarities among the three creoles themselves and between the creoles and African languages, especially at the grammatical level, the following sets of grammatical features were selected for detailed analysis on the basis of the responses to the questionnaire:

1. Stabiliser:

(a) Kriul: (Does not occur)

(b) Krio: na e.g. na im frɛn we kam
"Stab. his/her friend who come"

(c) Patwa: se e.g. se ami i ki vini
"Stab. friend him/her who come"

both meaning 'It is his/her friend who came'

2. Adjectival Verb:

(a) Kriul: e.g. i bɔnitu
"(s)he beautiful/handsome"

(b) Krio: e.g. i fain
"(s)he beautiful/handsome"

(c) Patwa: e.g. i bɛl
"(s)he beautiful/handsome"

all meaning 'He is handsome/She is beautiful'

3. Front-focalisation:

Front-focalisation is used to mark emphasis in all three creoles and can be realised by placing the emphasised item at the beginning of the sentence or phrase, e.g.:

(a) Kriul: kɔbrə ki rapas misti
"money Rel. boy want"

(b) Krio: mɔni di bɔi want
"money the boy want"

(c) Patwa: lajã gasõ ã vle
"money boy the want"

and all meaning 'Money was what the boy wanted'

As indicated ~~above~~ below, however, front-focalisation in all three creoles typically includes the placing of a focaliser after the front-focalised item, e.g.

(a) Kriul: (i) sɔng, (ii) rɛk <Wol. rɛk

e.g. (i) kumeda sɔng ki rapas misti
"food Focal. which boy want"

(ii) kumeda rɛk ki rapas misti
"food Focal. which boy want"

both meaning 'Food was all the boy wanted'

(b) Krio: (i) nomɔ, (ii) wan, (iii) rɛk <Wol. rɛk

e.g. (i) (na) fud nomɔ di bɔi lɛk

(ii) (na) fud wan di bɔi lɛk

(iii) (na) fud rɛk di bɔi lɛk

"(Stab.) food Focal. the boy like"

all meaning 'Food was all the boy wanted'

(c) Patwa: (i) (tu) sɛl, (ii) yɔn

e.g. (i) (se) maje (tu) sɛl gasõ ã te vle
"(Stab.) food Focal. boy the Past want"

(ii) (se) maje yɔn gasõ ã te vle
"(Stab.)food Focal. boy the Past want"

both meaning 'Food was all the boy wanted'

It is this use of a following focaliser after the emphasised sentence - initial item(s) which is defined as front-focalisation throughout this thesis.

4. Emphatic Repetition:

(a) Kriul: (This structure has only a restricted occurrence in association with nouns, e.g. baka baka - 'many cows')
"cow cow"

(b) Krio: e.g. i fat fat
"(s)he fat fat"

(c) Patwa: e.g. i gwa gwa
"(s)he fat fat"

both (b) and (c) meaning 'He/She is very fat'

5. Emphatic Elongation of Vowel:

(a) Kriul: e.g. omi brúutu
"man stupid"
Emph.

(b) Krio: e.g. di man cúupid
"the man stupid"
Emph.

(c) Patwa: e.g. nɔm lã́ kuyɔ́ɔn
"(the) man (the) stupid"
Emph.

all meaning 'The man is extremely stupid'

6. Topicalisation:

(a) Kriul e.g. libru ki n da bu i brumeju
"book Rel. I give you it red"

(b) Krio e.g. di buk we a gi yu i rɛd
"the book Rel. I give you it red"

(c) Patwa e.g. liv la ki mwɛ ba u i wuj
"book the Rel. i give you it red"

all meaning 'The book I gave you is red'

7. Catenation

(a) Kriul: e.g. i tama balye suta l
"(s)he take broom beat him/her"

(b) Krio e.g. i tek brum bit am
"(s)he take broom beat him/her"

(c) Patwa e.g. i pwã balye bat li
"(s)he take broom beat him/her"

all meaning 'He/She took a broom and beat him/her'

8. Use of a (separable) plural marker

(a) Kriul (does not occur)

(b) Krio e.g. di kau dɛm
"the cow pl."

(c) Patwa e.g. se bɛf la
"pl. cow the"

all meaning 'the cows'

9. Grammatical use of 'say' and 'for':

(a) Kriul : fala...kuma, fala...po/pa, oca kuma

e.g. (i) i fala m kuma m bai kasa - 'He/She told me to go home'
"(s)he tell me say I go house"

(ii) i fala m po m bai kasa - 'He/She told me to go home'
"(s)he tell me for I go house"

(iii) i oca kuma riu sɛku - 'He/She saw that the river was dry'
"(s)he see say river dry"

(b) Krio : tɛl...se, tɛl...fo, si se

e.g. (i) i tɛl mi se mek a go om - 'He/She told me to go home'
"(s)he tell me say make I go home"

(ii) i tɛl mi fo mek a go om - 'He/She told me to go home'
"(s)he tell me for make I go home"

(iii) i si se di riva drai -'He/She saw that the river was dry'
"(s)he see say the river dry"

(c) Patwa: di...pu,(archaic wɛ di). Note also di...kɔ̃ ha,e.g.:

(i) i di mwɛ̃ pu ale lakai
"(s)he tell me for go home"
-'He/She told me to go home'

(ii) i wɛ di (ki) lawvyɛ a sɛk
"(s)he see say (that) river the dry"
-'He/She saw that the river was dry'

(iii) i di mwɛ̃ kɔ̃ ha ki mwɛ̃ ni pu ale lakai
"(s)he tell me like this that I have to go home"
-'He/She told me that I had to go home'

10. Suffixation of the Definite Article and Possessive Pronouns

(a) Kriul: (Does not occur frequently; see pt.1, ch.6, p.18 for further details)

(b) Krio: (Does not occur)

(c) Patwa - definite, e.g. nɔm la - 'The man'

possessive pronouns, e.g. liv mwɛ̃ - 'my book'
"book my"

kai yo - 'their house'
"house they"

11. Differentiation of ~~the~~ 2nd sing. and 2nd pl. (as also in Port. and Fr.)

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
(a) Kriul:	bu	bɔs
(b) Krio:	yu	una
(c) Patwa:	u	zɔt

12. Non-differentiation of the 3rd sing. Pronoun

(a) Kriul:	i	'he/she/it'
(b) Krio:	i	'he/she/it'
(c) Patwa:	i	'he/she/it'

African and creole languages can obviously be compared in terms of many other features, both at grammatical and other levels.[1]

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1. Holm, J. (1978) compares Miskito Coast Creole to African languages on the basis of twenty grammatical features, while Carter, H. (1979) compares tone and intonation in creoles and African languages on the basis of various pitch and intonation patterns.
Holm uses twenty grammatical features formulated by Migeod, W. H. (1911) for comparing Sudanic languages as a "rational" device for highlighting "African Syntactic influence on Miskito Coast Creole". Of these four are the same or similar to the 12 African/Creole grammatical features used by myself, i.e. his "8. Pluralizing suffix [my feature 8]... 13. Pronouns unmarked for gender ... [my feature 12] 19. Predicate Adj. = Verbs (Ø copula)[my feature 2] 20. Number of 'Copulas'.[my feature 1]". Of the features not formulated by Migeod, Holm's comparison of "Reported Statements ... and Repetition..." (Holm, J. 1978:239; 247-248; 284-297) in Miskito Coast Creole and African languages are similarly comparable to my features 9 and 4 respectively.

In the detailed comparative research which follows, however, the features selected are those having grammatical similarities in both African and creole languages. There are, however, amongst the twelve features above, some which reflect some dissimilarities among the creoles, e.g. the suffixation of articles and pronouns (feature 10) which only has partial relevance to Krio and Kriul but closer reference to Patwa and a number of African languages. The marking of plurality by a morpheme separable (i.e. a morpheme otherwise usable as a free form) from the noun (feature 8), on the other hand, reflects the structure of Krio, Patwa and many African languages but not that of Kriul.

A number of features were also found to be at least partly convergent with European languages, i.e. the use of front-focalisation, catentation, pl. affix and of differentiation between the 2nd sing. and 2nd pl.

Given the universality of human language, grammatical features typical of creole and African languages at times partially overlap with similar features in European and other languages. These universal similarities are, however, not unrelated to the discussion of creole/African grammatical features which follows.

Although front-focalisation also occurs in Portuguese, English and French, as seen in the examples (below) the focalising element does not typically follow (my underlining) the focalised item as it does in creole/African languages ~~although it can do,~~ e.g.:

Portuguese: so dinheiro e o que importa êle
"only money is it what important him"

English: Only money mattered to him

French: Il ne s'occupe que de l'argent, and all meaning 'Only money mattered to him' (the focalising element is underlined in each case).

Catenation is also evident in Portuguese, English and French:

Portuguese: Ele tomou u livro e bateu-nela
"he ~~take~~ took the book and beat her"

English: He took the book and (he) beat her

French: Il a pris le livre et il l'a battu
"he ~~Past~~ has taken the book and he her ~~Past~~ has beaten"

and all meaning 'He took the book and (he) beat her' (the connective element is underlined in each case).

In the European languages above, a connective element is needed between the two catenated verb phrases. In the three creoles and many African languages, such a connective element is not needed.[1]

There is little difference between the use of a plural affix in Kriul, Krio, Patwa and their influencing European languages, i.e.:

Kriul:	-s ~ -us	plural suffix
Portuguese:	-s [ʃ]	plural suffix
Krio:	dem	postposed plural marker
English:	-(e)s [s~z~iz]	plural affix
Patwa:	se	preposed plural marker
French	-s [ø~s~z]	plural suffix[2]

In the case of Kriul and Portuguese there is little structural or phonological difference. In the case of Krio and Patwa, however, their differences in form and position (respectively) provide a basis for analysing the contrastive use of plural affixes in creole, African and European languages.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION

In order to analyse whether any relationship existed between the use of these selected grammatical features in both formal and informal speech (see above) and social categories in each Creole society, the following framework was adopted for the three sociolinguistic chapters in this study.[3]

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1. See above and pt.1, ch.6, p.175, pt.II, ch.6, p.343 and pt.III, ch.6, p.552.
2. Discussed in pt.1, ch.2, p.89, pt.II, ch.2, pp.236&237 and pt.III, ch.2, p.430
3. I.e. pt.1, ch.3, pt.II, ch.3 and pt.III, ch.3.

Selected Features in the (Formal) Linguistic Section of the Questionnaire:

Potential Occurrences:

Exemplifying sentences from the 'Linguistic section' of the questionnaire were used as a basis for counting the potential occurrences of each of the selected features in the sociolinguistic analysis of one or more of the Creole societies.[1] These features were counted in terms of positive and negative 'scores' (see below). Each time the feature concerned was used in these exemplifying sentences it was counted as 1 on the positive scale (except in the case of the stabiliser, which needed to be counted in a slightly different manner (see below).

Potential Non-Occurrences:

In order to contrast the occurrence of a selected grammatical feature with its non-occurrence, a list of the linguistic contexts in which the selected grammatical features did not occur in the selected sentences was formulated for each creole. Whenever a selected feature did not occur it was counted as 1 on the negative scale (see below).

Scoring System:

Within the sociolinguistic analysis (described below), the actual occurrence and non-occurrence of each selected grammatical feature, described as positive (+) and negative (-) were counted in terms of the total potential occurrence of the feature in the selected sentences. The results were formulated in tables of the following form (given in the appendix).[2]

---

1. See p.28 for the selected grammatical features not used in sociolinguistic analysis as well as the reasons for their omission.
2. See pp. 668-684 .

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 3	
	+	-
K 1	4	2
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.

As indicated in the above example of the tables, out of the total possible occurrence of 6 for feature 3 in the 6 selected sentences, speaker K 1 has made use of this selected grammatical feature 4 times and not made use of it twice.

A similar scoring system was devised for counting the selected grammatical features used by the same speakers (and in each creole) in the 'Oral literature section' of the questionnaire and ~~described~~ utilised in the sociolinguistic analysis (below). The scores were described as the responses in informal ~~formal~~ speech, also in each creole. The formal and informal scores of each speaker were compared.[1]

Social Categories for all Three Creole Societies:

In order to seek potential correlations between the use/non-use of selected grammatical features[2] and social factors in each creole society, a set of social categories was devised on an empirical basis in order to be generally applicable to all three societies. These categories comprise:

i) sex, ii) age, iii) ethnicity, iv) social prestige.

Obviously, other acceptable categories could be found, but the above are all covered by my available data.[3] Other categories specific to each Creole society were also analysed: on-going contact with a major creole-speaking area, i.e. i) with Guinea Bissau in the case of Kriul speakers and ii) with Sierra Leone for Krio speakers, and iii) rural/urban residence in the case of Patwa speakers.

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1. See pp. 35-36.
2. See pp. 16-21.
3. See pp. 614-667 of the appendix.

SELECTED SENTENCES

The selected sentences, in ~~terms of~~ which the occurrence/non-occurrence of the features selected for sociolinguistic description were counted, are as listed below.

Potential Occurrences of the Selected Features in the Formal Linguistic Section of the Questionnaire:

FEATURE NUMBER	NAME OF FEATURE	POSITION IN QUESTIONNAIRE	TOTAL POSSIBLE OCCURRENCES MEASURED
(a) Kriul:			
2	Adjectival verb	6(c)-(f);(j)&(l);7(f),10(c) 12(b); 13(d) & (e)	11
3	Front-focalisation	14(a) - (f)	6
4	Emphatic repetition	6(c),(e),(f),(j);13(b),(c)	6
6	Elongation of vowel for emphasis	6(c),(e),(f),(j);13(c),(d) & (e)	7
8	Plural affix	5(a),(e)("dogs");6(j);8(e); 9(c);11(b);12(f);16(h);20(e), (j)	10
9	Non-lexical 'say', 'for'	5(c),(e);7(f)("found" 'See say').	3
10	Suffixation of demonstrative articles	23(a),(b),(c),(d)	4
12	Non-differentiation of 3rd sing. on the basis of gender.	2(a),(b);11(a),(c);15(d), (i);18(b),(c);29(f),(g)	5

The above exemplifying sentences were also used to count the selected features in Krio and Patwa unless otherwise indicated below:

FEATURE NUMBER	NAME OF FEATURE	POSITION IN QUESTIONNAIRE	TOTAL POSSIBLE OCCURRENCES MEASURED
(b) Krio:			
1	Stabiliser	*Throughout[1]	50
2	Adjectival verb	2(a); was counted in addition to those counted for Kriul (above)	12
3	Front-focalisation	7(a)-(d);14(a)-(f)	10
4	Emphatic repetition	6(e),(f);13(b),(c)	4
(c) Patwa:			
1	Stabiliser	Throughout	25
10	Suffixation of the definite article	1(e),(f);2(f);3(e);4(b),(d),(e),(f);5(d)("the bucket"),(e)("the fields")	10

*Potential Occurrences of the Stabiliser = Feature 1 in the (Formal) Linguistic Section of the Questionnaire:

(a) Kriul: (Does not occur)

(b) Krio: Whenever na is used throughout the 'Linguistic section' it was counted. The part of this section of the questionnaire at which the speaker reached his first fifty stabilisers was also noted. When

50 stabilisers or less were used by the speaker only by the time he/she had responded to the whole of the 'Linguistic section' of the questionnaire (i.e. sub-section 32 of the latter, see above), the number of stabilisers used by the speaker between sub-sections 1 and 32 were noted.

(c) Patwa: (little variation)

Selected Grammatical Features Excluded from the Sociolinguistic Study:

Emphatic elongation of vowel (feature 5), topicalisation (feature 6), catenation (feature 7), and differentiation of the 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl. (feature 11) were not used in any of the sociolinguistic descriptions. The grammatical use/non-use of 'say' and 'for' (feature 9) was not used in the Patwa sociolinguistic description.[1]

Non-Occurrence of the Selected Grammatical Features:

The selected grammatical features analysed in exemplifying sentences were described as non-occurring (and scored as negative) whenever sentences of the same or similar structure to the following were used:

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1. Emphatic elongation of vowels and pitch heightened ~~of vowels~~ for emphasis could not be accurately separated from stress (described for example in pt.II, ch.2, p.235) without the use of instrumentation; Topicalisation was often used in association with or instead of other creole features, e.g. stabiliser and front-focalisation respectively: to count topicalisation in some cases may have resulted in a simultaneous count of a stabiliser, e.g. in Krio di bɔi na ĩ kam tide the count of topicalisation of di bɔi by na ĩ overlaps with the ~~a~~ count of the stabiliser (described above). In other cases topicalisation was used instead of front-focalisation, e.g. in Krio fɔ so klos na ĩ di titi lɛk (where the phrase is topicalised by na ĩ), used instead of front-focalised fɔ so klos nomɔ di titi lɛk. The use of catenation could not be predicted in any one sentence in formal speech.
The 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl. difference often had to be pointed out to Krio and Patwa speakers responding to the English version of the questionnaire partly because English uses 'you' for both the 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl. When this difference was explained, educated speakers understood it more than did less educated speakers. Kriul speakers responding to the French version differentiated between the two pronoun forms partly due to French influences. To avoid these predictive influences feature 11 was not used for sociolinguistic analysis.

Adjectival Verb (Feature 2):

(a) Kriul: (little variation)[1]

(b) Krio: when na + Adj., reflecting influences from Wol. Adj. + na,[2] is used instead of an Adj. verb, e.g.:
na fain - '(He/She)is beautiful'
"Stab. beautiful "

(c) Patwa: (little variation)

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3):

(a) Kriul: (i) when no focaliser is used in a sentence which could be front-focalised (in the manner described above), e.g.:
kumeda ki rapas misti - 'Food was what the boy wanted'
"food Rel. boy want"

(ii) when sɔng and rɛk are used as adverbs (and also as adjective in the case of sɔng) and not as focalisers, e.g.:
rapas misti kumeda sɔng - 'The boy wanted food only'
"boy want food only (Adv.)"
rapas misti kumeda rɛk - 'The boy wanted food only'
"boy want food only (Adv.)
ũ sɔng kumeda ki rapas misti
"a single (Adj.) meal Rel boy want"
'A single meal was what the boy wanted'

(iii) when topicalisation is used instead of front-focalisation, e.g.:
kumeda, i kɛnki rapas misti - 'Food is what the boy wanted'
"food it what boy want"

(b) Krio:

(i) when the stabiliser is used in the English-influenced phrase
dis na di ting - 'This is the thing'
"this Stab. the thing"
e.g. dis na di ting di bɔi lɛk - 'This is what the boy liked'
"this Stab. the thing the boy like"

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1. See p.34
2. See pt.II, ch.2 , pp.242-243.

(ii) when topicalisation is used instead of front-focalisation (defined above)

e.g. fud, na ĩ na di ting we di bɔi lɛk
"food Stab. it Stab. the thing Rel. the boy like"
'Food was the thing the boy enjoyed'

(c) Patwa: (i) when no front-focaliser is used in a sentence which could be front-focalised

e.g. maje ki gasɔ̃ ã vle
"food Rel. boy the want"
'Food was what the boy wanted'

(ii) when topicalisation is used instead of front-focalisation in French influenced ...se sɛl sa...
"Stab. only that"
..'It is only that'
(cf. Fr. ... c'est seulement ca ... - 'it is only that ..')

e.g. maje, se sɛl sa i te vle
"food Stab. only (Adv.) that (s)he Past want"

(iii) when sɛl is used as an adverb (as above) or as an adjective, e.g.

õ sɛl maje ki gasɔ̃ ã te vle
"a single (Adj.) meal Rel. boy the Past want"
'A single meal was what the boy wanted'

(iv) when the stabiliser is used instead of front-focalisation

e.g. se maje ki gasɔ̃ ã te vle
"Stab. food that boy the Past want"
'It was food that the boy wanted'

Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4):

(a) Kriul: (little variation)

(b) Krio: (i) whenever any augmentative reflecting any non-creole influences (mainly English and Wolof)[1] is used instead of emphatic repetition.

e.g. i big tɔrɔp and i vɛri big
"(s)he big Aug." "(s)he very big"
both meaning 'He/She is very big'.

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1. See pt.II, ch.2 , p.272 for further details.

(ii) when emphatic elongation of vowel (feature 5) is used instead of feature 4

e.g. i bíig
"(s)he big"
Emph.
'He/She is very big'

(c) Patwa: (little variation)

Marking of Plurality by a Separable Morpheme (Feature 8):

(a) Kriul: (little variation)

(b) Krio: (i) when Eng. pl. suffix s ~ z is used

e.g. di kats blak
"the cat pl. black"
'The cats are black'
di bɔiz kam
"the boy pl. come"
'The boys came'

(ii) when Eng. and African influenced pre-nominal dɛm is used

e.g. dɛm bɔi kam
"those pl. boy come"
'The boys came'[1]

(c) Patwa: (i) when no plural marker is used

e.g. nu li liv nu
"we read book we"
'We read our books'

(ii) or, rarely, when Eng. pl. suffix s ~ z is used

e.g. kats la nwɛ
"cat pl. the black"
'The cats are black'
bɔiz la vini
"boy pl. the come"
'The boys came'

---

1. See pt. II, ch. 2, p. 237 for further details.

Grammatical use of 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9):

(a) Kriul: (i) when lexical (i.e. non-grammatical) 'say' is used instead of the above

e.g. i fala m m bai kasa
"(s)he tell me I go home"
'he/she told me to go home'

(ii) when oca - 'to see' is not followed by grammatical 'say'

e.g. i oca riu sɛku
"(s)he see river dry"
'He/she saw that the river was dry'

(b) Krio: (i) when lexical 'say' is used instead of (grammatical) 'say' or 'for' ~~(feature 9)~~

e.g. i tɛl mi mek a go om
"(s)he tell me make I go home"
'He/She told me to go home'

(ii) when si - 'to see' is not followed by grammatical 'say'

e.g. i si di riva drai
"(s)he see the river dry"
'He/She saw that the river was dry'

(c) Patwa: (i) when lexical 'say' is used ~~instead of feature 9~~

e.g. i di mwɛ̃ ale lakai
"(s)he tell me go home"
'He/She told me to go home'

(ii) when wɛ - 'to see' is not followed by grammatical 'say'

e.g. i wɛ (ki) lawvyɛ a sɛk
"(s)he see (that) river the dry"
'He/She saw that the river was dry'

Suffixation of Article and Pronouns (Feature 10):

(a) Kriul: (little variation)

(b) Krio: (not of central importance)

(c) Patwa: (little variation)

Non-Differentiation of the 3rd sing. Pronoun (Feature 12):

(a) Kriul: (little variation)

(b) Krio: (little apparent variation)

(c) Patwa: (little variation)

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

For Kriul and Patwa, any of the twelve features (above) having little or no alternation in the formal speech of a sample of ten speakers[1] are discarded from the discussion, as their stability suggests that these features cannot be analysed for variation from a social or other viewpoint. Some features have more alternation in informal speech than in formal speech, but, as the analysis of such features would not be quantifiable in the same terms as their equivalents in formal speech, they were left out of the discussion, e.g. there is some variation in the use of the Patwa stabiliser se in informal speech but little in formal Patwa.[2] (Although this would seem to give undue priority to formal speech, an analysis of features varying in Kriul and Patwa informal speech showed that the low occurrence of any individual feature in informal speech made them less available to sociolinguistic analysis.[3])

In analysing the selected features in Gambian Krio, however, no sample speakers were used, and features 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9 and 12 were counted for positive/negative occurrence in both formal and informal speech. This difference of approach was adopted in order to highlight the more advanced state of decreolization of this creole from a grammatical viewpoint, i.e. involving the use of as many of the twelve selected features as possible.

A feature having no variation in formal speech in one creole may vary in another, and vice versa, so the same features do not necessarily figure in the sociolinguistic descriptions of each creole. Grammatical features not having an important function in a creole were not counted, i.e.: the stabiliser in Kriul, as it does not exist in the latter (although its function is partly carried out in locative phrases by the stabilising use of the Kriul

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1. The ten speakers diverge maximally in terms of their social categories, in each Creole society. The results of this sampling are given on pp. 671, 675 & 683.
2. See p. 27.
3. See pp. 673 & 684.

locative preposition na), and the suffixation of articles or pronouns ~~(feature 10)~~ in Krio, as this feature does not have a central function in the latter.[1] In the sociolinguistic chapters[2] the use made of the selected grammatical features both individually and in toto by each speaker was also counted throughout the 'Oral literature section' and similarly analysed in terms of the selected social categories[3].

Unlike the responses to the 'Linguistic section', where the use/non-use of a varying feature is tied to particular sentences in the questionnaire, variation of the same features in the responses to the 'Oral literature section' could not be so correlated. Instead a count was made of their actual occurrences throughout the 'Oral literature section', in the speech of each speaker.[4]

Results of this count in Kriul and Krio[5] indicated that most features, although occurring in the linguistic section as a result of the prior organisation of the questionnaire, did not have such a high occurrence in responses to the oral literature section. In fact many speakers scored zero for a number of features in this section. The principal exception was the high occurrence of the stabilisers na in Krio and se in Patwa. Although na in Krio showed much variation, in the formal Patwa of ten sample speakers se indicated little variation and was therefore not analysed further.

As the ability of speakers in each language to respond to the 'Oral literature section'[6] varied in direct proportion to their knowledge of their own creole oral literature, the scores for this section partly reflect these differing levels of knowledge as opposed to the controlled occurrence of the selected grammatical features in the 'Linguistic section'. In order to arrive at a score reflecting the latter more closely, the 'Oral literature' scores were divided by the time[7] taken by each speaker to arrive at his/her score and the result expressed as a percentage.[8]

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1. Cf. Patwa where it does. See pt. III, ch. 2 , p. 429 .
2. See pt I, ch. 3 ; pt II, ch. 3 & pt III, ch. 3.
3. Formal and informal speech are described on p. 13.
4. Tables indicating the above are given for each creole on pp. 673; 677, 678 & 684 of the appendix.
5. See pp. 673; 677 & 678.
6. Measured for each speaker in the chapters on oral literature.
7. Time was calculated as revolutions per minute on standard tape cassettes.
8. Throughout the thesis all percentages are to the nearest decimal place, unless otherwise stated.

In the 'Linguistic section' the total possible score for each feature counted is equal to the number of sentences selected for analysis of the use/non-use of the feature. The occurrence of these sentences in the 'Linguistic section' of the questionnaire is given for each feature so quantified.[1] Both the positive and negative scores for each speaker and each feature counted are given for all three creoles.[2] In the individual sociolinguistic descriptions of formal speech only the negative scores, representing relative decreolization,[3] are used. For example, in the sociolinguistic description of Kriul formal speech only the figures under the negative score column were used:[4]

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 3	
	+	-
K 1	4	2
K 2	4	2
K 3	2	4
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.

As suggested above, the fact that speakers K1 and K2 did not make use of feature 3 on 2 occasions and speaker K3 on 4 occasions in the selected sentences, is analysed.

In representing the use made of selected grammatical features in Krio informal speech, however, the positive scores indicating relative creolization are for example, as follows:[5]

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 2
G 1	1
G 2	0
G 3	0
.	.
.	.

1. In the case of the marking of plurality by a separable morpheme (feature 8), sentence L.5 (e), having two pluralised nouns: ("fields" and "dogs"), only the latter of the two being used as a quantified example, as indicated on the list of sentences used in counting feature 8 (on p. 26).
2. See p. 26 & 27
3. See p. 50 for a definition of relative decreolization and creolization.
4. See p. 670 of the appendix for the full table.
5. See p. 677 of the appendix for the full table.

As suggested in the example above, the use made of feature 2 by speakers G1, G2 and G3 throughout the 'Oral literature section' are 1, 0 and 0 occasions respectively.

The results of all speakers in each speech style were individually contrasted with each social category to see which features and social categories showed any meaningful correlation. As suggested by Labov[1] and many other sociolinguists, different social categories will be related to different linguistic variables in a non-uniform manner, some interrelationships showing greater social sensitivity than others, in different speech styles and at different points in the historical development of the features and social categories concerned. All interrelationships between the selected grammatical variables and social categories indicating differences of less than 20% between the resultant sociolinguistic groups were discarded from the sociolinguistic descriptions, so that only those interrelationships showing clear social/linguistic interaction were focussed on. This imposed limitation appeared particularly necessary in the case of correlations involving relatively low numbers of speakers.

In order to compare formal and informal Krio speech in general, rather than in terms of single grammatical features, the total negative scores for the selected features were added together for each speaker in formal speech, and the total positive scores for the selected features for informal speech were similarly cumulated.

For example, in Krio formal speech the negative scores for each of the following features, and by each Krio speaker, were cumulated to give a total negative figure representing the overall non-use of all the selected grammatical features in the selected sentences by each speaker:

---

1. Labov, W. 1970 in Pride, J. B. and Holmes, J. 1972: 199-201.

1

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURES										TOTAL
	... 2		3		4		8		9		-
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
G 1	8	4	8	2	1	3	4	6	1	2	17
G 2	8	4	7	3	0	4	1	9	2	1	21
G 3	5	7	4	6	0	4	1	9	1	2	28
. .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
. .	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

As suggested above, for example, speaker G1 (of Gambian Krio - formal speech) did not make use of the selected grammatical features 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 on 17 occasions in the selected sentences in contrast to 21 and 28 occasions by G2 and G3 respectively.

In Krio informal speech, on the other hand, the positive score for each of the selected features analysed in Krio formal speech were similarly cumulated, e.g.:

2

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURES					TOTAL
	... 2	3	4	8	9	No. ...
G 1	1	0	0	0	0	1 ...
G 2	0	0	2	0	1	3 ...
G 3	0	1	3	1	0	5 ...
. .	.	.	.	.	.	.
. .	.	.	.	.	.	.

In the extract of the table above it is indicated that speakers G1, G2 and G3 made an overall use of the selected features 2, 3, 4, 8 and 9 on 1, 3 and 5 occasions, respectively, throughout their responses to the 'Oral literature section' of the questionnaire (i.e. their informal speech.)

---

1. Feature 1 was cumulated in a different manner. See pp. 27 & 28. See p. 674 of the appendix for the whole table.
2. Excluding feature 1. Note that these figures were also converted into a percentage, see p. 35 . See also pp. 677ff of the appendix for the whole table. ... = extracts from larger tables which extend both vertically and horizontally.

These total scores for individual speakers in both speech styles were separately contrasted with the same social categories (again ignoring sociolinguistic differences under 20%, in terms of their similar and/or different interactions with the social categories).

After having compiled the statistics based on the cumulative totals for more than one selected grammatical feature, it became apparent that a more effective comparison of individual and cumulative scores would have been in terms of an absolute mid-point rather than the relative mid-point adopted below, in response to the narrow distribution of scores in the data. The use of an absolute mid-point is reserved for future research and this caveat borne in mind in analysing the cumulative and individual scores described below.

Measurement of Sociolinguistic Differences:

The contrasts made between the selected grammatical features and social categories, in both formal and informal speech, resulted in different degrees of sociolinguistic correlation. In order to establish a standard in terms of which these different degrees of sociolinguistic correlation could be analysed, a midway mark within such correlations was defined as half (or approximately half[1]) of the total possible negative score[2] for each selected feature by individual speakers, considered in terms of their formal speech.

For example, the total potential negative score for front-focalisation (feature 3) in Krio formal speech is -10 (see below); -5 was therefore adopted as the midway mark.[3]

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1. I.e. where the total was not a whole number.
2. Note that in formal speech only negative scores measuring non-occurrences of a feature are analysed. See p.36.

3. At times the selected features could only be analysed between certain actual negative scores. In such cases a point midway between the 'highest' and 'lowest' actual negative score rather than the potential negative scores was selected. For example, the total potential occurrences of plural marker (feature 8) in Patwa (formal speech) was -10. Actual scoring, however, was between -5 and -10 (i.e. between 5 and 10 non-occurrences in the use of this feature in the selected sentences). No speaker, for example, scored -4, -3, -2 or -1 in their non-use of feature 8 in the selected sentences. The midway mark was therefore chosen at a point conforming to actual scoring, i.e. at -7 rather than at -5, the midway mark on the potential negative score of -1 to -10.

Significant sociolinguistic correlations were then defined on an ad hoc basis to be a difference between sociolinguistic groups of 20% and more below the midway mark described in all the sociolinguistic chapters as half of the 'decreolized' score being analysed in formal speech.

For example, front-focalisation, i.e. feature 3 in Patwa (formal speech), was contrasted with the rural/urban social category. 14/17 (i.e. 82%) rural speakers scored below the midway mark of -3[1] in their non-use of the feature in the selected sentences and 17/30 (i.e. 57%) urban speakers scored below half of the decreolized score, i.e. -3.

The difference between rural/urban Patwa speakers in the use of feature 3 (in formal speech), i.e. 82% -57% = 25%, is above 20% and therefore is considered significant for the purposes of this study. However, when Patwa (male/female) speakers were compared in their use of plural affix (feature 8) in formal speech , 6/23 (i.e. 26%) male speakers scored below half of the decreolized score, i.e. -7, while 9/22 (i.e. 41%) female speakers scored below -7. This level of sociolinguistic difference, i.e. of 15% between sociolinguistic groups, was considered insignificant.

Cumulative and Individual Correlations Between the Social Categories and the Selected Grammatical Features:

The scores indicative of the use made of the selected grammatical features (see above) were contrasted with the selected social categories. Scores for the use of an individual selected feature resulted however at times in a lower degree of correlation with the selected social categories than did the same social categories with the total score for two or more of the selected features.

For example, in the case of the social category 'sex' and features 3 and 9 in Kriul:

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1. The total potential score of the use of the selected features in the selected sentences being 6. See pt. III, ch.3, p. 463 .

CATEGORY	FEATURE		TOTAL (of features 3 & 9)
	3	9	
M	9/28 (32%) at -4 and below	6/29 (21%) at -2 and below	(38%) at -4 and below
F	8/17 (47%) at -4 and below	4/16 (25%) at -2 and below	(76%) at -4 and below

As suggested above, there is no significant sociolinguistic difference (of 20% and above) in the individual use of features 3 and 9 when used by Kriul-speaking men and women, e.g. in the case of feature 3, 32% male speakers scored -4 and in contrast to 47% female speakers, giving a non-significant difference of 15% (i.e. 47% - 32%) between male and female speakers in their use of feature 3. In the cumulative use of both features, by Kriul-speaking men and women, however, there is a significant sociolinguistic difference (i.e. of 20% and above), e.g. of 38% (76% - 38%) between male and female speakers in the use of feature 3. This is due to the fact that more significant sociolinguistic correlations, resulting in greater degrees of sociolinguistic difference between sociolinguistic groups, become evident when more of the selected grammatical features are considered. This is itself related to a greater alternation in the use of many of the selected features when a creole is in the process of high relative decreolization,[1] as in the case of Krio. When, as in the case of Kriul, decreolization is less, fewer of the selected features alternate and less of a degree of contrast becomes available between the social categories and the selected features.

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1. Defined on p. 50.

SOCIAL CATEGORIES FOR ALL THREE CREOLE SOCIETIES

The selected social categories may be commented on as follows:

1) Sex:

In many societies women have an inferior social status relative to men, which has potential language indices.[1] This was particularly true of the early history of Creole societies where, initially, the women were of African, and the men of European origin. Obviously, as the European men were a minority of the mainly African-descended population, it was their social status and not their number which was of crucial importance. As these societies were European ruled, European languages spoken mainly by male Europeans were of 'high' social prestige while those of their African women[2] were of the same 'low' social status as those of the African men. In the data on individual speakers[3], for each creole, F symbolizes 'female' (in the 'Sex and Age' column) and M 'male'.

2) Age:

Older creole-speakers have not had as much relative contact with metropolitan speakers as have younger speakers, due to the historically later adoption of metropolitan languages as languages of education having world-wide dissemination by radio and television. The ages of each speaker are given in the data, based on the following age-groups referred to throughout this thesis: <21, 22>, and 42>.

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1. Kramer, C. in Thorne, B. and Henley, B. (eds.) 1975: 43-55.
2. Bainuk and Mandinka women with Portuguese men in the case of the Casamance Creoles; Mandinka and Wolof women firstly, from a historical perspective, with Portuguese men and then with British men in the case of the Gambian Creoles; and Manding and Wolof women with French men in the case of the St. Lucian Creoles. In pre-European St. Lucian society, Arawak women with Carib men presents a similar case. These are all described in the respective historical chapters.
3. See p.614 of the appendix.

Speakers referred to as children are between 9 and 14 years old (inclusive). They are not classed as a sub-category due to the organisation of the category 'social prestige' (discussed below.)

3) Ethnicity:

Ethnicity is an important factor in language variation in general, and in sociolinguistic variation in particular.[1] The multi-ethnic past and present of Creole societies makes ethnic affiliation an important social category, and the affiliation of every speaker of each creole is given (in the 'Ethnic Group(s)' column) in the appendix.[2]

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1. Labov, W. 1970 in Fishman, J. (ed.) 1971:182-216.
2. See pp. 614-653.

4) Social Prestige:

Prestige is defined here in terms of education. Speakers are ranked into low, middle and high prestige groups depending upon whether they had been educated up to primary, secondary or tertiary levels respectively. Children (i.e. speakers between the ages of 9 and 14) were not analysed as a separate group nor assigned the social prestige of their parents. The argument that children will continue their education and therefore change their prestige group could of course also be applied to speakers between 22 and 42. The prestige groups recognised are those valid at the time of the interviews with the speakers. To assign children to the social class of their parents would be to make a predictive comment outside the time scale valid for this thesis and to underestimate the high state of social flux in most African and Caribbean societies.

During the preparation of this study, an attempt was first made to recognise prestige in relation to attitudes in Creole communities to individuals on the basis of their occupation. Those holding (or having held) responsible government posts and business men/women employing staff on a permanent basis were described as having 'high' social prestige; those holding clerical posts, as having 'middle' prestige and all others as having 'low' prestige.

This did result in some sociolinguistic correlations, e.g. in the case of Gambian Krio speakers, where those who held (or had held) responsible government posts decreolized less in the use/non-use

of adjectival verbs (feature 2) than those who had achieved high prestige through establishing themselves in business. When prestige was described in terms of education (as set out above) similar correlations were evident. As the criterion for assigning speakers to different prestige on the basis of education could be applied more scientifically, however, education was finally adopted as the basis of assigning social prestige.

As each society nevertheless differed as to its sensitive social categories, the categories found to be relevant to a particular society alone were also adopted in the description of that society, in addition to those (above) considered for all three Creole societies, i.e.:

1) Presence/Absence of Links with Guinea Bissau (for Casamance Kriul speakers)
2) Presence/Absence of Mixed Ethnicity (for Casamance Kriul speakers)
3) Presence/Absence of Links with Sierra Leone (for Gambian Krio speakers)
4) Rural/Urban Residence (for St. Lucian Patwa)

These are analysed as follows:

1) Guinea Bissau Links (Kriul)[1]

Kriul speakers who had or have links with Guinea Bissau, i.e. visit relatives who live there, go there on business and/or for educational purposes, are contrasted with speakers not having comparable links.

2) Mixed Ethnicity (Kriul)[2]

Given the tradition of genetic mixture in most Creole societies,

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1. Casamance and Guinea Bissau Kriul speakers were, till political separation in 1888, all citizens of Portuguese Guinea. See pt.1, ch.1, p. 83.
2. This category was also analysed in the general sociolinguistic overview of St. Lucian Patwa speakers but the data did not suggest its adoption as a separate category for the latter. See pt.III, ch.3, p. 454.

and the contrasting claims of some Kriul speakers that they were either Kreɔl or that they belonged to the ethnic group of one of their parents, this category appeared to be socially relevant to Kriul-speaking society. Speakers who claimed to be Kreɔl and those who claimed to belong to more than one ethnic group were therefore classified as mixed, and contrasted with those who were of a single ethnic group and did not claim to be Kreɔl.

3) Sierra Leone Links (Krio):

Krio speakers who had or have any links with Sierra Leone (Freetown)[1], i.e. visit Sierra Leone regularly for personal, educational and/or business purposes, are contrasted with speakers not having such links.

4) Rural/Urban Residence (Patwa):

The three urban centres in St. Lucia are Vieux-Fort, Soufrière and Castries, in ascending order of importance. All other areas are rural in terms of low population density, lack of industries and other manifestations of urban life. Speakers interviewed in St. Lucia are categorised accordingly as urban or rural. Note, by contrast, the urban residence of most Kriul and Krio speakers.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL CATEGORIES

Major overlaps between the social categories of speakers are examined in brief introductions to each sociolinguistic chapter. A larger matrix giving the social categories to which each speaker

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1. The Gambian Aku were originally from Krio-speaking Freetown where many still have relatives.
See pt.II, ch.1, p.220.

belongs is also given in these introductions so that minor interrelationships between the categories can also be abstracted.[1]

Underrepresentation of Some Social Categories in the Data:

Some social categories, on analysis after fieldwork were found to be not adequately represented e.g. the absence of non-Aku men of 'low' social prestige in the Gambian Krio data. These limitations in the data are however not totally unrelated to trends in the society concerned, e.g. the absence of non-Aku male Krio-speakers of 'low' social status is not unrelated to the learning of Krio as a language of upward mobility by the non-Aku.[2]

CHOICE OF SPEAKERS

Given the bilingual bias of the questionnaire[3], most of the speakers chosen were bilingual in a creole and a European language, both to facilitate communication with the researcher and to provide responses in each creole within a situation where its currently influencing European language(s) was/were also being used. This is of particular importance to the (formal) linguistic section of the questionnaire (see above). A number of monolingual creole speakers were also interviewed, though in informal speech only, in order that their responses could be compared with the majority of bilinguals interviewed. Although a sample of speakers from each social category (see above) was sought, the choice was not rigidly predetermined.

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1. e.g. in the case of Gambian speakers, 70% of the Aku speakers were 42> while only 12% of the non-Aku are 42> .
2. See pt.II, ch.3, p. 267
3. See appendix pp. 601-611.

3) DEFINITION OF LINGUISTIC VOCABULARY

In view of the complex range of terms which have been introduced into the discussion of pidgins and creoles, the following linguistic vocabulary[1] is adopted throughout this thesis unless otherwise stated:

DIACHRONIC/SYNCHRONIC - are defined here as mutually exclusive terms. Diachronic refers to the interaction of languages in the past which are no longer in contact. Synchronic refers to the interaction of languages which are still in contact (giving rise to synchronic reinforcement of past influences).

LANGUAGES IN DIACHRONIC CONTACT - languages in geographical contact over a period of time in the past, but excluding:

LANGUAGES IN SYNCHRONIC CONTACT - languages in geographical contact at the present day.

STRUCTURAL MOULD - the mainly 'African' language structure at the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic levels which characterises the creole languages under consideration (see p. 571 of the conclusion).

LEXICAL INPUT - (a) the mainly European lexicon which creole languages adopted in their formative stages; (b) the lexicon adopted by established creole languages from either African or European languages ~~in synchronic contact.~~

RELEXIFICATION - the massive input of lexical items from one language into the structural mould of one or more others, involving (a) the continuance of the phonology, morphology, semantic structure and syntax of the latter; (b) the virtual disappearance of its/their former lexicon. This process may be either gradual or swift and may work in different directions at different times, i.e.:

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1. Adopted from Dalphinis, M. 1979(b):1.

Lexical input	Structural mould
European	African
African	Established Creole
Carib	Arawak
African	African
2nd. European language	Established Creole
Established Creole	African
etc.	

HYPERCORRECTION - the adoption of items into a language through deliberate approximation to another language either by relexification or by decreolization.

DECREOLIZATION - changes in the phonology, semantic structure, morphology and syntax of an established creole approximating to the grammatical system of a non-creole language. Changes in lexicon do not constitute decreolization, but rather relexification.

DOMAIN - Semantic field which, in a given language, may have internal or external prestige or influence through superior knowledge.

PRESTIGE - is taken as being directly correlated to domain. Each language is assumed to have one or more domains of internal prestige and may have one or more domains of external prestige.

EXTERNAL PRESTIGE - the prestige given to a language by non-native speakers of that language.

INTERNAL PRESTIGE - the prestige native speakers give to their own language as a marker of in-group self-esteem.

PIDGIN/CREOLE - a pidgin is a language of limited vocabulary, as spoken by second-language speakers. By lexical expansion the pidgin becomes a creole spoken as a home language. (In this thesis, 'creole(s)' refers to the language(s) and 'Creole(s)' the speakers considered individually or in larger groups.)

LEXICAL EXPANSION - a process comprising calques, convergences and loans as a result of the social and psychological interaction of one language on another (subsequently 'suprastrate' and 'substrate', for creoles reflecting normally the main lexical and structural sources, respectively.)

CALQUES - the use of item(s) from one (or more) European language(s) in a creole in accordance with the African/creole structural mould of the latter. Calques are described as lexical or grammatical as are the following (convergences and loans):

CONVERGENCES - the establishment of creole item(s) on the basis of item(s) from a European language and item(s) of similar sound and related meaning in one (or more) African language(s).

LOANS - item(s) from non-creole languages entering a creole (other than as calques or convergences). Loans may undergo meaning shift, semantic extension or become nonsense items after entering a creole.

EXTENSIONS - convergence(s) in which semantic content has been affected by a language other than that of its etymological origin.

FORMAL SPEECH - speech used in a social context in which a European and a creole language are both used, is described as formal.

INFORMAL SPEECH - speech used in a social context in which a creole language alone is used, is described as informal.

CREOLIZATION - the use of any of the selected grammatical features (see p.16ff. of the methodological introduction to the collection and use of oral data) is taken as a positive measure of 'creolization' in the speech of all speakers.

DECREOLIZATION - a non-use of one or more of these features in favour of grammatical structures reflecting non-creole languages (i.e. European and/or African) is taken as a negative measure of 'decreolization', likewise, in the speech of every speaker.

REINFORCING[1] - the use of a creole-like grammatical feature in an African (or other) language by second language creole speakers resulting in the continued and/or more widespread use of this feature in a creole.

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1. Past creolizing, present reinforcing and/or decreolizing influences are indicated in the chapters on African language features in each creole (i.e. pt.1, ch.6, pt.II, ch.6 & pt.III, ch.7)

4) ORTHOGRAPHY

The phonemic I.A.I orthography (i.e. the Practical Orthography of African Languages, I.A.I 1930), with the following amendments, has been adopted for the phonemic transcription of African and creole languages throughout this thesis:

i) I.A.I ŋ , ʃ and ʒ are represented by ng, sh and zh for ease of typographic representation.

ii) syllables of prominent relative stress (with/without vowel lengthening) indicating emphasis are marked with an acute accent (ˊ).

The International Phonetic Alphabet (I.P.A) has been adopted for all phonetic transcription.

Phonetic transcriptions are in square brackets and phonemic transcriptions are underlined.

Items quoted from historical texts are as in the original text with the following alterations:

U - rewritten as V and vice versa, as appropriate

ſ and ſ - rewritten as s

& - rewritten as and/ Fr. et .

5) A B B R E V I A T I O N S

A.	- Answer.
Assoc.	- Associative marker.
Aug.	- Augmentative.
Cl.	- Class marker.
Complet.	- Completive aspect.
C.N.	- Counter number.
Dim.	- Diminutive.
Disj.	- Disjunctive.
Ditto.	- Having the same meaning as the preceding item(s).
Dur.	- Durative aspect.
ed.	- Editor.
Emph.	- Emphatic.
Eng.	- English.
e.g.	- For example.
Focal.	- Focalizer.
fem.	- Feminine.
Fr.	- French.
Fut.(Im./N.Im.)	- Future tense/aspect (imminent/non-imminent.)
G.K.	- Gambian Krio.
G.L.	- Genitive link.
Hab.	- Habitual aspect.
Imperf.	- Imperfective.
Inan.	- Inanimate.
Intens.	- Intensitive.
Iter.	- Iterative aspect.
J.C.	- Jamaican Creole.
Kinya.	- Kinyarwanda.
Kon.	- (Ki-) Kongo.
L.	- Linguistic section of the questionnaire (formal speech.)
Li.	- Lingala.
Loc.	- Locative.
Mt.	- Martiniquan Creole.
mas.	- Masculine.
M.E.	- Middle English.
Mnka.	- Mandinka.
Neg.	- Negative
Neut.	- Neutral.
O.Fr.	- Old French.

O.	- Oral literature section of the questionnaire (informal speech).
Past	- Past tense.
Perf.	- Perfective.
pl.	- Plural.
phr.	- Phrase.
Prog.	- Progressive aspect.
pron.	- Pronoun.
Q.	- Question.
Rep.	- Repeat.
sing.	- Singular.
S. L. K.	- Sierra Leone Krio.
Specif.	- Specifier.
Stat.	- Stative.
T/F.	- Twi/Fante.
U.	- Item(s) of unknown origin.
Umb.	- Umbundu.
Wol.	- Wolof.
~	- The same as, in free variation with.

< ... >	- Derived from/more than... less than.
→	- In the direction of, towards, becomes.
//	- Clause boundary.
?	- Item(s) of unknown meaning and origin.
"...[ ]..."	- Additions made by the researcher to the original text.
" "	- Literal translations, including grammatical analysis of (underlined) examples from creole/African and other languages immediately above
' '	- Translation of non-English item(s).

PART I

PART I

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF KRIUL IN CASAMANCE

INTRODUCTION

Between 1506 and 1510 at least three main ethnic groups are reported by the Portuguese Valentim Fernandes to be in the Casamance: "... il y a un melange de toutes les races comme Mandingas [Mandinka], Falupes [Dyola] et les Balangas [Balanta]...".[1]

By the nineteenth century the Casamance was said to be populated by four main ethnic groups on both banks of the River Casamance: Dyola, Bainuk, Balanta and Mandinka[2].
Amongst these four groups were dispersed many Pulaar-speakers and Soninke. Both the North and South banks of the Casamance were populated by Dyola, including the Fulup, Bandial and Hulon, Bayot, and Karon Dyola sub-groups on the South bank[3].
The presence of Karon who pillaged the South bank peoples is also referred to:

"tombant sur la rive gauche y enlevaient à l'improviste femmes, enfants et troupeaux..."[4]

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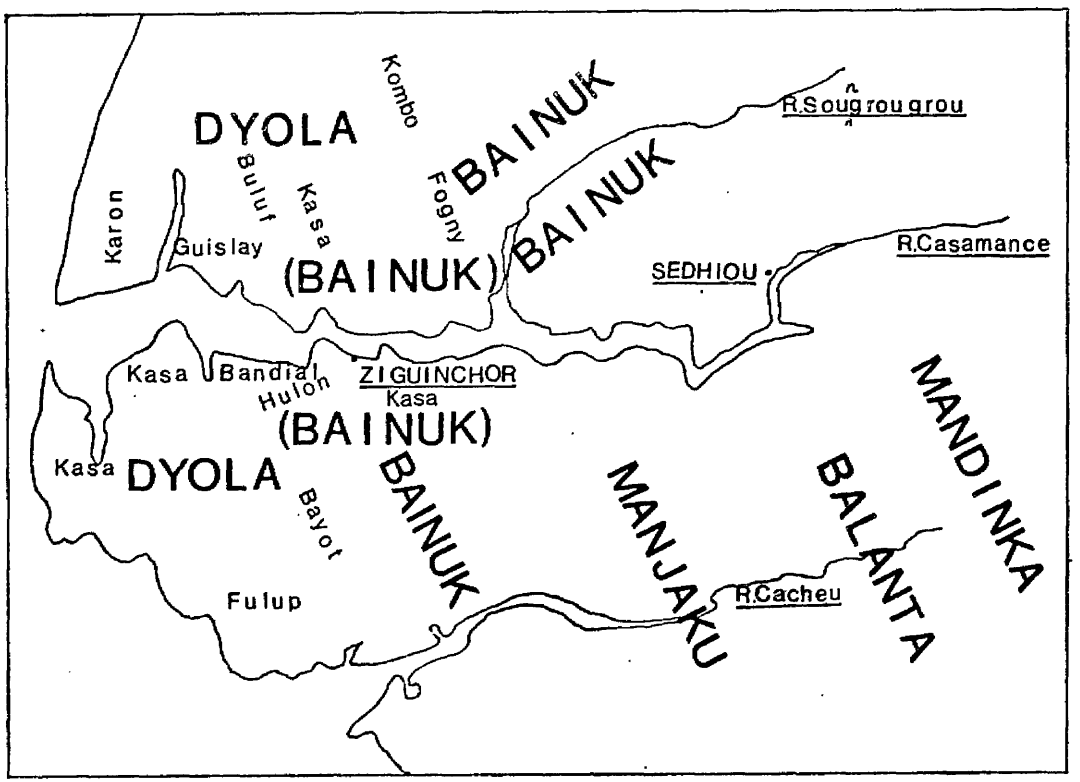
1. Fernandes, V. (1506-1510), in Teixeira da Mota, A. and Mauny, R. Bissau, 1951: 59.
   See also Roche, C. 1973: 1; Boulègue, J. 1972 (b): 1.
2. Vallon, A. 1862: 457. The names used for ethnolinguistic groups in the Language Map of Africa (Dalby, D. 1977) are adopted throughout this thesis unless otherwise stated.
3. Vallon, A. 1862: 457.
4. Ibid., p. 458.

Sketch Map Indicating the Main Ethnolinguistic Groups of The Casamance Regions



Key: Dyola sub-groups in lower-case Area of earlier (i.e. from at least the fifteenth century) Bainuk settlement in brackets.

Given the existence of many ethnic groups in the Casamance, the presence of at least six African languages[1] could only have been advantageous to the development of Kriul as a language of wider communication, firstly as a pidgin[2] used between resident Portuguese[3] in the Casamance and the local ethnic groups and then later as a creole used by Afro-Portuguese middlemen trading with all the local ethnic groups. The lack of mutual intelligibility which existed between the many local African languages would have again enhanced the later use of Kriul as a language of inter-ethnic communication; e.g.: the Bayot (Dyola) of the South bank was said to be very different even from neighbouring Dyola dialects:

> "dont le dialecte s'écarte beaucoup de celui de leurs voisins"[4]

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1. See sketch-map on p. 55 indicating the position of the various Casamance ethno-linguistic groups during the nineteenth century.
2. This, of course, follows the usual view of a 'creole' being first preceded by a 'pidgin' born out of such inter-communicational needs.
3. Fernandes, V. (1506-1510), in Monod, Th., Teixeira da Mota, A. and Mauny, R. 1951: 59.
4. Vallon, A. 1862: 457.

According to Hair, the geographical position of the ethnolinguistic groups on the Guinea coast have been much the same in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as they were during the seventeenth and eighteenth.[1] The positions given by him for ethnolinguistic groups in and around the Casamance, using the maps and other data in Cadamosto (1456-1475), Fernandes(1506-1510), D'Almada (1594) and Coelho (1668)[2], were used in association with Vallon (1862) and the Language Map of Africa (Dalby, D. 1977) in situating the ethnolinguistic groups on the sketch map.With regard to the "possible discorrespondence" over the situating of the Balanta at the mouth of the River Casamance by Fernandes (1506-1510) as opposed to the area south of the Rio Cacheo by later Portuguese writers (D'Almada 1594, Coelho 1668), Hair's suggestion is adopted:

> "Since no Balanta were reported in this area by later sources, either Fernandes misplaced his Balangas, or [they] were a section of Balanta disconnected from the main body and soon to die out"[3].

It may well be, however, that these "disconnected" Balanta "died out" by merging with expanding Afro-Portuguese society in and around Ziguinchor[4].

1.Hair, P.E.H. 1967: 247.
2.Fernandes, V. (1506-1510) in Monod, Th., Teixeira da Mota,A. and Mauny, R. 1951; D'Almada, A.A. (1594) in the Diogo Köpke publication of 1841; De Lemos Coelho, F. (1668) in Peres, P. (ed.), Lisbon, 1953.
3.Hair, P.E.H. 1967: 252.
4.As did many of the Bainuk. See p. 58 ff.

BAINUK (BAGNOUN, BAÑUN, BAYNUK)

This ethnic group was dispersed on the north bank of the Rio Cacheo, the two banks of the Casamance and the Soungrougrou rivers, and the southern banks of the Gambia[1]. The Bainuk on the southern bank[2] were much depopulated during the fifteenth century by

> "Balantas [Balanta] , qui leur font une guerre acharnée, et les Feloups [Dyola] qui cherchent à s'étendre vers leur fertile et pittoresque pays..."

This later Dyola (Fulup) expansion into Bainuk territory forced the south bank Bainuk to disintegrate as a separate group, to become Afro-Portuguese (Luso-African), and probably Kriul-speaking:

> "se réduisant à quelques familles de courtiers portugais et tendant à disparaître".

Manding invasion also hastened this Bainuk disintegration, e.g.: the Bainuk of the Soungrougrou River:

> "Les Bagnouns de Songrougrou sont déjà melés aux Mandingues..."[3]

The Manding influence on the Bainuk language on both the north and south banks of the Casamance was therefore a possible outcome. This may have involved the use of Mandinka as second and/or third language by the south-bank Bainuk and also contributed to the later presence of Mandinka loans in ~~synchronic~~[4] Ziguinchor Kriul.

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1. Vallon, A. 1862: 458, Touze, R.L. 1963: 77, Roche, C. 1976: 24 63.
2. Fernandes, V. (1506-1510) mentions their presence on the south bank of the Casamance; see Monod, Th. Da Mota, A.T. and Mauny, R. 1951: 71-75 and the map in the latter. D'Almada, A.A.(1594) mentions their presence in and around Ziguinchor: "os Banhuns de Izigichor"; see Köpke, D. (publisher), 1841: 39.
3. Vallon, A. 1862: 457.
4. ~~See pt.I, ch.2, p. .~~

The Portuguese arrival in Casamance found the Bainuk already under Manding domination[1], and possibly in the process of being Islamicised[2]. According to oral tradition, the Bainuk were the original inhabitants both of Ziguinchor and of the Casamance[3]. Consequently, the original source for the name Ziguinchor is suggested to be from the Bainuk language:

> "Iziguichos a donné Ezeguichor, le suffixe Or signifiant la terre, comme à Tobor, Imor, Jibélor etc..." .

It is from the Bainuk word that the Portuguese deformation Sguitior and the French deformation Ziguinchor are derived[4].

The Bainuk are thought to have come to the Casamance from what is now Guinea-Bissau[5]. With them they brought their belief in "Dino", the supreme creative force of the universe and his manifestation in terms of kumpo[6] who, they believed, could cleanse the community of the evil spells of sorcerers:

> "le kumpo a la faculté de revêtir toutes les formes imaginables afin de suivre les sorciers dans leurs mutations et les combattre sur leur propre terrain"[7].

---

1. Valentim Fernandes (1506-1510) in Monod, Th. Teixeira da Mota, A. and Mauny, R. 1951:71-75; Roche, C. 1976: 25.
2. Roche, C. 1976: 13. It seems likely that, with the arrival of the Portuguese, and later the Atlantic Slave Trade, that many of these Mandingized Bainuk would be likely slave exports, sold by their Mandinka overlords.
3. Roche, C. 1976: 13.
4. Roche, C. 1973: 37.
5. Roche, C. 1976: 13.
6. In present times kumpo is a costume mask worn by initiates at wedding ceremonies and other festive occasions. Songs specific to kumpo celebrations are known by Casamance peoples from all ethnic groups including the Creole, and are sung in Kriul with Mandinka insertions by all who follow the kumpo mask. The song-rhythms are set by accompanying drummers and other participants beating flat sticks toghether. See p. 145 ~~appendix~~ for examples of kumpo song's recorded at a kumpo celebration in Ziguinchor in 1977. (C.N.: 7322-7550). Although kumpo may have been specific to the Bainuk in the past, it is at present part of the culture of other Casamance ethnic groups. The Dyola, for example according to Girard, J. 1969:146, adopted kumpo from Portuguese Guinea :"Elle proviendrait de Guiné portugaise et de proche en proche en aurait été adopté par l'ensemble des communautés diola". See pt. I, ch. 4, pp. 144ff .
7. Girard, J. 1969: 157-158.

Such a situation where the conquerors may well have outnumbered the conquered Bainuk, because of their prior decimation by Balanta and Dyola, is unlikely to have favoured the spread of Bainuk language influences, although the fact that they were the original inhabitants of the area would suggest a more prominent language influence[1]. Indeed it may well be that:

> "The type of political system resulting from the conquest may be relevant and the situation that obtains in a large empire ruled with an iron hand by a centralized authority may differ from the one in small feudal states or necessarily less cohesively united strings of islands"[2].

The pressure of the centralized Manding empire and its common language Mandinka may well have restricted Bainuk language influences in a way that Carib did not with Arawak, nor French with African languages in St.Lucian language history. While the latter cases resulted in creolization, the Bainuk/Mandinka case resulted in a non-creolizing diachronic language contact in which the acquisition of Mandinka by the conquered Bainuk was probably favoured. This would be similar to the situation when: "A new language is acquired, with the impact of other language(s) limited essentially to phonology and lexicon"[3].

BALANTA

These, the "Moors" of the Casamance[4], had centred much of their lives around the art of war[5], relying on their well constructed boats in their pillaging activities on the banks of the river.

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1. Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a) 7.
2. Polomé, E. 1979: 16.
3. Ibid., p.13.
4. Vallon, A. 1862: 460.
5. *Idem.*

Their skills in warfare aided their resistance to Mandinka invasions in the Brassou area[1].
Like the Bainuk, the Balanta were non-Islamic (and non-Christian) in religious belief and also, like the Bainuk, considered to be one of the earliest inhabitants of the Casamance, according to oral tradition[2].

Cultural similarities between the Balanta and the Bainuk may have been developed due to the inclusion of both Bainuk and Balanta within the larger Kassanke-ruled political unit of the sixteenth century[3] and/or because of even earlier defeats of the Bainuk by the Balanta.

DYOLA

Like the Balanta the Dyola were feared because of their ability in warfare[4]. They were and are a politically decentralised ethno-linguistic group:

> "chaque fraction a formé des villages à peu près independants les uns des autres... et s'entend rarement pour l'attaque ou la défence"[5].

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1. Vallon, A. 1862: 460. The Balanta skills in warfare are in fact still talked about today in the Casamance. Cf. conversation with Mr. L.Gomes (K 31), in Ziguinchor.
2. Roche, C. 1976: 13.
3. Roche, C. 1973: 2 . See also p.59 , fn. 6 .
4. Valentim Fernandes (1506-1510) in Monod, Th., Teixeira da Mota, A. and Mauny, R. 1951: 61.
5. Vallon, A. 1862: 457.

Their decentralisation into "fractions de Feloupes [Dyola] " has probably contributed to the existence of many distinct Dyola dialects and languages in the Casamance[1].

One political factor which did have some unifying effect upon the various Dyola groups was French colonisation:

> "Presque tous les fractions de Feloupes et les principaux villages ont avec la France des traités, anciens ou récents, qui nous assurent la souveraineté du pays"[2].

CASAS (CASSANGUES, CASSANGAS, KASSANKE)

The Casas are thought to have been closely related to the Bainuk both ethnically and linguistically[3]. It is from this ethnic group that the river Casamance got its name, as they were probably the past rulers of lands on both banks of the Casamance.

The name Casamance is derived from Kasa-mansa, meaning river of the king of Kasa, Kasa being the place name and mansa meaning king in Mandinka:

> "the chief named Casamansa, who dwelt thirty miles up the river"[4].....

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1. I.e. Fogny, Kombo, Buluf, Karon, Fulup etc. Note that Vallon uses "Feloupes" to mean Dyola in general.
2. Vallon, A. 1862: 458.
3. Teixeira da Mota, A. in Monod, Th., Teixeira da Mota, A. and Mauny, R. 1951: 163; Hair, P.E. 1967: 251. Roche, C. 1973: 36 indicates that this was also the opinion of D'Almada (1595).
4. Cadamosto (1455-1475) in Crone, G.R. (translator and ed.) 1937: 75; Vallon, A. 1862: 458.

Referred to also as Cassangas or Kassanke (meaning inhabitants of the Kasa) their presence is mentioned mainly on the south bank of the river Casamance, in and around Ziguinchor in the sixteenth century:

> "Ils vivent au XVIe siecle sur les deux rives du fleuve, mais essentiellement sur le rive sud, en amont des Bahuns de Ezeguinchor"[1]

Given that the Kassanke kingdom was composed of other ethnic groups having their own distinct languages; i.e. Bainuk, Dyola (Fulup), Balanta and Mandinka[2], it seems likely that such a language-in-contact situation would have already encouraged some convergence between all the languages spoken in the Kassanke kingdom, at least at the phonological level, and that the later development of Kriul in these areas owed much to the language contact area pre-existing among the African languages mentioned.[3]

Boulègue[4] contrasts Fernandes' (1506-1510) view of the Kasa Kingdom being under direct Mandinka rule with that of Cadamosto (1456) and Vallon (1862) who all indicate that Kasa was under indirect Mandinka rule. He suggests that these seemingly divergent views reflect the multi-ethnic background of Kasa as a western periphery of the Manding trade empire and that the original Mandinka 'founders' of Kasa described by Fernandes may have become gradually assimilated with the local ethnic groups[5].

It is likely that the presence of a Manding ruling group would favour the use of Mandinka as a language of traditional prestige by the rulers of Kasa as well as its geographical extension as a second language for general inter-ethnic communication within Kasa.

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1. D'Almada, A.A. (1594), in Köpke, D. (publisher) 1841: 39-42, and the map in the latter; Boulègue, J. 1972 (b) & Roche, C. 1973: 36.
2. Roche, C. 1973: 2.
3. See Doneux, J. (undated) & Mbodje, C. 1978 who indicates a synchronic phonological convergence between most Casamance languages, including Kriul. It is likely that this synchronic convergence has its diachronic correlates.
4. Boulègne, J. 1972 (b).
5. Ibid.; pp. 7 - 8.

The degree of Mandinka influence in Kasa is suggested by the ease with which Kasa, as a subsidiary of the Manding trade empire, could enter into trading relationships with the representatives of the Portuguese seabourne Empire in contrast with the other acephalous ethnic groups of the Casamance region[1]. It was a relationship favoured by the Kasa Kingdom's ability to supply slaves from the non-Muslim peoples in the Casamance (and elsewhere in the wide geographical area under Manding domination) to meet Portuguese demand:

> "Dans les échanges du Kasa avec les Portugais, les esclaves tenaient une grande place. Lorsqu'ALMADA [sic.] y vint, en 1570, c'était pour acheter des esclaves.... Il est probable qu'une partie des esclaves était obtenue aux dépens des peuples voisins"[2]...

It was partly as a consequence of the slave-trade of Kasa that the people of the coast made war against Kasa and its Portuguese partners at the end of the sixteenth century:

> "Il y a plus de vingt cinq ans que les navires n'entrent plus dans cette embouchure de Casamança, à cause de la guerre de Noirs qui, faisant la guerre contre le roi de Casamança en amont, décidèrent de lui interdire l'éntrée de son fleuve. Et ils firent ainsi et prirent à l'embouchure quelques uns de nos navires... pour cette raison on utilise pas ce fleuve...[Casamance]"[3].

A Kasa partly enfeebeled by this cutting off of its major external trading partner fell into decline and the Casamance area became, ironically, an asylum for runaway slaves[4]:

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1. Boulègue, J. 1972 (b) : 11.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Boulègue, J. 1972 (b) : 12-13, a translation of D'Almada, A.A. (1594) in the Köpke, D. (publisher) 1841: 38.
4. Cf. the use of St.Lucia as a similar asylum for runaway slaves (Patwa nɛg mawɔ̃); see pt.III, ch.1.

"Le royaume de Casamança fait beaucoup de tort aux habitants qui vivent à Cacheu et dans toute la Guinée, parce que les Noirs qui s'enfuient vers là ne sont rendus au blanc pour aucune somme, et il y a aujourd'hui un très grand village de noirs fugitifs qui valent beaucoup d'argent[1]".

It is this change in historical fortunes which may have led to some misunderstanding as to the language history of the area. As Kasa (Casamance) was a tributary of Manding the survival of Mandinka elements in the Kriul grammatical system (in Casamance) can be explained. As an area subsequently dominated by Dyola and other acephalous peoples however, linguistic evidence seems contrary to the present geographical distribution of Casamance ethnolinguistic groups[2]. It may be argued that because earlier languages usually influence subsequent languages, particularly at the grammatical (substrate) level[3], Mandinka grammatical influence in Kriul seem contrary to the presence of ~~the~~ Bainuk as the earliest language in the area. However, as the Bainuk were so decimated by other ethnic groups prior to Manding colonisation, their resultant minority status in a larger Manding empire no doubt also reflected the limitations of their language influence[4].

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1. Coelho, F. (1668) in Peres, D. (ed.)1953:31 translated in Boulègue, J. 1972 (b): 13.
2. And, as such, seemingly contrary to the conclusions about the historical stability of the local ethno-linguistic groups. See p. 57 .
3. Dalphinis, M. 1979(b).
4. See pp. 58-60.

MANDINKA

A major scourge to the earlier inhabitants of the Casamance, the Mandinka-speaking Manding contributed greatly to the spread of Islam amongst these politically decentralised peoples.

Using the river basins of the Gambia, the Soungrougrou and the Casamance as convenient paths for their armies, the Manding descended from the Futa-Djalon subjugating, amongst others, the Bainuk:

> ..."le Coran d'une main, le glaive de l'autre, subjugant les Bagnouns idolâtres sur les deux rives de la Casamance du Songrougrou et de la Gambie"[1].

Mandinka oligarchies in the Casamance included the areas of "Boudhié...de Souna, de Balmadou, de Corla, de Firdou, de Pakao et de Yacine"[2].

One of the by-products of the Mandinka presence was the capturing and selling of slaves to meet the demands of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Their oligarchic rule over many of the other ethnic groups greatly aided their acquisition of slaves from amongst the non-Muslim ethnic groups.

The association of Mandinka with the Atlantic slave-trade is one that was recognised by slave traders within the Mandinka-colonised ethnic groups themselves, e.g. the Diamat Dyola were well known for seizing the inhabitants of Ziguinchor and selling them to Mandinka slave traders active in the Fogny area[3].

Amongst the Dyola, this Mandinka skill at slave-trading was also recognised:

> ..."ils [les Dyolas] vendent leurs captifs et leurs enfants aux gens de l'intérieur du pays et plus particulièrement aux Mandingues du Fouta Djalon"[4].

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1. Vallon, A. 1862: 461.
2. Ibid.; p.461.
3. Ibid.; p.467.
4. Bérenger-Féraud, L.J.B. 1879:292; Roche, C. 1976: 43.

It is probably no accident that the Fogny area, as well as being an area from which Mandinka acquired slaves, was also one of the main zones of Mandinka invasion into the Casamance[1]. As so many speakers of African languages other than Mandinka had been under Manding rule it is likely that the influence of Mandinka upon all of them would have been high. Consequently the victims of the Atlantic slave Trade in the Casamance, most probably non-Muslim peoples colonised by the Mandinka, would have had Manding language influences in common[2] prior to their arrival in the Caribbean and the Americas.

This prior potential of Mandinka as a language of communication in the Casamance was historically inherited by Kriul and is reflected in the fact that the highest number of grammatical loans into Kriul, attributable to a specific African language, are from Mandinka[3].

PULAAR SPEAKERS (i.e. FULBE, FULA(NI) OR 'PEUL')

Like the Mandinka, these Muslim invaders brought into the Casamance an idea of their distinctiveness from the people whom they conquered:

> "une race qui s'est conservée pure de toute croisement au milieu des populations parmi lesquelles elle est partout répandue".

Again like the Mandinka the Pulaar speakers in Casamance were socially stratified in terms of freemen and slaves:

> "Les Fula-foro étaint des hommes libres...Les Fula-dion étaient d'origine captive"[4].

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1. Touze, R.L. 1963: 77.
2. And probably often knowledge of Mandinka as a second language. See p. 72 for other possible common language influences.
3. See pt.I, ch.4, pp.132ff.
4. Vallon, A. 1862: 462.

The Pulaar also obtained their 'domestic'[1] slaves from some of the non-Muslim ethnic groups of the Casamance, for example, the Bainuk and Dyola[2].

AFRO-PORTUGUESE (LUSO-AFRICANS)

The Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor and Casamance were a section of an Afro-Portuguese network dispersed in relatively small groups throughout the Senegambia, as well as in other areas on the African continent for example, Congo, Angola, Mozambique, and on some of the off-shore islands, including the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé, etc.

As the name implies, they were a population whose members were the descendants of the mulatto offspring of Portuguese men and African women in West Africa from about the fifteenth century. Their language, Kriul, can be said to be much conditioned by the languages of their ancestors: African mothers speaking African languages, and Portuguese fathers speaking Portuguese.

The predominating influences of the languages of the African mothers, with whom their mulatto offspring spent their early years are likely to be one of the origins of the African language influences evident in present day Kriul.

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1. As in many other African societies, there was a distinction between 'domestic' slaves who could not be sold, unless they committed a crime, and other slaves who could be sold. It is possible that this social differentiation between slaves may have affected the distinction between 'house nigger' and 'field nigger' in the plantation slavery of the Americas. See the relevance of these terms to Martinique and St.Lucia in pt.II, ch. 1, p.383.
2. Roche, C. 1976: 86. See also pt.II, ch.1, p.212 for further details of the Senegambian Pulaar speakers.
~~3. When, according to general linguistic theory, the grammar which the child will make most use of is being formulated.~~

The presence of the Afro-Portuguese mulattoes of Ziguinchor dates back to at least the seventeenth century; by which time very few of the original Portuguese remained:

> "Aucun Portugais métropolitain ne vit a Ziguinchor et leur visite est rare"[1].

The political advantages of the former Portuguese, based on their possession of guns, access to the nearly world-wide Portuguese seaborne empire[2], blood-links with the then politically dominant Manding group[3] and the economic rewards of their participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, were all 'inherited' by the Afro-Portuguese in Senegambia in general, and by those of Ziguinchor in particular.

This inherited access to the rewards of the Atlantic Slave Trade may have formed the background upon which the western part of Ziguinchor, where Lusified grumetes - 'seamen, cabin boys', lived in 1848, was named "Villa-fria" - "free town"[4].

Due to the general absence of European women in Africa at the time, let alone Portuguese women, the Afro-Portuguese followed the footsteps of their Portuguese fathers and had children[5] with African women. As a consequence they lost the distinguishing European colour of their fathers, and though many remained light-brown, the majority were as black or as dark-brown as their African mothers and largely African fathers[6].

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1. Roche, C. 1973: 38.
2. Boxer, C.R. 1969.
3. In the Gambia, for example, according to Jobson, R. (1623):37-38 & Moore, F. 1738: 29 the Portuguese had Mandinka wives, while Mahoney, F. 1974: 30 refers to the fact that "these white Portuguese men lived with Mandinka women and had Mulatto children by them" in the Gambia.
4. Vallon, A. 1862: 466 & Roche, C. 1973: 37.
5. The high death rate amongst the original Portuguese in West Africa, due to their encounters with African diseases e.g. Malaria, no doubt also contributed to the largely African genes of the 'Afro-Portuguese'.
6. Jobson, R. 1623: 37; Roche, C. 1973: 38.

The economic power of the Afro-Portuguese merchants of Ziguinchor[1] was increased during the eighteenth century when:

> "Certains marchands de Ziguinchor achetaient des marchandises à crédit à la compagnie de Cacheu et allaient les échanger en pays manding sur le haut fleuve contre deux ou trois captifs"[2].

This left them not only in possession of many slaves after the end of the Atlantic Slave Trade but, in addition, a politically and economically more advantageous position than that of many of the other ethnic groups in Ziguinchor; for example, in 1860, forty-six years after the official abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade at the international level:

> ..."la soeur du chef du Préside, Rose Carvallo, en possède une centaine[3] [d'esclaves] ".

In fact the economic profit that Ziguinchor's Afro-Portuguese gained by the use of Ziguinchor as a slave-port was reflected by the many slaves remaining in Ziguinchor after the 1814 abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade[4].

Having these economic and political advantages, but being as black as the other Africans, religion and language were the only outlets for any feelings of superiority over the neighbouring peoples, on the part of the Afro-Portuguese. Their Christianity was however often merely nominal, as in the case of certain Afro-Portuguese in the Gambian region:

> ..."estant avec les nègres, ils font sala, et quand ils voient des blancs, ils prennent leur chapelet et font comme eux"[5].

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1. And of other Senegambian Afro-Portuguese; see Boulègue, J. 1972 (a).
2. Roche, C. 1976: 94.
3. Vallon, A. 1862: 466; Roche, C. 1973: 4.
4. Roche, C. 1976: 94.
5. Jajolet de La Courbe: Premier Voyage du Sieur de La Courbe fait à la Coste d'Afrique en 1685 in Cultru, P. (publisher) 1913: 192-193; Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 54.

In other cases it was much intermingled with, if not dominated by, traditional African religious beliefs and customs; for example, a funeral referred to by Alexis de Saint Lo, in the 'Catholic' village of Seraine, was marked by its African religious content:

> "Ils mettent proche la fosse du mort le pot où il a fait cuire son couscous, et l'espace l'un an les plus proches la remplissent de couscous, et mettant du vin du palme ou de l'eau de vie après, disans que c'est pour l'âme du deffunct et de peur qu'elle n'ait faim dans l'autre monde"[1].

The available sources do give a fairly clear indication of the actual language which accompanied the Afro-Portuguese feelings of superiority[2]; Jajolet de La Courbe, for example, refers to "créole" as the language of the Senegambian Afro-Portuguese:

> "certains negres et mulastres [sic.] qui se disent Portugais... outre la langue du pays, parlent encore un certain jargon qui n'a que très peu de ressemblance a la langue portugaise, et qu'on nomme langue créole"[3]....

while Père Alexis Saint-Lo, referring to the language of communication used in Joal, indicated that 'Portuguese' was the language of the resident Afro-Portuguese:

> "presque tous les Nègres de ce port parlent Portugais"[4] (1637).

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1. Alexis de Saint Lo 1637: 110-111; Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 53. I observed a similar custom in Banjul in 1977, practised by the Aku family I lived with. Food was sent out to all the relatives of the deceased and some food was also placed in a hole in the ground for the deceased. This took place annually on the day the deceased died. Cf. Afro-Catholic Syncreticsm in St. Lucia, Dalphinis, M. 1977 (b).
2. They would get angry, for example, if called 'Blacks'. See Moore, F. 1738: 29.
3. Jajolet de La Courbe, M. (1686) in Cultru, P. (publisher) 1913: 192.
4. Alexis de Saint-Lo 1637: 125-126; Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 49.

It may well be that an early form of creole had developed in Senegambia within the half-century following Saint-Lo's comment and that the "Portuguese" languages referred to by him was already the pidginized form of Portuguese developed as a trading language between the Portuguese and the indigenous peoples in many areas in Senegambia and along the Western African coast. The early "creole" referred to by Jajolet de La Courbe in 1686 was also referred to earlier in 1666 in Rufisque, Senegal:

> "Tous tant hommes que femmes parlent un Portugais corrompu"[1]

However, as the end of Portuguese power and influence in Senegambia dated from late 16th and early 17th centuries,[2] it is likely that a fully developed Kriul grammatical system serving as the base for a language of wider communication would have to await the early eighteenth century[3]. By ~~which~~ this time the mulatto children of the former Portuguese had not only developed Kriul as their mother tongue[4] but had also acquired the political and economic influence of their Portuguese fathers and grandfathers, enabling them to make Kriul a language of external prestige[5].

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1. Vaillant de Ballefond (1666,1667) 1669: 59, Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 49.
2. Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 16.
3. See Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 49.
4. Hancock, L.F. 1971: 651-652 suggests that much calquing of Africanisms in the American and Caribean Creoles took place between the slaves born on the plantation communicating with their parents who were born in West Africa. As calquing was a very productive source of the grammar and lexicon of the American and Caribean creoles, it is likely that the similar social context available ~~to~~ for the development of Kriul in Africa would produce similar calquing between Portuguese mulatto infants and their African mothers.
5. Note however that as non-speakers of Portuguese, Kriul and African language speakers may well have confused the identity and hence prestige of Kriul with that of Portuguese. Cf. ~~Sierra~~ second language ~~Loono~~ Krio speakers who still confuse the identity and prestige of Krio with that of English.

Any theory of relexification[1] referring to seventeenth century Portuguese creole as the major source language of all the Caribean Creoles would necessarily be referring to an early form of Kriul whose grammatical structures were modelled mainly on local African languages[2], especially Mandinka.

This general development of Kriul from 'pidgin' Portuguese in Senegambia is also reflected in the historical development of Kriul in Ziguinchor. The early development of Ziguinchor as a Portuguese trading centre amongst the Bainuk presupposes the use of a pidgin influenced by both parties:

> ..."les Bagnouns traffiquent avec les Portugais auxquels ils sont habitués depuis trois siècles"[3].

The prior decimation of the Bainuk by Mandinka and Balanta, especially on the southern banks of the Casamance[4], made the Mandingized Bainuk likely ~~'assimilados' to~~ assimilators of Portuguese culture in Ziguinchor. Their possible influence especially as they, like the Mandinka, were also likely mothers of the Afro-Portuguese, would underline their possible influence upon such a 'pidgin' Portuguese.

They shared with the Dyola the trade in rice[5] with the Portuguese of Ziguinchor as well as the position of courtiers to the Ziguinchor Portuguese:

> ..."le riz des Feloupes et des Bagnoungs, au courtage onéreux des Portugais qui ont à peu près le monopole de cette traite"[6].

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1. See pp. 48&49 for a discussion of relexification in all three creoles.
2. Alsopp, R. 1976.
3. Valentin Fernandes (1506-1510) in Monod, Th., Teixeira da Mota, A. and Mauny, R. 1951: 59; Vallon , A. 1862: 764.
4. See p. 58.
5. The Dyola skill in rice growing is still important in Casamance today.
6. Vallon, A. 1862: 465.

As such the Dyola, like the Bainuk, are likely to have had an influence upon the development of Portuguese pidgin at least as a trade jargon, if the Dyola, again like ~~the~~ many of the Bainuk, were also mothers of the Afro-Portuguese.

The Bainuk, however, seem to have been the most apparent early allies of the Ziguinchor Portuguese:

> "L'établissement de Ziguinchor date de 1645; les Portugais qui le fondèrent habitaient déjà depuis près d'un siècle ches les Bagnouns de Fogni, dans les environs de Djami"[1].

The economic power of the Afro-Portuguese in Ziguinchor made them prone to the traditional African practice of domestic servitude. Poorer 'relatives' would attach themselves to the Afro-Portuguese as servants as a means of earning a living as well as of gaining prestige[2] in the eyes of people and ethnic groups having no such close contact with the then very powerful Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor.

This practice probably led to a Lusification of non-Afro-Portuguese peoples, families and individuals, and with this the spread of Kriul as a second language, influenced by the African first languages of its speakers.

Mr. Bernard Arcens (K 24) alluded to Lusification of Dyola and Bainuk names in Ziguinchor due to a past of servitude to the Afro-Portuguese:

> "...La plupart prenaient le nom du maître, sentaient qu'il est du sang Européen...dans les veins c'est pour ça que vous voyez ces populations, vous avez un bonhomme qui s'appelle Gomez alors qu'il n'a rien du sang Européen vous voyez..."[3]

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1. Vallon, A. 1862: 465.
2. This search for prestige as well as survival by an ethnic group through attachment to European and/or Europeanised peoples in Africa is one paralleled in the history of other coastal ethnic groups in West Africa, for example, the Bullom/Sherbro in Sierra Leone, the Vai and De in Liberia, the Mpongwe in Gabon, the Gã in Ghana and the Efik in Nigeria. Dalby, D. , personal communication S.O.A.S. 1978. Given the political alternatives of being further decimated by surrounding larger and more powerful African ethnic groups, and becoming allies of the increasingly powerful Europeans, the above groups, like the Bainuk, chose the latter alternative.
3. Mr. Bernard Arcens (K 24), a Kriul-speaker, acknowledged by Roche, C. (1976-preface) as a valuable informant, a view with which I fully concur on the basis of my own discussions with him.

This attachment, as servants to the Afro-Portuguese, may well have had motivations other then social prestige; for example to avoid being sold as a slave:

> "...et un bonhomme faissait il...cadeau d'un enfant... souvent c'est parce que celui...il prefere donne ça a monsieur Gomez comme ça il ne sera pas pris par les voleurs... pour aller le vendre"[1]

This Lusification of Africans within the sphere of influence of the Afro-Portuguese, often as 'house slaves', may well be the reason for the presence of some words of Portuguese origin in the Caribbean creoles, e.g.: Patwa kaz <Port. casa- 'house' and J.C. pikni - '(small)child' <Port. "pequenho, 'small' "[2]

However, as domestic slaves were not often sold, it is unlikely that a large number of such linguistically Lusified slaves would have been exported ~~to~~ to the Caribbean, as envisaged by the relexification thesis[3]. The Bainuk victims of Balanta genocide and of Dyola and Manding colonialism, with the Dyola victims of Manding colonialism[4], who did not subsequently become domestic servants either ~~to~~ of their Manding conquerors or of the Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese, are likely to have been exported[5] in greater number to the Caribbean. They would not have had the amount of exposure to Kriul to have become linguistically Lusified, and, if they had become speakers of Kriul, their economic viability as integrated servants in Luso-African society would possibly surpass their cash value if sold to the Caribbean plantations. Dyola enterprise in stealing some of these Lusified inhabitants of Ziguinchor, to be exported as slaves via Manding middlemen[6], may nevertheless have accounted for a few linguistically Lusified slaves sold to the Caribbean from Casamance. However, their numbers would

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1. See p. 74 fn. 3.
2. Hancock, I.F. 1971: 210.
3. I.e. as described by Hancock, I.F. 1971: 24-25, rather than in the definition of linguistic vocabulary on p. 48&49.
4. See pp. 58&66.
5. See p. 76.
6. See p. 66.

be low indeed when compared with the vast numbers available from defeated ethnic groups under the Manding whose social structure was maintained by a continual aquisition of slaves, both for internal consumption and for export[1]. This, coupled with the vast numbers of Bambara slaves[2] under the Manding also available for export, makes it is likely that these, the slaves of the Manding empire, had a more profound effect upon the early development of the Caribbean creoles, than any semi-Lusified slaves speaking some pidgin Portuguese[3].

It is possibly this distinction between fully-Lusified domestic servants living in "Villafria", close to their Afro-Portuguese masters, and semi-and non-Lusified peoples living in "Tabouska", which gave rise to one occasion of social conflict between the two groups which resulted in nine deaths[4]. Such conflicts would in fact only reflect a social structure which the Afro-Portuguese seem to have copied from many of the previously dominant African ethnic groups, in fact, in the same way that Islam had given the Mandinka a mandate on the formation of a slave-based social order, the Afro-Portuguese perfected the earlier mandate of their fathers:

> "En 1445 une bulle papale autorisait le Portugal à réduire en esclavage tous les peuples infidèles[5]".
>
> "Pendant longtemps les Portugais ont fait la traite des noirs à Ziguinchor[6]".

1.See pp. 66 & 67.
2.Speaking a Manding language interintelligible with Mandinka.
3.See p. 75.
4.Vallon, A. 1862: 466.
5.Andrade, E. 1973: 13.
6.Vallon, A. 1862: 467.

Whatever the Luso-African motivations for the acquisition of slaves, however, some element of opportunism on the part of Lusified slaves may have accounted for some increase of 'Afro-Portuguese' numbers. It is likely that Lusified domestic slaves, associated with the then influential Portuguese as indirect blood relatives and by language, would not have used this association as a means of proclaiming themselves to be indeed "Afro-Portuguese", at least to non-Lusified peoples. Their earlier servitude to the Portuguese may well have been merely a training in Afro-Portuguese culture which they then used as a means of entering the historically subsequent Afro-Portuguese dominated economy, especially on the death of their former masters, e.g. in the village of Seraine:

> "Le village où nous étions est composé de Negres et de mulâtres tous catholiques, qui ayans été vendus aux Portugais les ont fait instruire et baptiser, et puis ont été affranchis après la mort de leur maîtres"[1].

Those who were Afro-Portuguese by blood seem more likely sources of the many Portuguese linguistic items in Kriul due to their greater exposure to the language of their Portuguese fathers. The African languages' influences of their mothers are, however, likely to have had an even greater effect upon their language development[2].

The basically African cultural context which surrounded the former Portuguese, their estrangement from Portugal, and their small numbers, facilitated the influence of African languages upon the development of Kriul[3].

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1. Alexis de Saint-Lo, 1637: 106-107; Boulègue, J. 1972: 13-14.
2. See p. 72 fn. 4 .
3. Cf. Alleyne, M. in Hymes, D. 1971: 169-186, on the importance of the African dominated cultural context of early Caribbean society and the resultant Africanisms in the Caribbean creoles. See also Allsopp, R. 1976, who uses the same argument to indicate the highly Africanised linguistic structure of early Portuguese pidgin in Western Africa.

It is most probably their overriding affiliations to the African cultural context which made many European travellers doubtful if the early Portuguese "Lancados"[1] had anything to do with European culture even on the superficial level of colour; for example Francis Moore:

> ..."the Portuguese ... some of that Nation settled in it, who have inhabited with the Mundingoes, [sic.] till they are now very near as Black as they are"[2].

Doubt concerning their affiliation to European culture was evident also in the comments about their language[3].

Whatever variety of Kriul was spoken by some of the slave exports to the Caribbean and the Americas, it is evident that the role of Kriul as a language of communication in Ziguinchor specifically, and in the Senegambia generally, could only have been maximised within the context of the Atlantic Slave Trade, dominated as it was by Kriul-speaking Afro-Portuguese, their Kriul-speaking domestic slaves and by dominant African groups such as the Mandinka with whom many of the Afro-Portuguese had both blood[4] and trading links mutually beneficial to the economic interests of both in the Atlantic Slave Trade.

The economic base of slavery contributed to the high amount of political power at the disposal of the Afro-Portuguese during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries througout the Senegambia. In Ziguinchor, for example, one of the early governors was Afro-Portuguese:

> "Le gouverneur actuel de Ziguinchor, Francisco Carvalho, est un noir instruit et ferme..."[5]

1.Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 5.
2.Moore, F. 1738: 29; Boulègue, J. 1972 (a): 12.
3.See p. 77 .
4.Moore, F. 1738: 29.
5.Vallon, A. 1862: 466.
Note that the present (1977) mayor of Ziguinchor is also called Carvalho and is also of Afro-Portuguese descent.

Although the early eighteenth century saw the solidification of past Afro-Portuguese economic and political enterprise, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw, in Ziguinchor at any rate, the beginning of its decline. Like all decline it had its roots in the very origins and structure of the edifice. Early Portuguese colonial power in Africa had few European competitors either for slaves or gold[1]. Subsequently, however, a weakening of Portuguese links with Afro-Portuguese during the Pombaline dictatorship of 1755-1777, war with France in 1807, the loss of Brazil in 1822 and the industrial revolution[2] made Portugal a weak political competitor both in Europe and in Africa in the face an increasing English and French encroachment upon Portugal's African territories.

It was the Afro-Portuguese who were left to defend Portuguese territorial rights, but with limited help from a weakened Portuguese metropole.

Such was the political turmoil confronting Honorio Pereira Barreto, the Afro-Portuguese army commander in Portuguese Guinea between 1839-1859 (Guinea Bissau) which then included Ziguinchor. Though based in Portuguese Guinea, it was his responsibility to keep Ziguinchor Portuguese in the wake of French encroachments upon Portuguese territories as a whole; as Barreto himself indicates:

> ..."as Francezes do Senegal tinahm continuado no seu sistema de invasão das nosas Possessões da Costa da Guiné"[3] ('the French of Senegal had continued to systematically invade our possessions on the coast of Guinea'.)

He describes, with military awareness, the potential use of Ziguinchor by the French as a point of departure for the possible invasion of Portuguese Guinea:

> ..."a Zeguichor occupar o ponto que eu julgava elles ambicionavão em Casamança: dizia-se que era um ponto denominado"[4]... ('Ziguinchor occupies a point which I

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1. Boxer, C. 1969.
2. Ibid.; pp. 194-203.
3. Barreto, H.P. (1839-1859) in Walter, J. 1947 document no.12 p.77.
4. Ibid.; document no.45, p.148. (Translations by Miss Linda Haywood, postgraduate, Dept. of History, Univ. of Columbia).

judged that they (the French) would have ambitions on in Casamance.It is said that this point was well known for this purpose'.)

Barreto's efforts were however unsuccessful,as he himself indicates with despair, due to the lack of support, military or otherwise, from Portugal, while the 'enemy' suffered from no such lack of coordination:

"Sans l'appui de mon gouvernement, ce qui me croire comme certain ce qu'en 1849 me disait l'actuel chef de Carabane, (Bertrand-Bocandé) qu'il était inutile d'écrire au gouvernement portugais sur les insultes que nous recevions en Casamance, je confesse à Votre Excellence, avec franchise que mille fois j'ai été découragé dans cette lutte de ma petite personne contre les autorités françaises de Gorée et du Sénégal, soutenues par leur gouvernement"[1].

Indeed,French incursion followed the pattern that Barreto foresaw, but where it lacked the use of arms that a military man like Barreto imagined, it was marked by all the patience and subtlety of a stronger adversary.

The 'Portuguese' protested at such French incursions into their territory, for example, the protest made to the governor of Senegal in 1861:

..."pour protester solemnellement contre l'occupation par la France de la pointe Barella (entrée de la rivière Cachéo) ou de tout autre point de la Guiné Portugaise soumis à la couronne et la domination du Portugal"[2].

The French however, could afford to react with confidence, as demostrated in the reply of the Governor of Senegal:

"Il me parait difficile d'admettre que le Gouvernement Portugais puisse percevoir des droits dans les pays où il n'exerce aucune espèce d'autorité, où il est par suite dans l'impuissance de rendre la justice"[3].

1.Roche, C. 1976: 71, a translation by Roche of Barreto, H.P. document no.51 in Walter, J. (ed.) 1947: 168.
2.National Archives, Dakar, document no.2F3 piece no.1 p.1.
3. Idem.

Barreto, however, did not live long enough to see the whole of his 'nightmare' come true. The Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor and their descendants were left to resolve the identity crisis that gradually seeped into their lives with the patient attempts by the French to gain a foothold there. The French wish to have a trading station (comptoir) near to those of the Ziguinchor Afro-Portuguese, for example, was replied to in a manner that put into question any wish to make Ziguinchor French:

> "L'installation des comptoirs ayant vivement mécontenté les noirs portugais [sic.], ils furent soupçonnés d'avoir empoisonné les deux français[1] [sic.]".

Other Afro-Portuguese made their hostility felt in more military terms; 'Portuguese'[2] soldiers for example are alluded to in Ziguinchor and in other parts of the Casamance that the French believed to belong to themselves:

> "Je lui demandais alors s'il était vrai que des soldats portugais [furent] envoyés par le chef du préside de Ziguinchor..."[3] (1879), "Pendant mon séjour devant Adéane...j'ai vu... un homme portant l'uniforme des troupes portugaises"...[4] (1879).

The mission of these soldiers though unspecified in the above cases seems in the following case to be one of inciting the people of Sedhiou (see map above) to give their allegiance to Portugal:

> "Son père étant le premier indigène de Sidhiou qui y ont reçu les français...Il m'a dit...des soldats portugais étaient venus lui apporter un papier...si son village était portugais; mais il leur avait rendu leur papier en leur disant qu'il était français"[5]. (1879).

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1. Roche, C. 1976:101, referring to two murdered French traders.
2. Probably Afro-Portuguese soldiers.
3. National Archives, Dakar, document no. 2 F4, piece no.13, p.5.
4. Ibid.; piece no.32, p.1 written on 8th Feb. 1879 to the Commander of Ziguinchor by Capt. C.E. Boilève, at that date Director of Political Affairs in Senegal; see Hargreaves, J.D. 1963: 219-212.
5. Ibid.; piece no.13, p.6.

Some Afro-Portuguese were however more confused than annoyed by the advent of a French influence which threatened their previous economic dominance in Ziguinchor and other parts of the Casamance; the reactions of a Mr.Fabrice Venda may well have been typical of many other Afro-Portuguese:

> "lui était portugais...son père..avait payé 900 gourdes aux chefs du pays pour l'achat du territoire qu'il occupe.Je lui fis observer que si son père,un portugais, avait acheté un terrain aux chefs du pays, ces mêmes chefs avaient passé avec la France des traités qui mettaient tout leur pays sous sa suzerainete"[1].(1879)

With the Franco-Portuguese Convention of 12th.May 1886, which specified the delimitation of French possessions in West Africa[2], the French resorted to legislative means to demonstrate the legality of the claims of France to a mainly Afro-Portuguese controlled Ziguinchor, which had made its anti-French feelings quite clear; for example a Monsieur Laglaise who had mounted the French flag in 1884 was promptly arrested for his French zeal:

> "Le chef du préside de Ziguinchor fait arrêter Monsieur Laglaise pour avoir insulté les couleurs portugaises"[3].

It was in the hope of including the Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor into Senegal, by legislative means, and by implication France, that a French Commissaire sought to install:

> "un representant du govt.français à Ziguinchor ~~et ai-~~...[a] délégé des pouvoirs à Mr.Galibert..."[4]. (1889)

But even when legislation did obtain one desired result, namely the end of the Portuguese inspired position of "presidio", as well as its Afro-Portuguese occupant, the French authorities remained unhappy with the acquisition of Ziguinchor; for example, in a rough draft of a letter from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to the count of Valbon, Portuguese ambassador to France, the former expresses this unhappiness most bitterly:

1.National Archiéves, Dakar, document no.2F4,piece no.13,p.5.
2.National Archiéves, Dakar, document no.2F4,piece no.35,p.1.
3.Roche, C. 1973: 42.
4.National Archiéves, Dakar, document no.2F3,piece no.39,p.2.

..."nous avons obtenu l'abandon du présidio de Ziguinchor !

Véritablement peut-on mettre ce présidio en balance avec ce que nous avons abandonné? Sans commerce, sans industrie, sans aucune sorte de ressource, sans produit financier, sans autorité, sans influence même sur le voisinage immediat, tel était, tel serait encore Zeguinchor sans domination Portugaise, enclave au milieu de nos possessions de Casamance"[1] (1888)

It is a bitterness which is expressed in part by the governor of Senegal (L.E.Clément-Thomas) writing to the navy minister about Ziguinchor:

"Si Ziguinchor nous gênait un peu, en revanche sa situation était devenue intorable ce qui diminue notablement la largeur du sacrifice consent en notre faveur"[2]. (1889)

From the point of view of the Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor their political separation from other Afro-Portuguese in Guinea Bissau, with whom they shared the same culture as well as language(s), had been a point of hostility between themselves and the French[3], and solidified their view of themselves firstly as Afro-Portuguese and only then, possibly, French[4].

With the increasing exposure to French that the nineteenth century provided, it is surprising that this past (and present) potential for a relexification of Portuguese lexical items to French ~~in Kriul~~ is not markedly evident in present day Kriul.

1.National Archives, Dakar, document no.2F4, piece no.44, p.2.
2.Ibid.; document no.2F4, piece no.47, p.7.
3.See p. 80 .This past hostility to the French is possibly the cause of the present view of the northern Senegalese Wolof as 'French people' by the Ziguinchor Afro-Portuguese, as they were the earliest representatives of French administration, not only in Casamance but in West Africa generally.
4.See p. 84 .

It may well be that the cultural context[1] which distinguished societies in which creole languages were formed was no longer there; the need for a language of communication, the prestige value of the metropolitan language, none of these were then of predominant importance[2]. If anything, French was the language of a foreign group with whom contact was not that much desired. A new and autonomous culture and language had been created, and the Kriul speaking Afro-Portuguese did not have any particular need for another, let alone French and its speakers[3].

The resultant political self-isolation of Kriul and its speakers, coupled with Kriul's established prestige as the language of a traditional élite group in whose spheres of influence the other ethnic groups operated, has aided the perpetuation of Kriul as a second language of local communication and as a first language linking the Ziguinchor Creoles to a larger Kriul-speaking neighbour-Guinea Bissau[4].

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1. See p. 77.
2. As they were to the earlier formation of Kriul, Krio and Patwa.
3. The high number of monolingual Patwa speakers in Saint Lucia, especially among the older generation, as well as the use of English as a 'foreign' language by most Saint Lucian bilinguals, of the younger generation, i.e. as a language of education but not of empathy, nor friendliness, nor of belonging, may well have roots in a similar history. Saint Lucia, like Ziguinchor, was till the nineteenth century under the cultural influences of peoples other than those to whom they are at present politically affiliated. In the case of St.Lucia it was a French influence broken after about 400 years when St.Lucia became politically British, but remained culturally Afro-French.
4. The closeness of a larger Kriul-speaking area in Guinea Bissau (where Kriul is also used as a language of inter-ethnic communication) and the continued external prestige of Kriul has probably contributed to its greater stability, its relative non-relexification and non-decreolization in comparison with a relexifying Patwa and a decreolising Krio. See pt.III, ch.2, p.450; pt. II, ch.2, pp.236ff.

Kriul has remained, therefore, with the Catholic religion, one of the most lasting markers of the Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor, as a distinct ethnic group.

It is an ethnic group, however, which right up to the end of the nineteenth century remained hostile to the claims of France:

> "Les mulâtres appréhendent... arrivée d'un administrateur Français...sont résolus à leur faire sentir toute leur hostilité".[1] (1888)

With the present-day availability of a French-based education system to an increasing number of people, coupled with the expansion of Wolof within the Casamance, it is mainly Kriul's past as a language of prestige, wider communication and above all as the mother tongue of the Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor, which aids its perpetuation in the Francophone and Wolofised language milieu of Senegal[2].

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1. Roche, C. 1973: 50.
2. See pt.I, ch.3, p.126.

PART I

CHAPTER 2: A SYNCHRONIC OUTLINE OF CASAMANCE KRIUL

This brief outline based on my corpus[1] is of Ziguinchor Kriul as opposed to Kriul varieties in Guinea Bissau[2] and elsewhere. Wilson suggests that Ziguinchor Kriul is a dialect of Guinea Bissau Kriul, differing from the latter mainly in its French loan words[3]. Differences between Bissau Kriul and Ziguinchor creole on other than the lexical level, not described by Wilson, are briefly outlined in this chapter.

PHONOLOGY

Consonants:

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	DENTAL & ALVEOLAR	ALVEOLO - PALATAL	VELAR
PLOSIVE	p b		t d	c j[4]	k g
NASAL	m		n	ny	ng[4]
LATERAL (non-fricative)			l		
ROLLED			r		
FRICATIVE		f (v)[5]	s (z)[5]		
FRICTIONLESS CONTINUANTS					
SEMI-VOWELS	w			y	

1. See pp. 9-12.
2. This variety has received much attention from scholars including Bull, B.P. 1975; Wilson, W.A.A. 1962 and Dalphinis, M. 1977 (a).
3. Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: vii.
4. See notes on orthography on p. 51.
5. Discussed on p. 87.

Notes on Consonants:

(a) Rolled

r has the allophones [r̆], (i.e. fricative trill), [R] (i.e. uvular). [r] is used most frequently in the speech of all speakers both initially and medially, e.g.: [rapa] rapa - 'to shave', and [kore] kore - 'to run'. [R] is similarly used and reflects French phonological influences in the speech of younger 'educated' speakers.

(b) Nasals

Final nasals and morphemes (e.g. 1st sing. subject pronoun) which never occur finally are homorganic with the initial consonant of the following morpheme and are transcribed consistently as n. Utterance - finally nasals may be realised as m, n, ng and are transcribed accordingly.

(c) Fricatives

v and z occur mainly in French loans, e.g.: valiz - 'suitcase' and kwizinya - 'to cook', and v also are hypercorrected Portuguese[1] (see below).

(d) Free variants

b ~ v , e.g.: bindidɔr ~ vindidɔr - 'salesman'. This alternation occurs mainly in the speech of speakers not having links with Guinea Bissau but who want to hypercorrect their Kriul → Portuguese. Otherwise Portuguese v → b in all Kriul items, e.g.:

bai <Port. vai - 'to go',
labanta <Port. lavanta - 'to get up'

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1. Speakers having strong links with Portuguese-speaking relatives in Guinea Bissau, e.g.: K3, K7 and K6, made a greater use of such items reflecting more recent borrowing from Portuguese. By contrast, speakers with no such links made more use of such French loans, e.g.: K14 and K17.

Vowels:[1]

FRONT	i,	e,	ɛ,	a
BACK	u,	o,	ɔ	

Notes on Vowels:

(a) vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic as a marker of emphasis, e.g.:

no mangus graandi - 'Our hands are very large'
"our hand pl. large "
Emph.

(b) Stress and vowel length

Stress can be combined with vowel lengthening used as a marker of emphasis, e.g.:

si kabesa gráandi ,tonally [gráà̰di]
"his/her head big
Emph.

-'Her head is very big'

---

1. All Kriul oral vowels have nasalised varieties which may occur when a nasal consonant follows, e.g.: [nũnde] nunde -'where', tãma - 'to take' and [mɔ̃nʧta] montia - 'to hunt'. Nasalisation is regressive; cf. e.g.: [mata] mata -'to kill' and [nobu] nobu - 'new' where there is no progressive nasalisation. Cf. K.nã - Emph. an exception to this regressive nasalisation rule. See p. 108 .

MORPHOLOGY[1]

Like the other creoles, Casamance Kriul makes very little use of morphology. Grammatical relationships are mainly indicated at the syntatic level, at which most of the creole/African grammatical features[2] selected for special investigation in this thesis are discussed.

Nouns:

All nouns end in a vowel or r and are uninflected except in the plural, when the noun stem is followed by the pl. suffixes s ~ us, as follows: NOUN STEM + V + s ~ NOUN STEM + Vr + us, e.g.:

ɔmi (sing.) - 'man' → mis (pl.) - 'men'
kacur (sing.) - 'dog' → kacurus (pl.) - 'dogs'
minjɛr (sing.) - 'woman', 'wife' → minjɛrus (pl.) - 'women', 'wives'.

Pronouns:

Subject, ~~possesive and disjunctive~~ pronouns precede the verb and object pronouns follow the verb.

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1. Grammatical relationships at the word level as opposed to those at sentence level (i.e. syntax). Robins, R.H. 1964:190. This definition is adopted throughout this thesis.
2. See pp. 16-21.

Subject

	1	2	3
SINGULAR	n	bu	i
PLURAL	n - no	bo[1]	ɛ

e.g.: n na bai kasa - 'We are going home'
"I Prog. go house"

bo na yanda - 'You are walking'
"you (pl.) Prog. walk"

Notes on Subject Pronouns:

(a) Different forms for the 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl.(feature 11)

Like Krio, Patwa and many African (non-Creole) languages Kriul has a different form for the 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl.[2]

(b) Non-differentiation of the pronoun with respect to gender in the 3rd. sing. (feature 12)

Like Krio and Patwa and many African languages, Kriul does not differentiate the 3rd. sing. on the basis of gender, e.g.: i na durmi - 'He/She is sleeping'
"(s)he Prog. sleep"

1.Cf. Guinea Kriul bɔs - 2nd. pl.; see Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: 17.

2.Portuguese and French also have this distinction but, unlike the above, the distinction is made (mainly) on the basis of familiarity/non-familiarity with the hearer. There is also a singularity/plurality distinction between the use of the Portuguese and French pronouns for 2nd. person but as argued in Brown and Gillman the familiar/non-familiar difference is the most important one. See Brown, R. and Gillman, A. in Giglioli, P.P. (ed.) 1972.

Possessive

They have the same form as the subject pronouns except for 1st. sing. n: possessive nya ~ na and 3rd. sing. pl. i: possessive si e.g.:

nya kamarada - 'my friend'
na bariga - 'my belly'
si buru - 'his/her donkey'

Pronominal possession is ~~usually~~ indicated by placing a possessive pronoun before a 'possessed' noun ~~as well as by~~ in contrast to the use of the genitive link di between nouns e.g.: buru di Pɔlin - 'Pauline's donkey'
"donkey G.L. Pauline"

Disjunctive

	1	2	3
SINGULAR	ami	abɔ	ɛl
PLURAL	anɔs	abɔs	ɛlis

Notes on the Disjunctive Pronoun:

(a) The disjunctive pronoun is frequently used after the 3rd. sing. subject pronoun i .

For example: i abɔs - 'It is you'
"it you (pl.)

(b) In the speech of some speakers, the element: a is suppressed[1] in the 1st. and 2nd. (pl. and sing.) forms of the disjunctive pronoun when i proceeds.

For example: i mi - 'It is me'
"it me"

---

1. It may well be that a is a remnant of an older Kriul stabiliser na which is still used as such in Krio, e.g.: na mi - 'It is me'
"Stab. me"
but is now used as a locative preposition in Kriul; see p.97.

(c) The disjunctive pronoun is also used before a following relative clause to mark emphasis[1].

Object

	1	2	3		
SINGULAR	m	bu	l		
PLURAL	nɔs	bɔs	ɛlus	~	ɛlis[2]

e.g.: i suta l - 'He attacked her'
"(s)he attack him/her"

i kumpra l - 'He/She bought it'
"(s)he buy it "

ɛ kumpra ɛlus - 'They bought them'
"they buy them"

The object pronouns can be used as both direct and indirect objects (see below.)

Verbs:

Uninflected except in the causative and when used with the passive participle: see (c) and (d) below (respectively): The verb-stem precedes a post-verbal marker (see below) and follows the subject pronoun and pre-verbal aspect markers (see below).

1.Described on p. *108* .
2.Cf. Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: 17, who gives the object pronoun forms: -u ~ w (2nd. pl.) and ɛlis (3rd. pl.) as the most commonly used forms in Guinea-B.'ssau Kriul.

Notes on the Verb:

(a) Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns are of the same form as the verb stem. Their use is indicated at the syntatic level[1].

(b) Imperative

The imperative consists of the verbal stem only, in both 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl. e.g.:

bing! - '(You (sing./pl.)) come! '
kume! - '(You (sing./pl.)) eat! '

(c) Causative[2]

Causative forms of the verb are formed by adding the suffix-nti to the verb stem, e.g.:

i	disinti	mala
"(s)he	descend + Caus.	suitcase"
-'He/She	took the suitcase	down'

cf.

i	na	disi	mɔtanyə
"(s)he	Prog.	descend	hill "
-'He	is	coming down the	hill'

Although the usual form of the causative suffix is nti[3], the form nda also occurs:

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1. See p. /// .
2. nti is to be treated as a suffix and not as a following marker, as reflected in the consistent penultimate stress on both the verb stem and the extended causative.
3. The usual form in Guinea Bissau Kriul is nta with the alternants nti and nda, the latter occuring where the final consonant of the verb stem is t. Wilson, W.A.A.1962:20.

VERB STEM	CAUSATIVE
kai - 'to fall'	kaiɛnti - 'to cause to fall'
intindi - 'to understand'	intindinti - 'to make understand'
ba <Fr. bas - 'to be low'	basɛnti - 'to make low'
sinta - 'to sit'	sintanda (sitanda) - 'to cause to sit'

(d) Passive Participle

Passive participles can be formed from transitive verb stems by the addition of the suffix du to the verb stem, e.g.:

VERB STEM	PASSIVE PARTICIPLE
suta - 'to attack'	sutadu - 'attacked'
mata - 'to kill'	matadu - 'killed'

Adjective (attributive/predicative):

Most adjectives end in -tu. Attributive adjectives follow the noun, e.g.:

bajuda bɔnitu - 'a beautiful girl'
"girl beautiful"

Predicative adjectives can follow a subject pronoun or a noun used as a subject, e.g.:

i bɔnitu - 'She is beautiful'
"(s)he beautigul/handsome"

ɔmi brutu - 'The man is stupid'
"man stupid"

Adverbs:

Adverbs may be used to indicate time, manner, place and quantity etc.

Notes on Adverbs:

(a) Time

gosing - 'now', awosi - 'today', amanya - 'tomorrow', utrudiya - 'day before yesterday', a...ɔra - 'at....time' kada - 'any' ....etc. ....

gosing - 'now', e.g.:

n na bai gosing - 'I am going now'
"I Prog. go now"

awosi - 'today', e.g.:

awosi n na mɔntia - 'Today I am hunting'
"today I Prog. hunt"

(b) Manner

diritu - 'well', 'properly', mal - 'badly', etc. ..e.g.:

i papiya diritu - 'He/She spoke well'
"(s)he speak well"

(c) Place

nunde - 'place', environment around the speaker[1], and also including the demonstrative adverbs li and la indicating, respectively, proximity and distance from the speaker .

For example: ɛ bai nunde ɛrik or ɛ bai li (or la)

"they go place Eric" "they go here (or there)"

-' They went to Eric's (home/place)' or 'They go here (or there)'

The demonstratives li or la may also be suffixed to nouns, e.g.:

wɔmi li - 'This man (here)'

"man here"

wɔmi la - 'That man (over there)'[2]

"man there"

(d) Quantity

ciu - 'many', 'a lot', nada - 'nothing',

uníku <Port. único/ca, ~ sɔng[3] - 'only', e.g.:

si sɔng trabayu

"his/her only work"

si uniku trabayu both meaning,

"his/her only work"

-'His/Her only work'

---

1. Note also the other locative marker on p. 97 .
2. Cf. Krio de and ya also indicating proximity and distance, respectively; see pt.II, ch.2, p.244 . Cf. also the influences of Fr. celui + ci/la and Wol. N +Ci -Ca, similarly used to indicate proximity and distance (respectively, where C= noun-class. See Dalphinis, M. 1979: (a) 4 & 8.
3. Cf. the focaliser sɔng ; see p. 105 .

(e) Augmentative

dimas - 'very much', tudu - 'totally', e.g.:

i	tristu	tudu	- 'He/She is extremely sad'
"(s)he	sad	Aug."	

wɔmi	brutu	diamas	- 'The man is extremely stupid'
"man	stupid	Aug."	

(f) Relational

sɔng - 'alone', 'only', e.g.:

wɔmi	misti	kɔbrə	sɔng
"man	want	money	only (Adv.)

-'The man wanted money only'

When used as an adverb, sɔng is phrase final.[1]

Prepositions:

These include the locative and associative prepositions na and ku (respectively) e.g.:

i	sta	na	si	kasa
"(s)he	Loc.Vrb.	Loc.(Prep.)	his/her	house"

-'He/She is in his/her house'

na is homophonous with the progressive marker.[2]

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1. Cf. the use of sɔng - focaliser & sɔng - adverb on p. 105.
2. See p. 101. Cf. Krio where de used as a locative verb and de used as the progressive marker are likewise homophonous and where na as a locative preposition and na as stabiliser are homophonous. See pt.II, ch.2, pp. 242 & 244.

Note also the associative preposition: ku[1] - 'and/with', which can link two nouns, e.g.:

wɔmi ku si parɛntis
"man Assoc.Prep. his relatives"
-'The man and his relatives'.

ku is also used to introduce an indirect noun object, e.g.:

n na papya ku bajuda
"I Prog. speak Assoc.Prep. the girl"
-'I am speaking with the girl'
but not* n na papya di bajuda

Conjunctions:

Conjunctions include di Fr. de - 'and' e.g.:

John di Eric - 'John and Eric'
"John and Eric"

1.Cf. ku - pl. prefix in Dyola in pt.I, ch.6, p. 176 .
Cf. also Wol. ak - 'and/with' Patwa ɛk - 'and'.
See pt.III, ch.5, p. 498 .

Reduplication:[1]

Although all Kriul nouns, adjectives and verbs can be reduplicated to indicate emphasis, such reduplication is rare, the two occurrences in my corpus being:

baka - 'animals'	bakabaka - 'many animals'
kinti - 'to boil quickly'	kintikinti -'to boil very quiclky'
Cf. gosi - 'now'	gosigosi - 'at this very moment'.[2]

SYNTAX

Basic Clause Type:

(excluding adverbs/adverbial phrases)

The basic clause type in Kriul can be summarised thus:

SUBJECT	PRE-VERBAL MARKERS (RELATIVE) (NEGATIVE) (TENSE/ASPECT)	VERB STEM	POST VERBAL MARKERS	(OBJECT)

1. In fact emphatic repetition, including reduplication, was not used at all by seven of the ten sample speakers in the selected sentences. See p. 34 of the general introduction and pp. 671; 695 & 683.
2. Mr. Adboulaye Barry, personal communication, S.O.A.S., 1979.
3. And will be discussed in sequence except where already described above, i.e. the verb stem.

Notes on the Verbal phrase:

(a) Subject

Any noun or subject pronoun, optionally followed by a disjunctive pronoun, (above) can be used as a subject, e.g.:

i kore - 'He/She ran'
"(s)he run"

(b) Pre-verbal markers

Relative ki <Fr. qui ~ ke <Port. que ~ ku[1] ~ kə <Fr. que

All relative clauses[2] are preceded by the above alternants of relative marker of which ki is the usual form, e.g.:

(i) bajuda ki sinta - 'The girl who sat'
"girl Rel. sit"

(ii) wɔmi ke yɛntra kasa
"man Rel. enter house"
-'The man who entered the house'

(iii) kacur kə kɔre - 'The dog that ran'
"dog Rel. run"

(iv) wɔmi ku bing - 'The man who came'
"man Rel. come"

Wilson[3] gives the forms kə ~ ki as "relative headwords" in Guinea Bissau Kriul and suggests that kə is the most commonly used form in that dialect.

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1. Cf. also the specifiers ki ~ ke ~ kɛl on p. 112.
2. Described on p. 108 as a means of marking emphasis when used with the disjunctive pronoun.
3. Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: 30-31. Cf. Bull, B.P. 1975: 25 who only gives the form ki - Rel. in Guinea Bissau Kriul.

ku is used in the corpus by older speakers (42>) with all antecedents to the relative marker. Younger speakers (<21 and 22>) mainly use ki with antecedents which refer to (a) human being(s) (e.g.: (i) above) but use ku when the antecedent does not refer to (a) human being(s), e.g.:

(v) kacur ku bing - 'The dog which came'
"dog Rel. come"

Negative

The negative marker precedes the negativised verb, e.g.:

i ka kore - 'He/She did not run'
"(s)he Neg. run"

Tense

Future non-imminent: ta, e.g.:

amanya bu ta bai Dakar
"Tomorrow you(sing.) Fut.(Non.Im.) go Dakar"
- 'Tomorrow you will go to Dakar'

Aspect

Apart from the completive marker, all aspect markers precede the verb.

Neutral: ∅ (zero); e.g.:

i bai - 'He/she goes/went'
"(s)he go"

Progressive: na, e.g.:

no na kume - 'We are eating'
"we Prog. eat"

Habitual: ta, e.g.:

i ta cobe tudɔra li
"it Hab. rain every hour here"
- 'It always rains here'

~~Habitual: ta, e.g.:~~

~~i ta oobe tudɔra li~~

~~"it Hab. rain every hour here"~~

~~-'It always rains here'~~

Future imminent: na, e.g.:

i na bing - 'He/She is coming'

"(s)he Fut. (Im.) come"

(c) Post-verbal markers

Tense

Past: bang, e.g.:

ɛ misti bang lei - 'They wanted to read'

"they want Past. read"

Aspect

Completive: ja ~ jang[1], e.g.:

no bai ja - 'We have gone'

"we go Complet."

i kumpra l jang - 'He/She has bought it'

"(s)he buy it Complet."

(d) Verbal markers in combination

Past progressive: na .....bang, e.g.:

bu na papya bang ku minjɛr

"you (sing.) Prog. speak Past Assoc. prep. woman"

-'You were talking to the woman'

Conditional: ta....bang, e.g.:

si[2] i bing i ta jobe ɛrik bang

"if (s)he come (s)he Fut.(N.Im.) see Eric Past"

-'If he/she came he/she would have seen Eric'

1.Cf.ja ~ jang 'now' e.g.: no na bai jang

"we Prog. go now"

-'We are going now'

2.Cf.the homophonous possessive (pronoun) si (3rd. sing.) on p. 91 .

(£) Object

Any noun or object pronoun (above) can be used as a direct object e.g.:

i kebra u po - 'He/She broke a stick', and
"(s)he break a stick"

i kebra l - 'He/She broke it'
"(s)he break it"

For the co-occurence of direct and indirect objects cf. :

i kumpra rapas kalsa
"(s)he buy boy trousers"
-'He/She bought the boy a pair of trousers'

i kumpra l kalsa
"(s)he buy him/her trousers"

Indirect Direct
Object Object
'He/She bought him/her a pair of trousers'

i kumpra rapas ɛl
" (s)he buy boy it"
-'He/She bought it for the boy'

i kumpra l ɛl
"(s)he buy him/her it"
-'He/She bought it for him/her'

In addition to the general syntatic outline (above), the use of the following Kriul grammatical features are discussed in more detail (below) including reference to certain of the selected grammatical features:

1) Use of a Focaliser (Feature 3),

2) The Realization of Emphasis (Including Features 3-6),

3) The Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9),

4) The Use of Serial Verbs, and

5) Use of a Specifier.

1) Focaliser: sɔng ~ rɛk[1] :

sɔng -Focal. is placed after the focalised item, e.g.:

i	ɛl	sɔng	ki	profɛsɛ	cɛrɛ	bang
"it (s)he(Disj.)		Focal.	who	teacher	like	Past"

-'He alone was favoured by the teacher'

As in Gambian Krio[2], the focaliser rɛk<Wol. Focal. rɛk is 'relexifying'[3] sɔng e.g.:

kumeda	rɛk	ki	rapas	misti	bang
"food	Focal.	Rel.	boy	want	Past"

-'Food was the only thing the boy wanted'

Unlike Gambian Krio however some further relexifying influences are evident in the use of sɔng as an ~~adjective~~ adverb in sentences where rɛk is used as the focaliser[4] e.g.:

i	ɛl	sɔng	kumeda	rɛk	ki	i	misti	sɛrta	bang[5]
"it	it(Disj.)	only(Adv.)	food	Focal.	Rel.(s)he	want	accept	(Past)	

-'It is only food that he wanted to accept'

i	misti	bang	sɔng	vyandə	rɛk
"(s)he	want	Past	only(Adv.)	meat	(Focal.)"

-'Meat was all he wanted'

---

1. Front focalisation is feature 3 of the selected grammatical features. See p.106 for a description of sɔng - adverb. See also pt.I, ch.6, for a discussion of front-focalisation in Kriul's African languages of contact.

2. See pt.II, ch. 2 p. 253.
3. Defined on pp. 48&49.
4. Cf. Gambian Krio nomɔ ~ rɛk, both of which may be focalisers in the same sentence. See pt.II, ch.2, p. 253 .
5. K 44/L/14(b); (C.N: 8190- 8672).

It may well be that as sɔng[1] (Adv.) is a homophone of sɔng (Focal.), this new use of rɛk as a Kriul focaliser provides a useful added contrast, as with the above example ~~in form between sɔng - focaliser and sɔng - adverb~~, e.g., cf.:

i	ɛl sɔng	kumeda sɔng	ki	l	misti
"it	it only(Adv.)	food Focal.	Rel.	he	want "

-'Food was all he would accept'

2) Emphasis:[2]

~~Notes on Emphasis:~~

(a) Front-focalisation

The emphasised item is placed at the beginning (or 'front') of the sentence or phrase, and preceded by the 3rd. sing. pronoun e.g.:

i	kalsa	ki	rapas	misti
"it	trousers	Rel.	boy	want"

-'A pair of trousers was what the boy wanted'

The emphasised item can be further focalised by the placement of the focaliser sɔng (~ rɛk) after the emphasised item, (feature 3) e.g.:

i	kalsa	pretu	sɔng	ki	rapas	misti
"it	trousers	black	Focal.	Rel.	boy	want"

-'A pair of black trousers (alone) was what the boy wanted'

---

1. See p. 105 .
2. Of the selected grammatical features, numbers 3 - 6 mark emphasis: See pp. 16-18 .

(b) Emphatic repetition

The emphasised items are repeated e.g.:

i kure i kure - 'He/She ran on and on'
"(s)he run (s)he run

This means of emphasis is not frequently used in Kriul.[1]

(c) Topicalisation

The emphasised item may be topicalised by a following relative clause ~~or verb~~ e.g.:

libru ki n da bu, i brumeju
"book Rel. I give you, it red "

-'The book that I gave you, it is red'

rapas ki bin bang, bai
"boy Rel. come Past go"

-'The boy who came went'

(d) Ideophones

As in most creole and African languages, ideophones can also indicate emphasis. The ideophone follows the Kriul predicative adjective with which it is collocated, e.g.:

i pretu nɔ́k - 'It is very black'[2]
"it black Id."
Emph.

i brumeju wák - 'It is very red'
"it red Id."
Emph.

---

1. It is also not frequently used in the speech of non-Aku (and mainly second-language) Krio speakers. See pt.II, ch. 3, pp.272-274.
2. Cf. The Temne colour ideophone nɔ́k e.g.: bi nɔ́k: 'black indigo', ~~i.e.~~ "blue-black".

i kala yém[1] - 'He/She is extremely silent'
"(s)he silent Id."
Emph.

(e) Disjunctive pronoun[2]

The disjunctive pronoun is also used to mark emphasis,

e.g.: (i) (i) ami na bai
"(it) I (Emph.) Prog. go"
-' It is I who am going! '

Cf. n na bai - 'I am going'
"I Prog. go"

(ii) (i) abɔs ki bing awɔnti
"(it) you (pl.) Rel. come yesterday"
- ' It is you who came yesterday'

As seen in, for example, (i) and (ii) (above), the disjunctive pronoun may be preceded by the 3rd. sing. subject pronoun i, and in (ii) also followed by a relative clause marker of which it is the antecedent. Such relative clauses are preceded by the relative marker ki ~ ke ~ kə .[3]

(f) Emphatic marker:[4] nã

The emphatic marker follows the emphasised item(s) e.g.:

i ataka l nã - 'He attacked her!'
"(s)he attack him/her Emph."

Emphasis is also realised morphologically by reduplication[5] or may be ~~and is~~ realised phonologically by emphatic elongation of vowel (below).

1.See Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: 35 & 47.
2.See p.91&92.
3.See p. 100 .
4.Cf. the non-nasalised locative preposition na and its homophone na - progressive marker on p.97 & p.101 respectively. Cf. also the Krio emphatic marker na. See pt.II, ch.2, p.256 .
5.See p. 99 .

(g) Emphatic elongation of vowel (feature 5)

The elongation of a vowel combined with heightened pitch occurs in the emphasised item and/or the following augmentative marker or ideophone (below) e.g.:

i	brúutu	- 'She is very stupid' cf.
"(s)he	stupid"	
	Emph.	

i	brutu	- 'She is stupid'
"(s)he	stupid"	

3) Grammatical 'say' and 'for' i.e.(fala)..kuma/pa~po(oca)kuma (Feature 9):

As in Krio and Patwa[1] grammatical 'say', Kriul (fala)....kuma, is a feature of reported speech, e.g.:

i	fala m	kuma,	m	bai	lugar
"(s)he	tell me	say	I	go	field"

-'He told me that I was to go to the field'

As a feature of reported speech, it frequently occurs in Kriul prose narratives, e.g.:

lobu	fala	lɛbru	kuma,...
"wolf	tell	rabbit	say"

'(Brer) Wolf said to (Brer) Rabbit'.... .

1.See pt.II, ch.2 p. 258 and pt.III, ch. 2 p. 448respectively.

Fala...kuma is typically followed by a pause, indicated by a comma in the examples above. Cf. Portuguese in which diser - 'to say' is not followed by pause,[1] e.g.:

Êle	diz	para	me	sentar
"he	say	for	me	sit"

meaning

-'He told me to sit down'

kuma can also be preceded by verbs other than fala, e.g.:

cora	kuma
"cry	say"

- 'cry say' and

ɔca	kuma[2]
"see	say"

- 'see say',

~~also~~ mainly in reported speech, e.g.:

ɛ	ɔca	kuma	riu	sɛku
"they	see	say	river	dry"

- 'They saw that the river was dry'

Fala ... pa~po is a free variant of fala...kuma.

In contrast to fala...kuma, however fala...pa/po is not followed by a similar pause (indicated by the absence of a following comma) e.g.:

i	fala	bu	po	bu	bai	kasa
"(s)he	tell	you(sing.)	for	you(sing.)	go	home"

-'He told you to go home'

The element pa <Port. para (Prep.)- 'for' and po <Port. por (Prep.)- 'for' which vary in accordance with assimilation to the first vowel in the item(s) following e.g.:

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1. Similar contrasts between Krio tɛl...se, and English tell..; Patwa di..kɔ̃ ha, and French dit.... in pt.II, ch.2, and pt.III, ch.3, respectively.
2. ɔca kuma was selected for analysis as part of feature 9. See p. 26 .

i fala m pa m bai - 'She told me to go',
"(s)he tell me for me go "

cf. i fala no po no yɛntra
"(s)he tell we for we enter"
-'She told us to come in'

It is probable that kuma is the older form due to its more frequent occurrence in the speech of older speakers and in prose narratives[1] and that the more frequent use of pa ~ po by younger speakers may reflect some relexification[2] from fala....kuma ⟶ fala...pa/po[3].
po/pa can precede both verbs and verbal nouns[4] without a preceeding fala e.g.:

i bing po kume galinya
"(s)he come for eat chicken"
-'He came to eat the chicken'

po bai kume i bing kasa
"for go (verbal noun) eat (s)he come home"
-'To go and eat he came home'

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1. See pt.I, ch.6 on the conservative role of oral literature.
2. Defined on pp.48&49 of the introduction. Cf. also the shift from Krio tɛl...se ⟶ tɛl...fɔ described in pt.II, ch. 2, p.258 .
3. Cf. the use of Krio fɔ, used as a free variant of tɛl...se in tɛl...fɔ as well as separately and also meaning 'for'.
4. See p. 93.

4) Serial verbs

Verbal catenation can occur as also in most creole and African languages, e.g.:

i tama balye suta l

"(s)he take broom beat him/her"

-'He took the broom and beat her'

5) Specifier: ki ~ ke ~ kɛl ~ kal :

e.g.: ɛsli ki bajuda ki kɔmpra ki kamisa vɛrdi

"this (near) Specif. girl Rel. buy Specif. dress green"

-'This is the girl who bought the green dress'

ɛsli ke bajuda ki bai

"this (near) Specif. girl Rel. go"

-'This is the girl who went'

ɛsli kɛl wɔmi ki kume ki galinya

"this (near) Specif. man Rel. eat Specif. chicken"

-'This is the man who ate the chicken'

ɛsla kal kasa ki ɛ misti

"this (far) Specif. house Rel. they want"

-'That is the house they want'

As ~~suggested~~ noted above there is some alternation in the forms of the specifier. This probably is due to the effects of a nominal class system in many of Kriul's African languages of contact,[1] in which items relating to human beings are differentiated from those referring to animals and objects by the use of

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1. See pt. I, ch. 6, pp. 193 & 194 for a discussion of these African class language influences in the use of the specifier in Kriul.

different nominal class affixes. This may well be causing Kriul to develop different alternants of the specifier i.e. ki ~ ke ~ kɛl - used mainly in reference to human beings, (and of which kɛl is the most commonly used), in contrast to kal used mainly in reference to inanimate objects and animals.

PART I

CHAPTER 3: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF CASAMANCE KRIUL

INTRODUCTION

Areas of major overlap between the selected social categories for the Kriul speakers interviewed in both formal and informal speech are:

i) most of the 'middle'prestige speakers are men,
ii) most of the speakers having links with Guinea-Bissau are men,
iii) most of the <21 speakers have links with Guinea-Bissau,
iv) most of the <21 speakers are of 'middle' social prestige,
v) most of the 42> speakers are of 'low' social prestige,
vi) most speakers of mixed ethnicity also have links with Guinea-Bissau.

The social categories adopted for this sociolinguistic description were those used in the sociolinguistic analysis of both Krio and Patwa with the exception 'Guinea-Bissau links'.[1] As previously indicated, the political separation of Ziguinchor from Portuguese Guinea[2] (now Guinea-Bissau) has led to some dialect differences between Guinea-Bissau Kriul and Ziguinchor Kriul.[3] In order to examine whether such dialect differences may not be part of wider sociolinguistic differences the additional social category of Guinea-Bissau links was adopted.[4]

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1. Described on p. 45.
2. See pt.I, ch.1, pp. 80-85.
3. See pt.I, ch.2, pp. 90, 92 & 93.
4. Cf. the 'rural/urban'and 'Sierra Leone links' social categories adopted respectively, for the sociolinguistic descriptions of Patwa and Krio. See p. 46.

Table of Kriul Speakers and Social Categories

SPEAKER * NUMBER	FEATURE						
			Mixed Ethnicity		Prest -ige	Guinea Bissau Link	
	Sex	Age	+	-		+	-
K 1	M	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 2	M	<21	✓		High	✓	
K 3	F	<21		✓	Mid.	✓	
K 4	M	42>		✓	Low	✓	
K 5	F	<21	✓		High		✓
K 6	M	42>	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 7	M	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 8	F	42>		✓	Mid.	✓	
K 9	F	<21	✓		Low		✓
K 10	M	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 11	M	<21	✓		Mid.		✓
K 12	F	<21		✓	Mid.	✓	
K 13	M	42>	✓		Low	✓	
K 14	M	22>		✓	High		✓
K 15	M	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 16	M	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 17	M	42>		✓	Low	✓	
K 18	F	22>		✓	High	✓	
K 19	F	<21	✓		Mid.		✓
K 20	M	<21		✓	Mid.	✓	

(continued)

* - First language speakers are underlined.

SPEAKER NUMBER	Sex	Age	FEATURE: Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity -	Prestige	Guinea Bissau Links +	Guinea Bissau Links -
K 21	M	22>	✓		Mid.		✓
K 22	F	22>	✓		High	✓	
K 23	F	22>	✓		High		✓
K 24	M	42>	✓		High		✓
K 25	F	42>	✓		Low	✓	
K 26	F	22>	✓		High		✓
K 27	M	22>	✓		Low		✓
K 28	M	22>		✓	Mid.		✓
K 29	M	<21		✓	Mid.	✓	
K 30	M	22>	✓		Mid.		✓
K 31	M	22>	✓		High	✓	
K 32	F	42>	✓		Low		✓
K 33	F	22>	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 34	M	22>	✓		High	✓	
K 35	F	42>	✓		Low	✓	
K 36	M	42>		✓	High		✓
K 37	M	42>	✓		Low		✓
K 38	F	22>	✓		High		✓
K 39	M	42>	✓		Low	✓	
K 40	F	42>		✓	Mid.		✓

(continued)

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE						
			Mixed Ethnicity		Prest-ige	Guinea Bissau Links	
	Sex	Age	+	-		+	-
K 41	F	22>	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 42	F	22>		✓	Mid.		✓
K 43	F	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	
K 44	M	22>		✓	Low		✓
K 45	F	42>	✓		Low		✓
K 46	F	42>	✓		Low		✓
K 47	F	42>		✓	Low		✓
K 48	F	<21	✓		Low		✓
K 49	M	42>	✓		Low	✓	
K 50	M	22>		✓	Mid.		✓
K 51	M	42>		✓	Low		✓
K 52	F	42>	✓		Low	✓	
K 53	M	42>	✓		High	✓	
K 54	M	<21	✓		Mid.	✓	

KRIUL

Interrelationships Between the Social Categories for the Fifty-four Kriul Speakers Interviewed. (i)

		<21	22>	42>
Sex	Male	10	9	11
	Female	7	8	9

		Low	Mid.	High
Sex	Male	9	14	7
	Female	9	9	6

		Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity −
Sex	Male	20	10
	Female	17	7

		Guinea-Bissau Links +	Guinea-Bissau Links −
Sex	Male	18	12
	Female	11	13

		Low	Mid.	High
Age	<21	2	13	2
	22>	2	7	8
	42>	14	3	3

		Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity −
Age	<21	13	4
	22>	11	6
	42>	13	7

		Guinea-Bissau Links +	Guinea-Bissau Links −
Age	<21	12	5
	22>	6	11
	42>	11	9

		Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity −
Prestige	Low	13	5
	Mid.	14	9
	High	10	3

		Guinea-Bissau Links +	Guinea-Bissau Links −
Prestige	Low	8	10
	Mid.	15	8
	High	6	7

		Guinea-Bissau Links +	Guinea-Bissau Links −
Ethnicity	Mixed +	21	16
	Ethnicity −	8	9

(i)- Of which forty-six were interviewed in both L. and O. speech.

(See p. 119).

KRIUL

Interrelationships Between the Social Categories for the Forty-Six Kriul Speakers Interviewed in Both Formal and Informal Speech

		<21	22>	42>
Sex	Male	10	9	10
	Female	6	6	5

	Low	Mid.	High
Male	8	14	7
Female	4	8	5

	Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity -
Male	19	10
Female	12	5

	Guinea Bissau Links +	Guinea Bissau Links -
Male	18	11
Female	10	7

Age	Low	Mid.	High
<21	1	13	2
22>	2	6	7
42>	9	3	3

Age	Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity -
<21	12	4
22>	10	5
42>	9	6

Age	Guinea Bissau Links +	Guinea Bissau Links -
<21	12	4
22>	6	9
42>	10	5

Prestige	Mixed Ethnicity +	Mixed Ethnicity -
Low	8	4
Mid.	14	8
High	9	3

Prestige	Guinea Bissau Links +	Guinea Bissau Links -
Low	7	5
Mid.	15	7
High	6	6

Ethnicity	Guinea Bissau Links +	Guinea Bissau Links -
Mixed +	20	11
Ethnicity -	8	7

The category 'ethnic group'[1] did not, at first sight, seem to be relevant to Casamance society, which traditionally has been an area of inter-ethnic convergence from at least the sixteenth century,[2] and continues to be so to the present day, as suggested by the 'mixed' ethnicity of all but seventeen of the fifty-four Kriul speakers interviewed[3] (i.e. 69% of the speakers). Even the remaining 31% 'non-mixed'[4] speakers were representative of five different ethnic groups.

Individual Kriul speakers themselves had varying views of their own ethnic links. Most Kriul speakers claimed the ethnic group of their fathers in public, but privately however, they would claim to be Krɛɔl (i.e. Creole) except when they were from the creole speaking communities of Cape Verde, Banjul or Sierra Leone (i.e. K 13, K 45, and K 46 respectively), which nevertheless have a similar history of inter-ethnic 'mixture'. Those from Guinea-Bissau often claimed the ethnicity of one of the African ethnic groups in Guinea-Bissau[5], eg. K 16 and K 33, although one speaker from Guinea-Bissau, K 35[6], did claim to be Krɛɔl.

However, as seven of these 'non-mixed' speakers were among the nine second-language Kriul speakers in my corpus, some 'ethnic' implications in the second-language use of Kriul were suggested by the data itself.[7] Given also the past social superiority of the genetically 'mixed' Afro-Portuguese over the 'non-mixed'

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1. Described on pp. 45 & 46.
2. See pt. I, ch. 1, pp. 54 & 55.
3. See pp. 615-626 of the appendix.
4. Speakers who classified themselves as Krɛɔl - Creole were counted as 'mixed', due to such implications in the traditional ~~al~~ use of the term Creole (Krɛɔl) in the above-named societies. Speakers who belonged to more than one ethnic group were described as 'mixed'; those belonging to only one ethnic group were described as 'non-mixed'. See pp. 45 & 46.
5. This is in keeping with Wilson's observation that "most Criuolo Kriul speakers, even town dwellers, other than those who are conscious of being half-castes, regard themselves as belonging to their parents' tribe, however slight their knowledge of the tribal language". Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: Vii.
6. See pp. 619-630 of the appendix for details on all the individual speakers referred to above.
7. See p. 47 on how the choice of speakers was determined.

African ethnic groups ~~on~~ a analysis of present genetic Creolization seemed relevant. As all second language speakers were underlined in the relevant tables, any purely second-language uses of Kriul can be differentiated from its first language usage.

FORMAL SPEECH

Of the eight selected grammatical features analysed in Kriul only two showed any alternation in the selected sentences[1] i.e.:

3 - Front-focalisation, and

9 - Use of grammatical 'say' and 'for' .

The use/non-use of these two features was counted in the formal speech of 46 Kriul speakers[2] and contrasted with the selected social categories in the manner previously outlined[3]. Significant differences between the ~~resultant~~ sociolinguistic groups[4], were evident in the case of sex ~~resulted from the following correlation~~ alone, i.e:

Total Decreolized Score in Terms of Formal Speech and Sex:

11/29(i.e.38%)of the male speakers scored -4(representing half of the total decreolized score)[5] and below, while 13/17 (i.e. 76%) of the female speakers scored -4 and below[6]. This may be related to the ~~new~~ changing status of Kriul in Casamance[7].

1.See pp.26&27.
The relative non-alternation in the use/non-use of the remaining six features is indicated in the speech of ten sample speakers chosen for their many differences in terms of the selected social categories.
See pp.674;675& p. 683 of the appendix.
2.See p. 670 of the appendix for these results.
3.See pp. 34-41 .
4.I.e. differences of 20% and more between the relevant sociolinguistic groups.Contrasts not resulting in significant differences are indicated on p. 672 of the appendix.
5.See p. 122 .
6.See table on p. 122 .
7.See pp.125&126.

Total Decreolized Score in Formal Speech.

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SEX	
	Male	Female
0.	4,24	
- 1.	6,15,44	
- 2.	54 1,2,7,10,13,27	19
- 3.	50,51 17,29,31,36	9,25,40
- 4.	53 16,30,39	32,43 12,18,22,23
- 5.	49, 34,14,20,28	41, 38,33,35,38
- 6.	11	5
- 7.	21	
	38% at -4 and below	76 % at -4 and below

Although not analysed as a social category, second language speakers[1] decreolized less in their cumulative use of these two features than did first language speakers: 2/7 (i.e. 29%) second language speakers scored -4 and below (on the total decreolized/negative score) in contrast to 22/38 (i.e. 58%) of first language speakers.It is likely that synchronic reinforcement[2] of the two alternating features by the same (and/or similar)features in their African first languages[3] may have contributed to this lesser degree of decreolization in their speech.First language Kriul speakers, however[4], are probably less prone to such reinforcement. Separate contrasts of the two individual alternating features (above) with first/second language status did not result in any significant socio-linguistic differences[5].

INFORMAL SPEECH

The two alternating features were analysed in informal speech in the manner previously described[6].However,after an analysis of the speech of the first twenty speakers it was evident that too few speakers used either feature in informal speech for a sociolinguistic analysis to be made[7].

1.Not underlined in all the tables, in contrast to first language speakers who are.
2.Defined on p.50 .
3.See pt.I, ch.6, pp. 170 &171, 179 &180 .
4.I.e. using French and Wolof as second languages.
5.I.e. of 20% and above between first and second language speakers.
6.See pp. 34&41.
7.See p. 673 of the appendix.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

On a scale of the domains below, the use of the following 3 languages may be arranged in the approximate order

LANGUAGE	DOMAIN
French	Formal language of education, government and international communication.
Wolof	Language of national (spoken) communication in Senegal.
Kriul	Language of regional (spoken) communication in Casamance.

As the language of the former Afro-Portuguese[1] and the main language of inter-ethnic communication in Casamance and neighbouring Guinea-Bissau, Kriul is a language of traditional prestige[2] and, unlike many other creoles, including Krio and Patwa[3], has not been used by its speakers with the stigma of assumed inferiority. The lack of much alternation in most of the selected grammatical features[4] in Kriul[5] is, in fact, indicative of Kriul's relatively non-inferior social status.

It is the socially inferior status given to other creoles which has often led to greater variation in their grammatical features → prestige languages e.g. English and Wolof in the case of Krio[6], and English in the case of Patwa[7].

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1. See pt.I, ch.1.
2. Defined with 'domain' on p. 49 .
3. See pt.II, ch.3 and pt.III, ch.3 respectively.
4. Described with the selected social categories on pp. 42-46 .
5. In the speech of most speakers and exemplified in the speech of ten sample speakers chosen for their diversity in terms of the selected social categories.
6. See pt.II, ch.3.
7. See pt.III, ch.3.

This does not mean, however, that Kriul is still used with an assumed superior status by its speakers.The fact that few Kriul speakers claim a Krɛ́ɔl (Creole)/Afro-Portuguese ethnicity is indicative of a loss of the feelings of superiority and ethnic exclusiveness formerly associated with this ethnic group[1].

This is also reflected in the lack of meaningful socio-linguistic differences resulting from the contrasts made between ethnicity and the varying grammatical features[2].However, greater decreolization by female Kriul speakers in the use of these features is suggestive of a new 'inferior' status of Kriul in contrast to French and Wolof[3].

Given the greater tendency by women creole speakers to hypercorrect[4] their speech in the direction of the language(s) of prestige[5], it is likely that this greater decreolization by female-Kriul[6] speakers, in their cumulative use of both alternating grammatical features[7], reflects the end of the past use of Kriul as a language of prestige in the Casamance[8], and its replacement by Wolof[9] and French as the new languages of external prestige towards which such decreolization is occurring.Cf. Krio and Patwa-speaking women, who also decreolize more than male speakers in their use of certain selected grammatical features in the context of ~~due to~~ the inferior status of these two creoles relative to their prestigious European languages of synchronic contact[10].

1.See pt.I, ch.1, p. 70 .Note also the comments of K 24 (C.N:9130-9212) on Krɛ́ɔl (Creole) feelings of superiority.
2.See p. 121 .
3.See p. 124 .
4.Defined on p. 49 .
5.See pt.II, ch.3, pp. 282 & 283.
6.See table on p. 122 .
7.See p. 123 .
8.Defined on p. 49 .
9.See pt.I, ch.1, p. 85 .
10.See pt.II, ch.3 and pt.III, ch.3. where such hypercorrection by Krio and Patwa-speaking women respectively is discussed.

With the gradual 'disappearance' of the Creoles (Afro-Portuguese) as a separate group, Kriul is acquiring a socially more neutral status, with respect to the local languages, convergent with its function as a language of local inter-ethnic communication.

The socially most sensitive use of Kriul is as a language of solidarity[1] between Casamance peoples, in contrast to their relative lack of solidarity with the largely Wolof-speaking population in the northern regions of Senegal. Kriul speakers often refer to Senegal as being exclusive of the Casamance and to the northern Senegalese as les Français and/or les Sénégalais. Their solidarity with Kriul speakers from Guinea-Bissau, many of whom are their relatives, is greater, eg. 29/54 of the speakers interviewed had links with Guinea-Bissau. The recent war of national liberation against Portugal in Guinea-Bissau (1960-1974) has resulted, in Ziguinchor, in some reinforcement of such blood-ties by the presence of a number of refugees from Guinea-Bissau.

Non-solidarity with the northern 'Senegalese' by Kriul speakers is therefore indicative of potential secessionist tendencies on the part of Ziguinchor Kriul-speakers who, until 1886, were linked with the peoples of Guinea-Bissau by colonial affiliation,[2] as well as by blood-ties.

Although this contrast in solidarity is ~~no doubt~~ in part the result of colonial history, it is also reinforced by a difference in development between the more urban-dominated regions of northern Senegal, where educational and employment opportunities are more, and the rural Casamance where such opportunities are few.

Kriul was traditionally linked with Christianity,[3] a marker of a then socially superior European cultural and/or genetic pedigree claimed by the Afro-Portuguese[4].

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1. See Brown, R.W. and Gillman, A. (1960) in Sebeok, T. (ed.).
2. See pt.I, ch.1.
3. Cf. the similar combination of Krio and Christianity as markers of 'superior' European culture.
   See pt.II, ch.1, p. 229 and pt.II, ch.5, p. 322 .
4. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 74 and pt.II, ch.1, p. 206 .

With the later, and present, wider use of Kriul as the main language of inter-ethnic communication in Casamance, Kriul no longer functions as a clear marker of European cultural values, as it has become the second language of the ethnic groups in Casamance who, unlike the Afro-Portuguese, do not claim a European cultural and/or genetic pedigree.

In the same way that the Islamic way of life, rather than the use of Arabic (and its West African varieties), has become the more evident marker of Islamised West Africans, Christianity (Catholicism) and not Portuguese (and its related West African creole) has become the more distinct marker of those claiming Creole (Afro-Portuguese) descent and/or cultural affiliation in Casamance.

PART I

CHAPTER 4: AFRICAN CALQUES, CONVERGENCES AND LOANS IN CASAMANCE KRIUL[1]

CALQUES AND CONVERGENCES

Casamance Kriul has very few calques, in contrast to Krio and Patwa[2]. This may not be totally unrelated to Kriul's tradition as a language of external prestige[3], whose lexicon has influenced neighbouring African languages but remained relatively unaffected by them in return[4]. A few extremely tenuous African calques were nevertheless evident in the speech of the speakers recorded[5], e.g.:

Dyola:

K.[6] nɔbu - "new", but meaning 'to be young', e.g.:

rapas nɔbu - 'The boy is young'

"boy new"

Cf. Dyola (Fogny) "jeune... ôkul" and "neuf - ôkul"[7]

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1. The sources used for Kriul, Krio, Patwa and their influencing languages are given in the lists of acknowledgements and written sources on pp. 4-8 of the general introduction.
2. See pt.II, ch.5, and pt.III, ch.5 respectively.
3. See pt.I, ch.1.
4. See pp.135-139 for Portuguese/Kriul influences on the local African languages.
5. See p. 129.
6. i.e. Kriul. See the list of abbreviations on pp.52-53 of the general introduction.
7. Weiss, H. 1940: 100; 117.

Manjak:

K. dəna macu - <Port., eighteenth century dono[1] - 'Sir', modern dono - 'master' and macho - 'masculine'[2] "elder male" ⟶ 'grand father'.

Cf. - Manjak tim nayints - ditto.
"elder male "

No convergences between Kriul and African language items were apparent in the data. It is likely that its origin and tradition as a language of external prestige spoken by the Afro-Portuguese commercial elites in the Senegambia[3] inhibited its early convergence with African languages at the lexical level. Whereas Krio and Patwa were originally developed by slaves and masters needing to develop a language of inter-ethnic communication, Kriul was originally developed by African ethnic groups on the verge of linguistic extinction, in association with members of larger ethnic groups and the Portuguese within the context of domestic servitude. The latter condition was characterised by a wish on the part of Africans to assimilate to Portuguese and later Afro-Portuguese culture.[4] This 'assimilado' motivation ⟶ Portuguese is also reflected in the near-absence of African calques[5] in Kriul.

This more limited presence of African influences at the lexical level is suggestive of the extreme hypercorrection[5] which, it is reasonable to assume, accompanied the original Portuguese lexical input[6] in Kriul.

1.Bluteau, D.R. 1712: vol.3, p.290.
2.Michaelis, H. 1961, pp. 454,794 & 500.
3.See pt.I, ch.1, p.74 ; pt.II, ch.1, p. 209 .
4.See pt.I, ch.1.
5.See p. 128 .
6.Both defined on pp. 48 & 49.

It further indicates friendly relations between the local African groups and the Portuguese: under the conditions of slavery Krio and Patwa speaking Africans had, in contrast, to disguise African items retained in their respective pidgins/creoles by using English or French items which were formally and/or semantically convergent with the retained African items. Pidgin/Kriul speakers in domestic servitude to the Portuguese, and later Afro-Portuguese, had no such need to 'disguise' the African elements in their speech, as they had willingly suppressed them in their wish to become as Lusified in language (and culture) as possible.

LOANS:

The following loans from neighbouring African languages were evident in the data:

Bainuk:

K. gutagal - 'basket'. Cf. Bainuk gutagal - ditto, and Manjak katakal - 'basket', 'bucket'.
Cf. also katakal - ditto. (below).

Mandinka:

K. jubi - 'to see, Cf. Mnka. - jube 'to look at'[1]

K. jɔngu - 'slave' Cf. Mnka. : jɔng ɔ - 'the slave'
"slave the"

K. nyambi - 'manioc' Cf. Mnka. nyam(bo) - ditto.
"yam(the)"

Note also Kriul: nyambi di tɛra - 'yam',
"manioc of earth"
possibly influenced by Mnka. wula kono nyambo - ditto.
"bush inside manioc the"
with reinforcement by Pulaar: kappe ladde - ditto.
"manioc bush"
Kriul nyambi di tɛra - 'yam' may well have influenced Port., eighteenth century, "Inhame...tubaras da terra:[2] "tuber of earth", modern inhame - 'yam'.[3]

Cf. also Krio yamsi - ditto, reinforced by Eng .pl. yams, itself from W.African language(s).

1.Wilson, W.A.A. 1962: 6.
2.Bluteau, D.R. 1712: vol.4, p.135.
3.Michelis, H. 1961: 722.

Grammatical:

K. n (hormorganic nasal) - 1st. sing. Cf. Mnka. n (hormorganic nasal) - 1st. sing. e.g.:

n ta ta - 'I went' and
"I go Perf."

m bori ta le - 'I ran'
"I run Perf. Emph."

Note also the convergent influences of nasals in Port. mim[1] - 'me'

K. nti ~ nda[2] - causative verbal suffix.
Cf. Mnka. ndi - causative verbal suffix e.g.:
"fáa, be full, fandi, fill, sònka, quarrel, sònkandi, cause to quarrel"[3] (my underlining).

K. bang - past tense marker[4].
Cf. Mnka. bang - 'to finish', 'to be finished', e.g.:
"a bang na ... c'est fini"[5]
["it finish reach"]
Cf. also Dyola ban - completive marker and auxiliary verb meaning 'to finish' e.g.:
"barɛgɛrul i ban
["Past speak Past you I Complet."]
'having finished speaking to you' "[6]

It is likely that both Kriul bang - Past and Dyola ban - Complet. are ultimately formally derived from the more widespread Mandinka language.

1.Michaelis, H. 1962: 846.
2.See pt.I, ch.2, pp.93&94.
3.Rowlands, E.C. 1959: 104. See also pt.I, ch.6, p.192 .
4.See pt.I, ch.2, p. 102 .
5.Delafosse, M. 1955: 19.
6.Sapir, J.D. 1965: 104.

The post-verbal syntactic position of both items is, however, also a feature convergent with the post verbal syntactic position of Past and/or Complet. markers in other local languages including Bainuk and Mandinka.[1]

Pulaar:

K. jabɛre - 'yam'.
Cf. Pulaar jabɛre - 'a species of yam'

Manjak:

K. lungusi - 'to chase off'.
Cf. Manjak alung - 'to bear a grudge, ~~thus~~ desiring that the other party ~~to~~ keep their distance'.

K. lala - 'slender piece of wood'.
Cf. Manjak lala - ditto.

~~K. kɔrda - 'to wake up'.~~
~~Cf. Manjak kɔdari - ditto.~~

~~K. kamba - 'to cross'.~~
~~Cf. Manjak kambar - ditto.~~

~~K. durba - 'to chop down'.~~
~~Cf. Manjak durbar - 'to put down'.~~

K. mantampa - 'club', 'piece of wood'.
Cf. Manjak mantampa - ditto.

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1. See pt.I, ch.6, pp. 188&189.

K. kulka - 'to announce'.
Cf. Manjak kulkar - ditto.

K. jumna - 'to get up first'.
Cf. Manjak jumnar - ditto.

K. tɔpɔti - 'to look after, to tend (cattle)'. Cf. Manjak tɔpɔtir - ditto and Wol. tɔpɔt - ditto (also 'to entertain')

Wolof:

K. tonyim - 'to attack'.
Cf. Wol. tɔnyim - 'to provoke'.

K. tundu - 'hill', 'mountain'.
Cf. Wol. tundu - ditto and Manjak ũtunda - ditto[1] probably < Mnka. "tinde ....'colline'.[2]

K. wau - 'yes'.
Cf. Wol. wau - ditto.

K. buki - 'hyena'. buki is the archetypal 'fool' of the leuk versus buki cycle of Wolof tales. Note also lobu - 'wolf' also used to refer to the equivalent of buki in the similar Kriul tales cycle. Cf. also Patwa kɔntribuki - 'country bumpkin',[3] "country fool" and buki - 'hyena' in Black American speech.

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1. Although identical forms in two dissimilar African languages is suggestive of loaning into one or both from a third language, or of loaning from one language into the other. However, no third source was found for this item in my sources for all the languages of contact, including Portuguese.
2. Delafosse, M. 1955 (vol.2): 753.
3. See pt.III, ch.5, p.505.

Wol. leuk - 'hare' is the archetypal hero who survives by outwitting other animals, especially buki.
lɛbrə <Fr. lièvre - 'hare' is the Kriul alternant.
Cf. kɔnirabit versus wulf of tales in Krio and kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ versus kɔ̃pɛ tig tales in Patwa.[1]

K. muk - 'never'.
Cf. Wol. Pulaar, and Manjak muk - ditto.

K. fɔr - 'to find by chance'.
Cf. Wol. fɔr - ditto.

PORTUGUESE/KRIUL ITEMS IN MANJAK AND WOLOF

The past wide external prestige enjoyed by Kriul (and Portuguese) in Senegambia[2] aided some relexification in a number of the African languages of contact. Manjak, spoken mainly in an officially Portuguese-speaking Guinea Bissau, may have been particularly prone to such Portuguese influences which, as in the case of other African languages, including Wolof, were probably via Kriul.

Manjak:

K. yanda -['to walk'] <Port. andar eighteenth century "ANDAR [sic.] Passear,"[3] - 'to walk', modern -'manner of walking'.
Cf. Manjak yandari (Id.) - ('to walk/move) quickly'.

K. ɔra - 'time' <Port. hora - ditto.[4]
Cf. Manjak uɔra - ditto.

K. finka - 'to put down'<Port. fincar - 'to stick (in), drive, dig, plunge (into), plant (in ground),

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1.This cycle of tales is discussed in pt.I, ch.4, pp.150&151.
2.See pt.I, ch.1.
3.Bluteau, D.J. 1712: vol.1 , 367.
4.Michaelis, H. 1961: 72 & 684-685.

put (one's foot) down and Manjak finkar -"to put down" (in the literal sense) and, in the metaphorical sense, 'to settle a dispute'.

K. pampa - 'field' <Port. pampa - 'vast treeless, grass-covered plain'.
Note Manjak upap - ditto. Ultimately <Peruvian bamba - 'steppe', 'flat'; the item may be a recent loan or, like Island Carib kanari[1], in Senegalese French, may have been a similar loan brought to West Africa via the 'triangular (slave) trade'.

K. mɔfnɛsa - 'sadness', 'grief' <Port. eighteenth century "MOFINO. Muito desgraciado"[2]... -'great misfortune', modern Port.[3] mofino - ~~ditto.~~ 'unhappy, unlucky'.
Cf. Manjak umɔfnɛsa - ditto. Note that -ɛsa <Port. nesse - 'in that', 'on that'.
Cf. K. ɛs - 'this', 'that'.

K. wuntu - 'oil made from animal fat' <Port. unto 'grease', 'fat', 'lard'.
Cf. Manjak wuntu - ditto.

K. kwɛitadi - 'to be orphaned', 'to be poor' <Port. cuidado - 'object of care'.
Cf. Manjak kɛitadi - ditto.
K. karnɛru - 'sheep' (sing.) <Port. carneiro - ditto.
Cf. Manjak karnɛru - ditto.

K. ninge - 'nobody' <Port. ninguém - ditto.
Cf. Manjak ningyan - ditto.

K. lampra - 'lamp', 'light', <Port. eighteenth century, "LAMPADA. ~~[sic.]~~ Vaso em que se deita azeite com huma torcida"[4] - 'receptacle in which oil is put with a wick', modern, lampada - 'lamp', 'light'.
Cf. Manjak lampra - ditto.

1. See pt III, ch. 4, p

1. Bluteau, D.J. 1712: vol.5, p.537.
3. Michaelis, H. 1961: 881.
4. Bluteau, D.J. 1712: vol.5, p.30.

K. nega - 'to refuse', 'to deny' <Port. negar - ditto.
Cf. Manjak negar - ditto.

K. limariya - 'animal' <Port. maria used in reference to birds, insects, fish and trees e.g.:
maria-faceira -'a bird species'and maria-da-serra -'a fish species'.Cf. Manjak limariya - ditto.
~~Note also the earlier Manjak form kɔ brɛng - 'animal', "thing bush "~~

K. fidi - 'to cut' <Port. fender - 'to slit, rend, split, cleave'.
Cf. Manjak fidiri - ditto.

K. buska - 'to search' <Port. buscar - ditto.
Cf. Manjak buskar - ditto.
Note also the ~~earlier~~ Manjak form ngai - ditto.

K. riyɛnta - 'to take down', a possible meaning shift <Port. rentear - 'to trim close', Port. rente (Adv.) - 'close'. Manjak riyɛntar - ditto. ~~and the earlier Manjak form wɛlan - ditto.~~

K. baldokai - 'bucket' <Port. balde - ditto.
Cf. Manjak balu - ditto.
Cf. also Kriul siyo kai - 'bucket', Manjak siyo - ditto, both <Fr. sceau - ditto.
Note also the earlier Manjak/Bainuk form katakal -'bucket', 'basket' (see above) from which the element - kai in K. baldokai may be derived i.e. - kal ⟶ kai.

K. kada algɛn - 'every one' <Port. cada algum - ditto.
Cf. Manjak kara nyan - ditto.
"every one "

K. rapas - 'boy', 'youth' <Port. rapaz - 'youth'.
Cf. Manjak pas - ditto.

K. jura - 'to help' <Port. ajudar - ditto.
Cf. Manjak jurar - ditto.

K. ati - 'to struggle' <Port. atingir - 'to attain'.
Cf. Manjak ati - 'to struggle'.

K. biyas - 'a journey' <Port. eighteenth century, "VIÂGEM [sic.] Jornada por mar"[1] - 'a sea-journey', modern viagem - ditto[2], by means of the Kriul phonological rule: Port. v ⟶ K. b + [z]→[s] [3].
Note also Temne am ‿ biyas - ditto.

K. mansi - 'to stay overnight', possibly <Port. mansão - 'residence'[4].

K. rakada - 'to tend animals', 'to keep animals', <Port. recatar 'to keep in safety'[5].
Cf. Manjak arekadar - ditto.
~~Note the earlier Manjak form gank - ditto.~~

Wolof:

K. te - 'until' <Port. até - 'to, up to, till, until'.
Cf. Wol./Manjak te - ditto.
Note also Krio te(é) - ditto.

~~K. təpəti - 'to look after' 'to tend (cattle)' probably <Port. topa-tudo - Jack-of-all-trades'[6].~~
~~Cf. Wol. təpət - ditto, and also, meaning, 'to entertain'.~~
~~Cf. Manjak təpətir - 'to look after', 'to tend (cattle)'.~~

Obviously a number of items could have entered the above (and other) African languages directly from Portuguese e.g. in the case of r - final verbs in Manjak and Portuguese in contrast to

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1. Bluteau, D.J. 1712: vol.8, p.468.
2. Michaelis, H. 1961: 594,920,855,1271,370,249,883,760,879, 817-818,584,193,1077,143,204 & 53,1042,43,123 & 1292 respectively.
3. See pt.I, ch.2, p. 87 .
4. Michaelis, H. 1961: 809.
5. Ibid.; p. 1051.
6. Michaelis, H. 1961: 121-122. ~~& 1235 respectively.~~

vowel-final Kriul verbs: Manjak buskar, Port. buscar and Kriul buska, all meaning 'to search' (see above).

ITEMS OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN INCLUDING POSSIBLE AFRICANISMS

After consultation of the available written sources on Kriul and its languages of contact[1] and interviews with their speakers, excluding Bainuk and Balanta[2], a number of items remained whose origin was unknown to the researcher e.g.:

Items of Unknown Origin:

kuntadakada	-	'farm'
~~matabiju~~	-	~~'breakfast'~~
~~kabu~~	-	~~'place'~~
sia	-	'supper'
po	-	'tree'
~~obi~~	-	~~'to hear', 'to understand'~~
~~brinka~~	-	~~'to play'~~
~~tama~~	-	~~'to take'~~
lena	-	'to go'
mancedistudu	-	'dress'
alus	-	'to wake up'
saba	-	'to have'

---

1. Defined on p. 48 .
2. Not represented in the speakers interviewed in the field and in subsequent interviews carried out during analysis of the data in London.

butu - 'farm'
kiting - 'to make happy'
~~risu - 'to be hard'~~
~~tudu - 'to be stupid'~~
bulanya - 'farm'
~~dita - 'to take a short nap'~~
surpuntada - 'man with a beard'
manduk - 'a big stick'
gringrasɛru - 'to be alive'. Cf. Krio/Eng. grin gras?
yɛla - 'to lift'
~~pɔntadu - 'to be nearby'~~
masi tumbe - 'to sleep'. Cf. Krio mas tɔmbi "mash tummy" -ditto?
nɛnyai - 'no matter'
su to - 'that one'
maja - 'to beat'
parad - 'to give'
~~kaneka - 'box'~~
nangaba - 'to like'
mal - 'to take'
stɛja - 'to be cooked'[1]

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1. Other 'unknown' items are evident in the taped material (CN:0000 - 5788).
See pt.II, ch.4, pp.310-312 & pt.III, ch.5, pp.519 & 520 for similar lists of comparable Krio and Patwa 'unknown' items.

PART I

CHAPTER 5: AFRICAN ITEMS IN KRIUL ORAL LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

All literature consists of a cumulative body of knowledge, past and present, within which a given culture is perpetuated by written and/or oral means. Kriul oral literature is no exception, and analysis of its form, content and function indicates its different African and European lexical sources, incl. the literary features it also shares with oral literatures in African languages and creoles, including Krio and Patwa (described below)[1].

As previously indicated[2], an Oral literature questionnaire was used in interviewing Kriul speakers about their oral literature, and their responses as well as the form of the questionnaire are used as focal points in the description which follows. The oral literature responses of the first forty Kriul speakers alone are referred to in detail as they constitute an adequate representative sample of the responses made by the total fifty-four Kriul speakers interviewed[3].

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1. Universal features of oral literature also common to European oral literature are not focused on in this or any of the other chapters on creole/African oral literature. They have been well documented in Thompson, S. 1955-58 and Propp, V.Y. 1968.
   See also Andrzejewski, B.W. and Innes, G. 1974: 31.
2. See p. // .
3. The oral literature responses of the first forty Krio and Patwa speakers are similarly used in pt.II, ch.4 and pt.III, ch.5 respectively. Such an ad hoc limitation was imposed due to the quantity of O. in the data.

FORM

The Kriul terms for the oral literature genres elicited in responses to the questionnaire are:

GENRE NUMBER	TERMS USED IN THE ORAL LITERATURE QUESTIONNAIRE	KRIUL TERMS/FORMULAE
1.	prose narratives[1]	storiyas
2.	proverbs	kaedi
3.	riddles	divinyas
4.	songs[2] in general	kantiga(s) -'song(s)'
5.	songs sung by children only	kantiga(s) -'song(s)'
6.	Beginning formulae for:	
	(a) prose narratives	yɛr yɛr!..(yɛr) sɛrtu! "<? <? <? certain" '.....certainly'
	(b) riddles	divinya divinya..... "riddle riddle ..... 'A riddle, a riddle!.... divinya sɛrtu! riddle certain" Truly a riddle!'

1. The numbered ordering to the left of the terms is the same as that of the Oral literature questionnaire.
2. I.e. the poetic text of songs analysed outside their possible musical accompaniment, except when otherwise stated.

7. ending formulae for:

(a) prose narratives — i kaba -'It is finished.'
"it finish"

or saku dinyɛru
"sack of money
'The sack of money
na kure pa bai mar
Prog. run to go sea"
is running to the sea'

or storiya kai
"story go
'The story has gone
na mar
Loc.(Prep.) sea"
to the sea'

(b) riddles — (have no overt ending formulae)

8. failing formulae for riddles only — ng ka pudi -'I cannot'[1]
"I Neg. can"

9. tongue-twisters — tərɔnsa

10. songs sung on special occasions only:

(i) religious song — (no equivalent Kriul term recorded)[2]

(ii) marriage song — kɔmpo ~ kumpo

(iii) festive song — kɔmpo ~ kumpo

(iv) dirge — (no equivalent Kriul term recorded)

---

1. See pp. 151–153.
2. I.e. already existing in Kriul for that specific genre. Obviously approximate translations can be made, in Kriul of the equivalent English terms.

As in the oral literature of other African societies, the genres (above) are not mutually exclusive[1] and typically one genre may contain another. Prose narratives illustrating a moral, for example, may end in a proverb while songs may be included in prose narratives (examples of both are given in the appendix[2].) The above literary terms, with the exception of kumpo, are familiar in discussions of African oral literature[3] and need no further discussion here.

Kumpo refers to the various songs in Kriul, with inserts from Mandinka and other local languages, sung on festive occasions such as marriage, birth and other festivities by Kriul speakers and other local ethno-linguistic groups. The singing of kumpo is accompanied by the appearance of a kumpo initiant, i.e. K. lambe, wearing a mask (made of leaves and covering the initiant from head to toe.) The masked kumpo is symbolic of masculinity, a regenerating force for the spiritual cleansing the whole community and was probably originally a Bainuk introduction[4]. The kumpo mask usually 'walks' in and around the area where the festivities are taking place and is followed by kumpo initiates and the other participants in the festivities, who provide the rhythm for their kumpo songs by beating flat sticks against each other. Kumpo has his own 'sacred' part of the wood, i.e. baraka where he retires on non-festive occasions (Port. barraca 'hut').

As seen below, a typical kumpo song is of a 'call (lead) and response (chorus)' structure. The 'lead' is sung by the kumpo initiates and the chorus by the other participants, although in some cases both the 'lead' and chorus are combined in a single song (e.g.:(ii) below):

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1. Andrzejewski, B.W. and Innes, G. 1974: 9-10.
2. See pp. 685 to 696 of the appendix. All examples are from the recorded material submitted with this thesis (discussed on pp. 11 & 12 of the general introduction) which form the corpus in terms of which all discussion on Kriul oral literature is based. Examples comprising of whole genres or extracts of genres have been transcribed in the appendix. The counter numbers of the recorded material is given with each example. This procedure has also been adopted in the chapters on Krio and Patwa oral literature.
3. See Finnegan, R. 1970 & 1977.
4. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 59 .

Kumpo:

(i) LEAD: byas ku mand ɛs tɛra
"journey Assoc. send this earth
- '(I) have been sent on messages

nunkanka[1] wuja balɛi fɔradu
I nowhere I Neg. see basket pierced
- (But) I have never seen a basket with a hole in it,

aa Tinto aa aa Tinto
ah Tinto ah ah Tinto
- Ah! Tinto, ah ah Tinto!

CHORUS: aa Tinto aa aa Tinto
ah Tinto ah ah Tinto"
- Ah! Tinto, ah ah Tinto! '

(ii) LEAD AND CHORUS:

....fala kuma
"tell say"
- ...'say that

Yadiko na pintiya
"Yadiko[2] Prog. comb(hair)
- Yadiko is combing (his hair),

sɛrpɛnti Valɛro
serpent Beler[3]
- The giant (and evil) serpent of Beler
(cannot compare with our local kumpo)

ninki-nanka di Sancaba
dragon <Mnka.ninki-nanko[4] of Santiaba[5]".
- The dragon of Santiaba'

---

1. I.e. n nunka n ka
"I nowhere I Neg." but assimilated to the above form.
2. I.e. the Robin Hood figure of Casamance Kriul oral literature.
3. The largest Catholic cemetery in Dakar and Senegal.
4. See also pt. I, ch. 4, pp. 131 & 132.
5. The Creole centre of Ziguinchor where these songs were recorded during a kumpo celebration. Consult K(56)/O(10), K 45/O(10), and K 46/O(10) (C.N: 9708-9725; 9688-9708 & 9322-9550), respectively for the above examples of kumpo.
See also pp. 695 & 696 of the appendix.

The genres represented in the questionnaire, were each responded to by different proportions ~~of speakers~~ of the sample of forty speakers, i.e.:

GENRE NUMBER	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS RESPONDING
1	$\frac{22}{40}$ (i.e. 55%)
2	$\frac{24}{40}$ (i.e.60%)
3	$\frac{28}{40}$ (i.e.70%)
4	$\frac{18}{40}$ (i.e.45%)
5	$\frac{9}{40}$ (i.e.23%)
6	$\frac{40}{40}$ (i.e.100%)
7	$\frac{36}{40}$ (i.e.90%)
8	$\frac{34}{40}$ (i.e.85%)
9	$\frac{2}{40}$ (i.e.5%)
10	$\frac{14}{40}$ (i.e.35%)

This would suggest that ~~of the non-formulaeic genres,~~ (excluding the formulae 6,7,8) proverbs, riddles and prose narratives are the most productive genres in Kriul oral literature. Cf.Krio

oral literature where song (general genre)[1] is the most productive oral genre[2].

CONTENT

It is within ~~these~~ the above genres that a number of the African language calques, convergences and loans in Kriul[3] were found. These, as well as a number of items of recent French origin, in Kriul, ~~are~~ were analysed in terms of the genres in which they occurred in the informal speech of the first forty Kriul speakers[4] to see whether, as in the case of Krio[5], items from certain languages occurred more frequently in specific genres[6] (numbered 1-10 as previously described).[7] Given the high number of items unknown to the researcher[8] an in depth analysis of this lexical distribution could not be made[9].

However, some correlations were evident:

(i) prose narratives, proverbs and riddles (genres 1 and 3)were the major source of African items,

(ii) ending and failing formulae (genres 7 and 8) were the main source of French lexical items,

(iii) unlike Krio and Patwa oral literature, Kriul oral literature is not a major repository for African calques, convergences and loans.

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1. In comparing song to other genres the general genre (no.4) is compared to the general genres of prose narratives etc. as a comparison with specialized song genres, e.g. childrens' songs (no.5) would not constitute the equal basis needed for relevant comparison.
2. ~~See pp. & and pp. of the appendix.~~ See ~~also~~ pt.II, ch.5, p. 319 .
3. Described in pt.I, ch.4.
4. See pp.148&149.
5. See pt.II, ch.4.
6. See table on pp.148 & 149.
7. See pp.11&12 of the general introduction and pp.142&143of the introduction to this chapter.
8. After consulting the available written sources on Kriul, and having asked speakers of Kriul, Portuguese, Wolof, Manjak, Dyola and Mandinka whether any of the unknown items of non-Portuguese origin in Kriul (see pp.711-716 of the appendix) also occurred in any of the above languages.
9. As it was in the case of Krio and Patwa.See pt.II,ch.4 and pt.III, ch.5, respectively.

African (and Other) Lexical Items in the Oral Literature Responses of Forty Kriul Speakers*

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
K 1	Fr.	U	U	K	U	K	K	K	K	U
K 2	Mnka.	U	K	U	K	K	K	K		
K 3			K			K	K			
K 4	U		K	K		Fr.	Fr.	Fr.		
K 5	K	U	K	K		K	Fr.	K		
K 6		U				K	Fr.	Fr.		U
K 7	U	Wol.	U	U		K	K	K		U
K 8	Fr.	K	K	U	K	K	K	K		K
K 9		U				K	K	Fr.		
K 10		K				K	K	K		U
K 11			K			K	K	K		U
K 12		I.Car.	U		K	K	K	Fr.		
K 13			Fr.			K	K	K		
K 14						K	K	K		
K 15	U	K	U			K	K	K		Mnka.
K 16	U	K	U	K	U	K	K	K		
K 17			U	K		K	K	K		
K 18			U			K	K	Fr.		
K 19				U		K	K	Fr.		

KEY

K - Kriul items only

Items included from other languages:

A - African (calque or convergence)

Mnka.- Mandinka

Wol. - Wolof

Port.- Portuguese

Fr. - French

I.Car.- Island Carib

U - Unknown

Blank square= not recorded

(continued)

*First-language speakers are underlined.

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
K 20	U	U	U	U	K	K	K	K		
K 21	Fr. ↓			U		K	K	K		U
K 22	U	U	U	U	U	K ↓	K ↓	Fr. ↓		U
K 23	U	K	K	U		K	Fr.	Fr.		
K 24						K				
K 25 (i)	U		K			K	K	K		
K 26 (i)										
K 27										
K 28 (i)	U	K	K	K		K	Fr.	K		
K 29										
K 30	U					Fr.	K	K	Fr.	
K 31		K		K		K	Fr.			
K 32										K
K 33	K		K			K	K	K		K
K 34						K				
K 35	Unka. Wol.	K	K	U		Fr.	Fr.	Fr.		U
K 36						K	K	K		
K 37			K							
K 38		K	K			K	K	K		K
K 39		K	U			Fr.	Fr.	Fr.		
K 40	U	K	K		U	Fr.	Fr.	K		K
K 41 (i)	U	K	K	K	K	K	K	K		
K 42										
K 43	K	K	K			K	K	Fr.		
K 44		K	K	U		K	K	Fr.		K

(i) See comments on p. 657 of the appendix.

As the African languages of contact, particularly Mandinka have been the main source of Kriul prose narratives, riddles and proverbs, this has been reflected by the greater number of African items in these genres. The African source of these genres is reflected in the similarities of both form and content between the following Kriul and Mandinka prose narratives (below). Similarities between the other Kriul genres mentioned with such genres in African and creole languages including Mandinka are exemplified in the appendix.[1]

Prose Narratives:

Kriul prose narratives about the 'hare' and 'hyena' both hiding in the 'elephant's' intestines have similarities with Mandinka prose narratives which are exemplified in the following extracts:

Kriul:

.....lubu...ta ɛntra na stɔmagu,
"wolf Fut.(Im.) enter Loc.(Prep.) intestines

lɛbru bai ɛntra dɛntru di bilis. Bakyɛdus
hare go enter inside of bile. Cowherds

yabri bariga ɛ panya stɔmagu ɛ bota,
open belly they take intestine they throw

ɛlus bilis ɛ bota [2] .....
them bile they throw "

- 'the hyena ... would enter into the stomach and the hare inside the bile duct. The cowherds opened the belly, took hold of the intestines and threw out the bile ... '

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1. See pp. 689 - 691 of the appendix.
2. Consult K 7/Q(1) (C.N: 4429 - 4490 & 4453 - 4543) for the whole Kriul prose narrative.

Mandinka:

> ..." 'Entre dans le fiel, moi je cacherai dans l'intestin et, quand on ouvrira l'éléphant, on nous mettra de côté' ... "[1]

This tale is also present in the Afro-American cycle of 'Brer Rabbit' tales, and in an altered version in Dominican Patwa[2], as well as in St. Lucian Patwa .

Beginning and Ending Formulae:

Beginning, ending and failing formulae, however, although similar in form to such formulae in African languages were relexified[3] to a great extent by French loans. As these formulae are important as markers of beginning, ending and failing in creole and African oral literature, such relexification is of less importance to their actual function.
Cf. Kriul forms on p. /50 above, with:

Beginning Formulae for (i) Prose Narratives:

e.g.: Wolof: xalɛm bulakan....xalit
"kora Rel. +burn+Past ... <?"
- 'The kora which burnt ..... '

Beginning Formulae for (ii) Riddles:

e.g.: Wolof: xalɛm bulakan....xalit
"kora Rel. +burn+Past ... <?"
- 'The kora which burnt ..... '

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1. See Monteil, C. 1905: 45-49 for the full Mandinka version in translation.
2. See Dorson, R. M. 1967: 82-83 and in A.C.C.T., 1976: 18-20.
~~3. Consult P /0(1) (C.N: .)~~
3. Defined on p. 48 & 49 of the general introduction.

Ending Formulae for (i) Prose Narratives:

e.g.: Mandinka: ntaling kɔngkɔrɔndang
<? <?
-'The story is finished'

Dyola: a bane
"it finish Past
-'It has finished'

Manjak: a ba
"it finish"
-'It is finished'

Wolof: fɔfu la jɛx e
"there it finish Past"
-'It has finished'

Ending Formulae for (ii) Riddles:

e.g.: Dyola: (none)

Manjak: a si unk
"it be thus"
-'That is right'

Wolof: wau - 'Yes! '

Failing Formulae for Riddles Only:

e.g.: Dyola: (none)

Manjak: m mɛ ts
"I know Neg."
-'I do not know'

Wolof: suf na ma
"below it me"
-'It is below my conscious thoughts',
'I do not know'.

French Loans in Kriul Formulae

	BEGINNING	ENDING	FAILING
prose narratives:	très souvent i te siz ɔra..budɔnas la...ta kumase kɔnta bɔs stɔriya[1]	on dit rien "one say nothing on termine one finish" -'Nothing is said, the story is brought to an end'	n mɔrde "I bite nya lingu my tongue" -'I bite my tongue'
riddles:	_____	on dit rien "one say nothing"	_____

Unlike Krio and Patwa oral literature[2], Kriul oral literature (informal as opposed to formal speech) is not the main context for the retention of African items from languages of diachronic contact, such items being equally distributed in both speech styles. This may be partly due to the fact that Kriul, unlike Krio and Patwa, has remained in the same geographical area as many of its languages of diachronic contact[3] e.g. Mandinka. Consequently Kriul oral literature may function as an archival source

1.I.e."very often it be six hour...you (sing.) elders.... Fut.(Hon.Im.)begin relate you (pl.) story" -'Very often at six, your elders would begin to tell you (and your friends) a story'.

2.Described on pt.II, ch.4, and pt.III, ch.5, respectively.
3.Defined on p. 48 .

(discussed below) for items from its African languages of diachronic contact[1].

This may also be due to the fact that, initially, pidgin-Kriul speakers stressed their (Afro-) Portuguese links rather than any linguistic or other solidarity with their African ethnolinguistic groups[2]. A preservation of lexical items from their African languages would only have retarded their basically 'assimilado' efforts to become included in the (pidgin/)Kriul-speaking (Afro-) Portuguese community.

The main reason for this difference in the diffusion of African language items in Kriul however, is one of historical circumstances.

However, slavery in Kriul-speaking society was not dissimilar to the slave-caste system of the Mandinka and other Manding groups[3]. As such, it was very different from the history of plantation slavery in other Creole societies. Krio and Patwa-speaking slaves in the Americas and the Caribbean were forced to 'hide' the African elements of their speech in the slave-to-slave communication which probably characterized the use of their oral literature. The 'masters' would only have been hostile to the use of African items in their formal speech and took coersive steps to prevent this e.g. the separation of Africans from the same ethnolinguistic groups and various physical punishments for the use of African items[4]. The past of Kriul was, however, characterized by domestic servitude on the part of Africans wanting to join an (Afro-)Portuguese society commercially based on selling slaves, many of whom may have

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1. Cf. Krio oral literature in which items from Yoruba (a language in diachronic contact with Krio) are preserved. See pt. II, ch. 4, pp. 302 & 304.
2. See pt. I, ch. 1, pp. 69 & 70.
3. See pt. II, ch. 1, pp. 197-200.
4. Bebel-Gisler, D. 1976: 64-68.

been non-Kriul speaking[1]. The wish to assimilate by the early (pidgin/)Kriul speakers may have excluded the wish to 'hide' African items.

Whatever the past motivation for the diffusion of African items in Kriul oral literature, however, a consideration of the thematic content of its genres is equally indicative of the social history of Kriul-speaking society. Its slave-based past, for example, is indicated in the following extract from a prose narrative in which leuk - 'hare/rabbit' mocks buki - 'hyena/wolf' and finally sells buki at the slave market:

... 'katibu na rema, branku na jungu' .....
" <U slave Prog. rows, white Prog. <U nod off to sleep
- .. 'The slave rows while the (white) master rests ...[sings the hyena]

abo kunna bindi ɛ ciga
you (sing.) with I Fut.(N.Im.) sell they enter
- It is you I am going to sell [says the hare]. They entered

na fɛra... i da ɛlus
Loc.(Prep.) market (s)he give them
- the slave market ... he [the hare] gave them [the traders]

lobu, i bindi ɛlus[3]
wolf, (s)he sell them."
- the hyena whom he/she sold to them.'

---

1. See pt.I, ch.1, pp. 77 & 76 .
2. Consult K 16/0(1) C.N: 5983 - 6256) for the whole prose narrative.

Kriul's Christian (Catholic) tradition is similarly evident e.g. in the following song, sung on the night of All Saints Day by Catholics going from house to house with lighted candles and asking for alms:

Jezu Santa Mariya
"Jesus Saint Mary
-'Jesus Saint Mary

Maria roza pa nɔmi di peekadɔr
Mary rose by name of fisherman
- Mary rose name of the fisherman (Jesus),

a gɔ́ɔra n na gɔra nɔs sta
at now I Prog. now we be
Emph.
- At this very moment we are

mɔrta di n Jezu[1]
death of my Jesus"
- (Commemorating) the death of my Jesus'.

1.Consult K 28/0(4) (C.N: 0360- 0637).

More explicit indications of the traditional Christian/Catholic affiliation of most Kriul speakers[1] are also evident, e.g. the song proclaiming that the 'Son of God is born':

bai dirita tudu laadu
"go straight away all place
-' Go immediately everywhere,

kɔntajə kə ku nobadi
relate Rel. Assoc. good news
- (and) relate the good tidings,

bai dirita tudu laadu
go straight away every place
- Go immediately everywhere,

ali fiju di Deɔs padidu[2]
here son of God born Past Participle"
- Here the Son of God is born! '

Unlike Krio oral literature referring to Christianity, similar Kriul oral literature indicated no hostile attitudes towards ~~pagan,~~ Islamic and traditional African religious beliefs[3]. This is possibly due to the fact that Catholicism in Casamance was, with Kriul, one of the two most important cultural markers of the socially prestigious Portuguese and their Afro-Portuguese descendents. As such it has retained a high level of internal prestige[4] among its congregation who do not feel threatened by the religious beliefs of the neighbouring ethnic groups. Christianity amongst the Gambian Krio speakers, however, is a marker of their 'inferior' slave descent in an Islamic milieu traditionally dominated by the Mandinka and Wolof[5].

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1. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 70 .
2. Consult K 8/0.(10)(C.N: 3396-3601 & 4793-5251 .)
3. ~~Cf. the hostile attitudes towards such beliefs in Krio oral literature.~~ See pt.II, ch.5, p. 323 .
4. Defined on p. 49 of the general introduction.
5. See pt.II, ch.1.

Amongst the other themes evident in Kriul oral literature, that of the recent war between Guinea Bissau and Portugal[1] is particularly important as an indicator of the strong links in political opinion between Kriul speakers in Guinea Bissau and Senegal. The song genre is the outlet for such opinions which mainly eulogize Amilcar Cabral, the dead revolutionary leader of Guinea Bissau, and comment on the sadness of war[2].

In ~~their~~ its present social and other functions, Kriul oral literature, like that of the other creoles, ~~indicates~~ bears a number of similarities to African oral literature i.e. in terms of:

1) Archival Function,

2) The Use of Praise and Abuse,

3) Political Function,

4) Social Function, and

5) Audience Participation.[3]

1) Archival Function:

Oral literature in Africa is a means by which items of historical value are stored. The classic example is that of the Mandinka griot who has traditionally spent his life memorizing and reciting the history of the Manding Empire within the framework of the founder-emperor Sunjata.

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1. Between 1960 and 1974.
2. See pp. 692-694 of the appendix.
3. These terms of reference are outlined in Dalphinis, M. 1979(c)

Within Kriul-speaking and the other creole societies, no such specialized groups exist to perpetuate similar items of historical value. Instead there is a provision of formulaeic and other memory aids to culturally valued items so that they may be perpetuated in group memory. Kumpo is such a culturally valued item.

Choruses in kumpo songs, like choruses in Krio gumbe songs[1], are also summaries of the whole song and, as such, are also a formulaeic aid to the memorization and thus preservation of the content of the songs. The musical rhythms beaten out on flat sticks also provide another aid to memory. The provision of such additional memory aids to kumpo (see examples above) in contrast to other Kriul songs not making use of a separate chorus[2] and/or additional musical accompaniment is probably indicative of the social importance of kumpo in Casamance and the related wish to preserve kumpo songs within group memory for future generations[3]. Indeed, given its probable Bainuk[4] inspiration, the very survival of kumpo, and its present diffusion amongst all Casamance ethnic groups, long after the 'disappearance'[5] of the Bainuk, ~~is~~ are a testimony of its original cultural and social value amongst the Bainuk and their Creole descendents.

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1. Discussed in pt.II, ch.5, pp. 316-319 & 333-337.
2. E.g. on pp. 692 & 693 of the appendix.
3. Cf. similar memorization of Krio gumbe and Patwa songs making use of choruses.
   See pt.II, ch.5, pp. 330-334 and pt.III, ch.6, p. 544 respectively.
4. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 59 .
5. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 60 .

2) Use of Praise and Abuse:

Typical of African oral literature is the use of praise epithets e.g. izibongo in Zulu and roko in Hausa, as well as abuse e.g. Hausa habaici. Individuals are praised or abused as rewards or penalties for conforming or not conforming to the societies' values. With increasing urbanization, hunting and other traditional activities are ~~no longer~~ less important variables in terms of which individuals are praised in creole-speaking, and many other, African societies. Kriul, however, has preserved at least one praise epithet related to such past/socially valued activities i.e., the following praise epithet of a mythical hunter named Jəmani, sung by one of his animal victims:

Dimingu Jəmani, ɔmi balɛnti
"Dimingu Jemani man valiant
-'Dimingu Jemani, oh valiant man!

matam gora Jəmani
kill me now Jemani
- Kill me now Jemani!

ami kɛl dyia nya ni matu Jəmani
I Specif.day I wander and suffer forest Jemani
- It is I who on that day wandered suffering in the forest,

ki mɔra na matu Jəmani[1]
Rel. die Loc.(Prep.) bush Jemani"
- Who die at your hands Jemani'.

With the present departure, in the town setting of Ziguinchor, from such traditional social practices, the use of their associated epithets of praise/abuse has given way to monetary and other modern means of social praise/abuse.

1.K 5/O.(4) (C.N: 2135 - 2203 .)
Note that Jəmani (~J/Dimingu J/Dya(mani))the hunter is also the topic of another prose narrative.
(See pp.685-688 of the appendix) again underlining the importance of group memory.

3) Political Function:

In more traditional African societies e.g. Mandinka and Hausa society, oral literature has often been employed in the political arena by a socially distinct group of musical specialists, e.g. the Mandinka griots and the Hausa marokai, who frequently advertised the qualities of the rulers to the ruled and reminded the rulers of their shortcomings as discussed by the ruled.

This political function is however evident in Kriul at the mass level and most Kriul speakers are familiar with songs popularizing the role of the P.A.I.G.C[1] and its leaders Amilcar and Louis Cabral in the war of national liberation against Portugal e.g.:

..." ɔra ciga Luish Kabral
"hour come Louis Cabral,
-'The time has come Louis Cabral
Spinola kuri, Spinola kurí[2].....
Spinola run Spinola run"
- Spinola (the Portuguese general) ran'.....

1.I.e. Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde - African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.
2.See pp.692-695 of the appendix.

4) Social Function:

Unlike mechanical means of communication, e.g. radio, and television, nearly all individuals have access to the 'means of production' in African oral literature. Traditionally songs attached to important festivals and rites of passage are known to all members of the African society concerned. This socially non-selective production has therefore functioned as a socially creative safety-value for the communal (and individual) feelings of grief or happiness attached to the rites of passages of members of the community.

Kriul oral literature has perpetuated this tradition in the use of special songs sung at funerals (dirges) and marriage songs sung on accompanying the new bride to her husband's home e.g.:

Dirge:

"pɛrdi na yɛ mo
"lose I my brother <U
-'I have lost my brother,

pɛrdi fiyɛ̃ sa
lose faith my
- I have lost my faith,

nunde ku n na kɔnsola
where Assoc. I Fut.(N.Im.) console
- Where shall I go for consolation

si ka nunde Deo[1]
if Neg. where God"
- If not close to God'

1.K 7/O.(10) (C.N: 4453-4543 .)

Marriage Song:

CHORUS: o ya yango o ye
" nonsense items <U
- O ya yango o ye,

LEAD: o ya yango nɔiba nobo
nonsense items <U bride new
-'(It is) the new bride

bai...sinta na turpɛrsa kɛbra
go sit Loc.(Prep.)chair break
- Go to sit, the chair breaks,

bai dita na kama rumba[1]
go sleep Loc.(Prep.)bed collapse"
- Go to sleep, the bed collapses'

CHORUS: o ya yango.....[2]
- O ya yango.....

It is likely that some of the very practices associated with these songs attached to special occasions stem from the African tradition. In both Kriul and Krio marriage ceremonies the bride is accompanied to her new home by the wedding guests singing such songs . The kumpo form of the Kriul marriage songs, the fact that kumpo makes its appearance during wedding celebrations, and the fact that many African societies, including Mandinka and Wolof, make a similar use of marriage songs, make the African dimension of this practice even more likely.Both Kriul and Krio speakers use Christian hymns during the Christian marriage ceremony,in contrast to the non-Christian kumpo songs sung after the church-ceremony.

1.K 35/O.(10) (C.N: 3409-3530 .)
2.Note that the "nonsense words" in the chorus may well be from African languages.Cf.the similar manner in which African items are perpetuated as "nonsense words" in Krio oral literature generallyand in the choruses of Patwa songs. This would be suggestive of the chorus as a special archival source in creole oral literature and of the process of meaning-loss in putative African 'nonsense words' in creoles. See pt.II, ch.5 and pt.III, ch.6.
~~3.See pt.II, ch.5, pp. for a discussion of such marriage songs in Krio oral literature.~~

5) Audience Participation:

Given its access to all social groups, audience participation in African and creole oral literature is a natural extension of this mode of communication itself. Hand-clapping, repetition, sudden exclamations and the singing of the chorus by the audience are part of the very essence of African/creole oral literature and are reflected in the very structure of some of its genres. The lead/chorus structure[1] of many African/creole songs, for example, is designed for audience participation. In kumpo, for example, the kumpo initiants lead the singing but its choral rhythm is provided by the singing and ~~of~~ beating sticks by the participating audience.

Given that the chorus is often repeated and thus emphasises the thematic content of the song[2], and that repetition is a marker of emphasis in many African and creole languages[3], one wonders if emphatic repetition has not reached its peak in the repeated rhythms of African/creole drum music.

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1. See pp. 144&145.
2. E.g. on pp. 694 - 696
3. See pt.I, ch.2, p. 107 ; ch.6, p. 172 ; pt.II, ch.2, p.255 ; ch.6, p. 345; pt.III, ch.2, p. 446 , ch.7, p. 550.

PART I

CHAPTER 6: AFRICAN GRAMMATICAL FEATURES[1] IN CASAMANCE KRIUL

INTRODUCTION

As previously indicated[2], a number of common grammatical features were found to be present in Kriul, Krio and Patwa and many African languages. In order to differentiate past African grammatical influences from present ones the following descriptive terms are adopted, amongst others, in the manner indicated in the linguistic vocabulary:

'diachronic', 'synchronic', 'synchronic reinforcement', 'languages in diachronic/synchronic contact'[3].

The African languages which were in diachronic contact with Kriul are: Mandinka, Bainuk/Kasa[4], Dyola and Balanta[5]. Of these Dyola has remained in synchronic contact, so too has Bainuk, but, as a result of continuing 'disappearance' of its speakers by absorbtion into larger ethnic groups, its contact with Kriul is now minimal[6]. Contact with Mandinka is now not as great as it was in the past[7]. Of the 54 Kriul speakers in my corpus, for example, only K 31 spoke Mandinka. Casamance Kriul has been out of contact with Balanta since the sixteenth century[8].

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1. Defined on pp. 16-21 of the introduction.
2. See pp. 9-21 of the introduction.
3. Outlined in Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a) and on pp. 166 & 167.
4. As Kasa (Kassanke) is very closely related to Bainuk, Kasa grammatical language influences are not separately discussed. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 62 .
5. See pt.I, ch.1. Pulaar grammatical influences are also excluded from the discussion on the basis of lack of close diachronic contact between Pulaar and Kriul speakers in Casamance. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 67 .
6. Of the 54 Kriul speakers interviewed, only K 53 was part-Bainuk although not a Bainuk speaker. See also p. 626 .
7. Described in pt.I, ch.1, pp. 66 & 67.
8. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 61 .

The languages of synchronic contact, including Dyola, which now provide synchronic reinforcement of the African grammatical features in Kriul, are: Wolof and Manjak (see below).

It may be suggested that the long period of contact[1] between all the African languages mentioned above has resulted in so great a degree of convergence between their structural moulds[2] that their diachronic and synchronic influences cannot be easily differentiated in Kriul. Such convergent grammatical features would not be ~~unrelated to~~ unexpected in areas such as Casamance, where ethnolinguistic groups have remained in a similar, close geographical ~~position to where they were in the past~~ relationship for a long period[3], although with some minor changes (described below).

As far as the first language use of Kriul is concerned, however, such minor changes are of major importance, given its increasing use as a second language of inter-ethnic communication in Casamance[4]. Mandinka is no longer in close contact with Casamance Kriul, due to the past breakdown of Mandinka-ruled Kasa[5], although remaining in close contact with Guinea Bissau Kriul. Absorbtion of the remaining Bainuk into the Dyola, as already mentioned, is hastening the disappearance of the former.

Both Mandinka and Bainuk, have, however, had important influences upon the early development of Kriul[6]. Wolof, on the other hand, which never had any important diachronic contact with Kriul, is at present encroaching and expanding southward into the Casamance. Wolof is having decreolizing

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1. From at least the sixteenth century. See pt.I, ch.1, pp.54-57.
2. Defined on p.48 .
3. Hair, P.E.H. 1967: 247 suggests that the Upper Guinea Coast, including Casamance, is such an area of ethnolinguistic continuity. See pt.I, ch.1, p.57 .
4. Described in pt.I, ch.3.
5. See pt.I, ch.1, pp.62-65
6. See pt.I, ch.1, pp.62-67.

influences upon Krio[1] and similar, though more restricted influences upon Kriul. Manjak, although having diachronic contact with Guinea Bissau Kriul, is now having some synchronic contact with Kriul due to the presence of war refugees[2] from Guinea Bissau in Ziguinchor.

Such detailed differences in geographical position between diachronic and synchronic languages of contact relative to Kriul will therefore be used as the main yardstick for differentiating the diachronic and synchronic (reinforcing) African grammatical influences evident in Kriul's structural mould. Discussion of the African language features which characterize these influences will be mainly in terms of the selected grammatical features[3], except where otherwise stated. Each African grammatical feature is analysed in each of the languages of contact, which are set out in terms of their chronological contact with Casamance Kriul i.e.:

Bainuk
Balanta
Mandinka
Dyola
Manjak
Wolof[4]

Due to an absence of adequate sources[5] for Bainuk and Balanta, however, exemplification of these languages is at times lacking and will be so indicated below.

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1. See pt.II, ch.3.
2. From the war between Guinea Bissau and Portugal (1960-1974.)
3. Described on p. 168 .
4. See pt.I, ch.1.
5. I.e. sources other than those referred to in the list of sources on pp. 4-8 .

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

The following selected grammatical features are evident in Kriul[1] and in one or more of its languages of contact (above):

2 - Predicative Adjective,
3 - Front-Focalisation,
4 - Emphatic Repetition,
5 - Emphatic Elongation of Vowel,
6 - Topicalisation,
7 - Catenation,
8 - Use of a Plural Affix,
9 - Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for',
10 - Suffixation of the Definite Article and Possessive Pronouns,
11 - Differentiation of the 2nd. sing. and 2nd.pl., and
12 - Non-Differentiation of the 3rd. sing. Pronoun.

The following, although not evident in Kriul, is used in one or more of the African languages of contact:

1 - Stabiliser.

The following grammatical features are also relevant to Kriul and its African languages of contact:

1) Use of a Causative Marker,
2) Use of a Plural Marker Similar in Form to the 3rd. pl. and/or an Associative Marker,
3) Use of Tense/Aspect Markers, and
4) Use of a Specifier in Relation to a Nominal Class System.

1.Discussed on pp.16-21. See also pt.I, ch.2.

Stabiliser (Feature 1):

Unlike Krio and Patwa[1], Kriul does not make use of a stabiliser e.g.:

Kriul: arbrə - '(It is) a tree'
"tree"

This non-use of stabilisers is also a feature of a number of Kriul's African languages of contact:

Bainuk: budin - '(It is) a well'[2]
"well"

Balanta: mɔnkɛ - '(It is) a mango tree'
"mango tree"

Dyola[3]: bubər - '(It is) a tree'
"tree "

The following languages of contact, however, do make use of stabilisers:

Mandinka: yiro le mu - 'It is a tree'
"tree the (Emph.)Stab."

Manjak: a si bukɔ - 'It is a tree'
"it Stab. tree"

Wolof: garab la[4] - 'It is a tree'
"tree Stab."

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1. See pt.II, ch.6, pp.341-342 and pt.III, ch.6, p. 548 .
2. All references to Bainuk, unless otherwise stated are from the field-notes of Dr.W.A.A. Wilson.
3. The Fogny dialect is used for all exemplification of the Dyola language throughout this thesis.
4. la ~ na e.g.: xɔ̃x na - 'is red'.
"red Stab."

See pt.II, ch.6, pp.341-342.

Predicative Adjective (Feature 2):

The use of self-stabilised predicative adjectives is a feature of the African languages of diachronic contact which has been reinforced by the African languages of synchronic contact e.g.:

Kriul: i brumeju - 'It is red'
"(s)he/it red"

Bainuk: a siddi - 'She/He/It is big'
"(s)he/it big "

Balanta: "f ndaŋ - it is big"[1]
"it(Cl.) big"

Mandinka: a wule ta - 'It is red'
"(s)he/it red Perf.Intr.[2]"

Dyola: a junke - 'It is red'
"(s)he/it red"

Manjak: a jənk' - 'It is red'
"(s)he/it red "

Wolof: dafa xɔ̃x - 'It is red'
"it Stat. red"

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3):

The use of focalisers is a feature of all the African languages of contact e.g.:

Kriul: i ɛl sɔng ki bing -'He/She alone came'
"it (s)he Focal.Rel. come"

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1. Wilson, W.A.A.1961: 144. Although the researcher has attempted to exemplify the selected grammatical features by sentences having the same meaning, the inavailability of Bainuk and Balanta speakers has necessitated the use of comparable sentences of different meanings from the written sources.

2. I.e Intransitive; cf. Tr. i.e Transitive throughout this thesis.

Bainuk: miin sɔɔm - '(It is) us alone'
"us Focal.

Balanta: nyi x-ɔɔdi - 'I alone','(It is) I alone'
"I Cl. I Focal."

Mandinka: a dɔrɔng le na ta
"(s)he Focal.Emph.come Perf.Intr."
-'He/She alone came'

Dyola: akila kɛb na bilɛɛn
"he Specif.Focal. he come Past"
-'He/She alone came'

Manjak: asimul kɔrul n jɔ mbi unk
"he Specif. Focal. Cl. Past come Prog."
-'He/She alone came'

Wolof: mɔm rɛk mɔ nyew ɔn
"(s)he Focal. (s)he come Past"
-'He/She alone came'

In Dyola, Manjak and Wolof, as in Kriul, the focaliser is a specialised use of the adverb meaning 'only', 'alone'[1], e.g.:

Mandinka: hɛra dɔrɔng - 'Peace! '
"peace only (Adv.) "

Dyola: kasumɛi kɛb - 'Peace! '
"peace only(Adv.)"

Manjak: a jɔ bi kɔrul - 'He came alone'
"he Past come only(Adv.)

Wolof: jama rɛk - 'Peace' [2]
"peace only(Adv.)"

1.Cf.respectively Kriul sɔng - Focal. and Krio wan - Focal. See also pp.16&17 & pt.I, ch.2, pp.105&106.
2.No adequate exemplification was available for front-focalisation in Bainuk and Balanta.

Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4):

Cf. the use of emphatic repetition in the African languages of contact:

Mandinka: a be boro la, a be boro la .....
"(s)he Prog. run Prog. (s)he Prog.run Prog."
-'He runs on and on'

Dyola: akila ɔmu dete, ɔmu dete.....
"he Specif. Prog. run Prog. run"
-'He runs on and on'

Manjak: nu ka tuk unk, nu ka tuk unk .....
"he Prog. run Prog. he Prog. run Prog."
-'He runs on and on'

Wolof: munge dawa dawa .....
"(s)he Dur. run run"
-'He runs on and on'

Like Kriul, neither Bainuk ~~and~~ nor Balanta make a large use of emphatic repetition but, again like Kriul, make use of emphatic ideophones. Unlike Kriul, both Bainuk and Balanta make a large use of emphatic elongation of vowel[1].

Emphatic Elongation of Vowel (Feature 5):

This feature is evident in some of the African languages of contact e.g.:

Bainuk: a féeeeri - 'It is extremely white'
"(s)he/it white"
Emph.

1.Wilson, W.A.A., in conversation, S.O.A.S 1980.

Balanta: flohng fndáang
"machette big "
Emph.
-'The machette is extremely big'

Mandinka: a hakilo dyáa ta le
"(s)he intelligence sweet Perf.Intr.Emph."
Emph.
-'He/She is extremely intelligent'

Manjak: nakɔ lipáa
"(s)he Specif. intelligent"
Emph.
-'He/She is extremely intelligent'

Dyola does not make use of this feature and instead makes use of emphatic reduplication e.g.:

akila na sangɔ sangɔ
"he Specif. he intelligent intelligent"
-'He/She is extremely intelligent'

The absence of emphatic elongation of vowel in Dyola, a language of both diachronic and synchronic contact with Kriul, may well account for the more restricted use of this feature in Kriul[1]. Wolof similarly uses emphatic repetition (including reduplication) instead of emphatic elongation of vowel (e.g. above).

Topicalisation (Feature 6):

Topicalisation is a feature of a number of the African languages of contact ~~e.g.~~ cf.:

Kriul: libri ki n da bu i brumeju
"book Rel. I give you(sing.) it red "
-'The book I gave you is red'.

1.See pt.I, ch.2, p. 109 .

In Balanta, topicalisation is optional e.g.:

Balanta: laantɛ bentɛ ne (x) kɛb
"person come hither Rel. Cl.(he) fall"
-'The person who came fell'

The subject 'person' can be optionally topicalised by the pronoun 'he/she'/'it'.

Mandinka: nga buko mu ng di i
"I book the Rel. I give you(sing.)
la, a be wulering ne
Post Position it Prog. red Emph."
-'The book I gave you(sing.) is red'

Dyola: ɛ librai i wu li, a junke[1]
"the book I give you(sing.) it red"
-'The book I gave you (sing.) is red'

Manjak: u libru nji wu lu unk, a jɔnk
"the book I give you(sing.) Prog.it red"
-'The book I gave you (sing.) is red'

Wolof: tɛre bi ma la jɔx, dafa xɔ̃x
"book the I you(sing.) give it Stat. red"
-'The book I gave you (sing.) is red'

In all the sentences (above) the subject -'the book' is topicalised[2] by the pronoun meaning 'it'.

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1. Note that in Dyola (Fogny) "An utterance entirely unmarked for tense is assumed to indicate a recent past of a present", according to Sapir, J. 1965: 31. The sentence above is assumed to be in the recent past.

2. No examples were available for topicalisation in Bainuk.

Catenation (Feature 7):[X]

Verbal catenation resulting in a verbal series is a feature of all the African languages of contact, e.g.:

Kriul: i tama libru suta ɛlus
"(s)he take book beat them"
-'He/She took the book and beat them'

Balanta: "Mben diis,....mben kɔn wɔm nsaw.....
["I come go off I come it eat, I finish"]
- I went off..and then ate it and finished (it)" [1]

Mandinka: a ye buko ta a ye e busa
"(s)he Perf.Tr. book the take (s)he Perf.Tr.them beat"
-'He/She took the book and beat them'

Dyola: a ngare ɛɛn librei a tek bukɔl
"he take Past the book he hit them"
-'He/She took the book and beat them'

Note also possible reinforcement from Dyola (above), Manjak and Wolof, e.g.:

Manjak: a jək u libru a bup bakul
"(s)he Stab. take the book (s)he hit them"
-'He/She took the book and beat them'

Wolof: dafa jɛl tɛre dɔr len
"(s)he Stab.take book beat them"
-'He/She took the book and beat them'

~~1.No exemplification was available for topicalisation in Bainuk.~~

1 .Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 151. No exemplification of verbal catenation was available for Bainuk. Note the researcher's insertions in square brackets, below language items in quotation marks.

Plural Affix (Feature 8):

The use of a plural affix is evident in all the languages of diachronic contact, e.g.:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Kriul:	wɔmi - 'man' "man"	wɔmiš - 'men' "man pl."
	kacur - 'dog' "dog"	kacurūs -'dogs' "dog pl."
Bainuk:	u — digen -'man' "sing.man"	in—digen - 'men' "pl. man"
Balanta:	o — laente -'man/person' "sing.person"	bə-laante -'men/persons' "pl.person"
Mandinka:	ke—(w) o -'the man' "man the(sing.)"	ke-(w) olu - 'the men' "man pl."
Dyola:	a — nyine -'the man' "the(sing.)man"	ku—kyine - 'the men' "pl. man"

It is likely that the use of the plural suffix s ~ us in Kriul <Portuguese sh plural suffix could only have been convergent with the Mandinka post-nominal pl. suffix -olu rather that the pl. prefixes of Balanta and Dyola. Synchronic influences from Manjak and Wolof ~~influences~~ are as divergent as that of the African languages of diachronic contact as Manjak makes use of a pl. prefix and Wolof a pl. suffix e.g.:

Manjak:	n — ints -'the man' "the(sing.)man"	ba—(y)ints -'the men' "pl. man"
Wolof:	gɔr-gi -'the man' "man the(sing.)	gɔr — nyi - 'the men' "man pl."

A number of the local African languages of contact including Bainuk, Balanta, Dyola and Manjak make use of a nominal class system in which the form of the nominal affix is dependent upon the semantic class of the noun. For example, in Dyola a - sing. ⟶ ku - pl. is used with nouns referring to human beings while e - sing. ⟶ ku - pl. is used with nouns referring to non-human objects.

Note the use of singular and plural affixes in the following languages of diachronic contact on the basis of the semantic class of the noun:

Bainuk:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
HUMAN	u - digen	in — digen
	"sing. man "	"pl. man"
	'(the) man'	'(the)men'
NON-HUMAN	bu - xund	i - xund
	"sing. pestel"	"pl. pestel"
	'(the) pestel'	'(the)pestels'

Balanta:

HUMAN	(hə)- raasa	bə - raasa
	"sing. Balanta"	"pl. Balanta"
	'(the) Balanta'	'(the) Balantas'
NON-HUMAN	f — mɔnkɛ	k -mɔnkɛ
	"sing. mango"	"pl. mango"
	'(the) mango'	'(the) mangoes'
HUMAN	a — nyilau	ku- nyila-ku
	"sing. boy"	"pl. boy pl."
	'the boy'	'the boys'
NON-HUMAN	e -lupai	ku -lupa -ku
	"sing. house"	"pl. house pl."
	'the house'	'the houses'

Manjak:[1]

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
HUMAN	napɔts nɲiints	ba-pɔts baɲiints
	"sing.youth sing. male"	"pl.youth pl.male"
	'the boy'	'the boys'
NON-HUMAN	u — balu	gə-balu
	"sing. pigeon"	"pl. pigeon"
	'the pigeon'	'the pigeons'

The nominal class system of the local African languages is having some effects on the Kriul specifier and the relative pronoun[2].

Mandinka does not have a nominal class system, while Wolof has a 'decayed' class system with limited concord, e.g.

Mandinka:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
HUMAN	mo-o	mo-olu
	"person sing."	"person pl."
	'person'	'person(s)'
NON-HUMAN	ninso	ninsolu
	"cow sing."	"cow pl."
	'cow'	'cow(s)'

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1. For full descriptions of the nominal class system in Bainuk, Balanta, Dyola and Manjak, see Marques, J.B. 1947; Wilson, W.A.A. 1961; Sapir, J.D. 1965 and Carreira, A. & Marques, J.B. 1947 respectively.
2. See pp. 193 & 194 pt.I, ch.2, pp. 100 & 101.

Wolof:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
HUMAN	nit — ki	nit — nyi
	"man sing."	"man pl."
	'man '	'men'
NON-HUMAN	fas — bi	fas — nyi
	"horse sing."	"horse pl."
	' horse'	'horses'

Note ~~however~~ the following examples in which the remnants of ~~a~~ nominal class~~es~~ for liquids, trees, and fruits ~~is~~ are suggested in Wolof singular nouns.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
LIQUIDS	mɛu — mi	mɛu — yi
	-'milk'	-'different types of milk'
TREES	garab — gi	garab — yi
	-'tree'	-'trees'
	nɛu — gi	nɛu — yi
	-'apple tree'	-'apple trees'
FRUITS	dɔɔm — bi	dɔɔm — yi
	-'fruit'	-'fruits'
	xɛuɛr — bi	xɛuɛr — yi
	-'cherry' [1]	-'cherries'

Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9)[2]

This feature is evident in the following:

Kriul: i fala m bang kuma no bai
"(s)he tell me Past say we go"
-'He/She told me that we should go'

---

1. Sauvageot, S. 1965: 69-70.
2. No exemplification of this feature was available for Bainuk.

Mandinka: a y(e) a fo no ye ko naa
"(s)he Past it tell me Past say come"
-'He/She told me to come'

Manjak: a je in kuma ngə tsəp
"he tell me say we go"
-'He/She told me to go'

Wolof: daf ma wax ne nyu dɛm
"(s)he Stab.me tell say we go"
-'He/She told me to go'

Balanta does not use this feature e.g.:
'ɗaantɛ yah ma 'tɔɔhŋ!'.....the man said 'Go!'.."[1]
["man say Emph. go"]

Dyola, also, does not make use of this feature e.g.:
akila na reg ɔm u jal,
"he Specif. he tell me we go"
also having the same meaning (above)

Suffixation of the Definite Article and Possessive Pronouns (Feature 10):

Definite Article:

The definite article is suffixed in the following African languages of contact:

Dyola: an - yi - nɛ - 'the man'
"sing. man the"

Mandinka: ke-(w) o ~ ke - e - 'the man'
"man the" "man the"

Wolof: gɔr - gi - 'the man'
"man the"

1.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 155.

Although Kriul does not make use of a definite article the demonstratives li and la suggest Wolof/Mandinka influences (above) in Kriul:

rapas — la - 'the boy'
"boy the"

baldokai — la[1] - 'the bucket'
"bucket the"

Cf. similar influences in pidginized French in Casamance e.g.:

lopital — la - 'the hospital',
"hospital the"

põ — la - 'the bridge', etc.
"bridge the"

Bainuk, Balanta and Manjak, like Kriul do not make use of a definite article, but their nominal class prefixes precede the noun e.g.:

Kriul: (w)ɔmi - '(the) man'
"man"

Bainuk: bu — diin - '(the) hearth-stone'
"sing.hearth-stone"

Balanta: "f [—] lue"[3] - 'the chair'
["sing.chair"]

Manjak: n — ints - 'the man'
"sing. man"

1.See pt.I, ch.2, p.96.

3.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 141-142.

Possessive Pronouns:

Possessive pronouns precede the noun in the following:

Kriul: si minjɛr - 'his wife'
"his wife"

Mandinka: ala mus o - 'his wife'
"his wife the"

All Wolof possessive pronouns precede the noun except in the 3rd sing. e.g.:

suma jabar - 'my wife'
"my wife"

Cf. jabar am - 'his wife'
"wife him"

Possessive pronouns are suffixed to the noun in the following:

Cassanga[1]: "Ferop uône"[2] - 'his cork'
"cork his"

Balanta: "bkɔ da"[3] - 'my head'
["sing. head my"]

Dyola: asek l - 'his wife'
"wife him"

Manjak: ar ul - 'his wife'
"wife him"

---

1. Marques, J. B. 1947: 893.
2. Due to lack of exemplification available from Bainuk the following examples from Cassanga, a related language are given instead.
See pt.I, ch.1, p. 91 .
3. Wilson, W. A. A. 1961: 160.

Differentiation of the 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl. Subject Pronouns (as in Port. and Fr.) (Feature 11):

This feature is evident in Kriul and its African languages of contact:

	2ND.SINGULAR	2ND. PLURAL
Kriul:	bu	bo
Bainuk:	ifi	naantung
Balanta:	"hu"	"bàa"[1]
Mandinka:	i	al(u)
Dyola:	au	muyul
Manjak:	wi	ind
Wolof:	yau	yɛn

For example:

Kriul:	bu na bing	bo na bing
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.)Prog. come"
Balanta:	"hu ma hɔ..it is you"[2]	"ba tɔɔh na...you go.."[3]
	["you(sing.)Emph. be"	"you(pl.) gó Imp.pl."]
Mandinka:	i be naa	al(u) be naa
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.)Prog. come"
Dyola:	au omu de bil	muyul omu de bil
	"you(sing.)be and come"	"you(pl.)be and come"
Manjak:	wi ka bi unk	ind ka be unk
	"you(sing.)Progcome Prog."	"you(pl.)Prog.come Prog."
Wolof:	ya(u) nge nyew	yɛ(n) nge nyew
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.)Prog. come"

and all meaning:

'You(sing.)are coming' and 'You(pl.) are coming' respectively.

1.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961:146.No exemplification was available for Bainuk.Cf. Cassanga ai (2nd.sing.) and kã (2nd.pl.) e.g.: "Ai gô utçámãl" ["you(sing.)be hunter"]- 'you (sing.)are a hunter'

Cf. : "Kã gô Dyolág" ["you(pl.) are priest"-] 'you (pl.) are a priest'

2.Wilson, W.A.A. 159.
3.Ibid.; pp. 153-154.

Non-Differentiation of the 3rd. sing. (masc./fem)(Feature 12):

This is a typical feature of African languages, ~~feature~~ evident in all the languages of contact, e.g.:

3RD.SINGULAR ~~MALE~~ PERSONAL SUBJECT PRONOUNS
~~FEMALE/AND INANIMATE~~ FEMALE

Kriul:	i
Bainuk:	a
Balanta:	hɔn
Mandinka:	a
Dyola:	a
Manjak:	a
Wolof:	mɔm

For example:

Kriul: i sinta - 'He/She sits/sat'
"(s)he(Stat.) sit"

Cassanga: "a gô urag[1]" - 'He/She is a blacksmith'
["(s)he be blacksmith"]

Balanta: "hɔ (n)ma hɔ here he, she,..... is"[2]
["(s)he Emph. be"]

Mandinka: a sii ta - 'He/She sat'
"(s)he sit Past"

Dyola: a lakɔ - 'He/She sits/sat'
"(s)he (Stat.)sit"

Manjak: a tsɛf - 'He/She sits/sat'
"(s)he (Stat.)sit"

Wolof: "mɔm tog na - 'He/She sits/sat'
(s)he sit(Stat.)Stab."

Cf. also the following similar grammatical features in Kriul and its African languages of contact:

1.Marques, J.B. 1947: 891.No exemplification was available from Bainuk.
2.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 159 who indicates that (n) may be "elided in this construction before ma".

1) Use of a Causative Marker[1]:

All the African languages of contact make use of a suffixed causative marker e.g.:

	VERB	CAUSATIVE
Kriul:	sinta -'to sit' "sit"	sintada -'to cause to sit' "sit Caus."
Bainuk:	uteyn -'to eat' "eat"	uteynɛn -'to make eat' "eat Caus."
Balanta:	hi -'to go further' "go further"	hi n -'to put further' "go further Caus."
Mandinka:	si - 'to sit' "sit"	sindi -'to cause to sit' "sit Caus."
Dyola:	"wallo: descendre... ["descend"	wallen: faire descendre"[2] "descend Caus."]
Manjak:	tsɛfan -'to sit' " sit "	tsɛfan i -'to cause to sit' "sit Caus."
Wolof:	tog -'to sit' "sit"	tog lu -'to cause to sit' "sit Caus."

For example:

Kriul: ɛ disinti malə
"they descend Caus. suitcase"
-'They took the suitcase down'

~~Balanta: "ncausative rece n fill rece be full hie n put further hie go further"[3]~~

---

1. Described for Kriul in pt.I, ch.2, pp.93&94.
2. Weiss, H. 1940: 25.
~~3. Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 149. No adequate exemplification from Bainuk was available.~~

Mandinka: ye kune jii ndi
"they suitcase to take down Caus."
-'He/She took the suitcase down'

Dyola: a wal ɛn e kalakumaku
"(s)he take Caus.Past chair the"
-'He/She took the chair down'

Manjak: a wɛl i umalə
"(s)he take Caus. the suitcase"
-'He/She took the suitcase down'

Wolof: wacɛ lu na valiz bi
"take Caus.Complet. suitcase the"
-'He/She took the suitcase down'

2) Use of a Personal Plural Marker Similar in Form to the 3rd. pl.:

LANGUAGE	PLURAL MARKER	3RD.PLURAL SUBJECT PRONOUN
Kriul:	-s ~ -us[1]	ɛ
Bainuk:	in-	neentəng
Balanta:	bə-	bə(k)
Mandinka:	-lu (Bambara u)	i (Bambara u)
Dyola:	ku-	ku
Manjak:	ba-	bu
Wolof:	-(a)yi	nyɔu

1.Cf. Port. ʒ[ʃ] - pl. ; eles ~ elas - 3rd. sing. and com - Assoc.

2.Cf. k - pl. marker used for most animates. See Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 143.

For example:

Kriul:	wɔmis	ɛ bing
	"men pl."	"they come"
	-'men'	-'They come/came"
Balanta:	"bəraasa"	"bəkɔbɛ-they fell"[1]
	["pl.Balanta" (human)[2]	"pl.fall"]
	-'Balantas'	
Mandinka:	ke(w) o	i bɔi ta
	"man the"	"they fall Past"
	-'the man'	-'They fell'
Dyola:	ku nine	ku bil e
	"pl. man"	"they come Past"
	-'the man'	-'They came'
Manjak:	ba yints	bu jɔ bi
	"pl. man"	"they Past come"
	-'the man'	-'They came'
Wolof:	gɔr nyi	nyɔu ɔn nyew
	"man pl."	"they Complet.come"
	-'the man'	'They came'

As suggested above, although this feature ((ii) above) is evident in all the languages of contact, it is not present in Kriul which reflects its Portuguese grammatical influences. Cf. Krio dɛm used as 3rd. pl. pronoun, pl. marker.[3]

1.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 143 & 149.
2.See above, p. 186 .
3.See pt.II, ch.2, pp.236-238.

3) Use of Tense/Aspect Markers (Excluding the Negative Marker)[1]:

The use of tense/aspect markers is a feature of creole and African languages including Kriul and its languages of contact and their similar uses can be summarized as follows:

TENSE/ASPECT

Kriul:[2]

PRE-VERBAL	Ø (perfect)	na (progressive)
	ta (future non-imminent)	ta (habitual)
POST-VERBAL	bang (past)	
POST-VERBAL	bang (past)	ja (completive)
		na (future-imminent)

Bainuk:

PRE-VERBAL	yɛ (future non-imminent)	[no data]
POST-VERBAL	-i (past)	

Balanta:[3]

Balanta aspect markers are all pre-verbal i.e.:

Ø[4] (neutral)
"a" (progressive)
"mat"[5] (habitual)

---

1. The negative marker in Kriul and in most creoles, African and European languages is pre-verbal and functions similarly in all the above languages. It is therefore omitted from this and other discussions (i.e. pt.II, ch.6 and pt.III, ch.7), on significant African language features in the three creoles concerned.
2. The Kriul verbal system is described in pt.I, ch.2.
3. No adequate descriptions of the Bainuk, Balanta or Cassanga tense/aspect markers was available.
4. As indicated by Wilson, no tense marker..."at all is used in the simple past/present tense"...Wilson, W.A.A.1961:150.
5. Note Balanta ka progressive auxiliary verb. Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 152. Cf. Patwa/Mandinka ka- Prog. See pt.III, ch.4, p. 483.

TENSE/ASPECT

Mandinka:

PRE-VERBAL	ye (past-transitive verbs)	be (progressive)
		ka (habitual)
	si (future non-imminent)	be (future-imminent)
POST-VERBAL	-ta (past-intransitive verbs)	

Dyola:

PRE-VERBAL	pan (future non-imminent)	Ø (neutral)
POST-VERBAL	-ɛɛn (past)	-ɛ (habitual)

Manjak:

PRE-VERBAL	jɔ (past)	Ø (neutral)
		ka[1]...(progressive)
POST-VERBAL		...-unk (progressive)
		ba (completive)
		...-unk (future-imminent)

Wolof:

PRE-VERBAL		ma- (1st.sing.) etc.. (neutral pronouns)
		dama (1st.sing.)etc.. (stative pronouns)
		-naa(1st. sing.) etc.. (completive pronouns)
		dinaa (1st.sing.)etc.. (durative pronouns)
		naa-(1st.sing.)etc... (obligative pronouns)
	gə (future-imminent)	
POST-VERBAL		-ɔn (completive)

1.Cf. Balanta "ka - auxiliary verb"; Mandinka/Patwa ka -verbal marker, all used to mark the progressive.

TENSE (PAST)

Kriul: i bing bang - 'He/She came'
"(s)he come Past"

Bainuk: ma ngan i - 'I entered'
"I enter Past"

Mandinka (transitive verb): a ye a ming
"(s)he Past(Tr.)it drink"
-'He/She drank it'

Mandinka (intransitive verb): a na - ta
"(s)he come Past (Intr.)"
-'He/She came'

Dyola: na bil ɛɛn - 'He/She came'
"(s)he come Past"

Manjak: a jɔ bi - 'He/She came'
"(s)he Past come"

TENSE (FUTURE NON- IMMINENT)

Kriul: i ta bing -'He/She will come'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im) come"

Bainuk: ma yɛ ngan nax - 'I will enter'
"I Fut.(N.Im) enter here"

Mandinka: a si na - 'He/She will come'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im) come"

Dyola: "panajɔl kajɔm -'He will come tomorrow'"[1]
["Fut.(N.Im) he come tomorrow"]

1.Sapir,J.D. 1965: 31.

ASPECT (NEUTRAL)

Kriul: i bing - 'He/She come/came'
"(s)he come"

Balanta: "bəben tɛ "[1]
- 'They come/came'
["they Neut.(Ø)come hither"]

Dyola: "ebəy ninjarɛ - I take/took the cow' "[2]
["cow the I Neut.(Ø) take"]

Manjak: a bi -' He/She comes/came '
"(s)he Neut.(Ø) come"

Wolof: mu dega kɔ -'He/She learned/learns of it'
"(s)he Neut.(Ø) learn it"

ASPECT (STATIVE)

Wolof: dafa tog - 'He/She sits/sat'
"(s)he Stat. sit"

ASPECT (PROGRESSIVE)

Kriul: i na bing - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

Balanta: " nrahɲ it is aching"
["Prog. ache"]
"bə ɲ kp they are making a noise"[3]
"they Prog. make noise"

Mandinka: a be na - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

Manjak: nu ka bi unk -'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come Prog."

1.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 150.
2.Sapir, J.D. 1965: 92.
3.Wilson, W.A.A. 1961: 152. Note that Wilson gives no examples of the habitual marker "mat" and does not describe the Balanta future marker(s) in this outline.

ASPECT (HABITUAL)

Kriul: i ta bing - 'He/She (habitually) comes'
"(s)he Hab. come"

Mandinka: a ka na - 'He/She (habitually) comes'
"(s)he Hab.come"

Dyola: na bil ɛ - 'He/She (habitually) comes'
"(s)he come Hab."

ASPECT (DURATIVE)

Wolof: dina tux - 'He/She smokes'
"(s)he Dur.smoke"

ASPECT (OBLIGATIVE)

Wolof: war na dɛm Ndar - 'I must go to St.Louis'
"Oblig.I go St.Louis"

ASPECT (COMPLETIVE)

Kriul: i bing ja - 'He/She has come'
"(s)he come Complet."

Manjak: nakɔ a bi ba - 'He/She has come'
"(s)he is come Complet."

Wolof: dafa dɛm ɔn Dakar - 'He/She had gone to Dakar'[1]
"(s)he Stat.go Complet.Dakar"

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1. For a detailed analysis of the tense/aspect markers in Bainuk, Balanta, Mandinka, Dyola, Manjak and Wolof see Marques, J.B. 1947, Wilson, W.A.A. 1961, Rowlands, E.C. 1959, Sapir, J.C. 1965, Carreira, A. and Marques, J.B. 1947 & Sauvageot, S. 1965 (respectively).

ASPECT (FUTURE IMMINENT)

Kriul: i na bing - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.) come"

Mandinka: a be na - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.) come"

Manjak: nu ka bi unk -'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.)come Fut.(Im.)"

Wolof: mɔm mung nyew -'He/She is coming'
"(s)he (s)he Neut. Fut.(Im.)come"

4) Use of a Specifier in Relation to a Nominal Class System:[1]

The use of the Kriul specifier pronoun i~~n~~[s] suggestive of the use of nominal class system in all the languages of contact except ~~Wolof and~~ Mandinka: i.e.

SPECIFIER

Kriul[2]:

HUMAN kɛl e.g.: kɛl wɔmi -'that/this man'
"Specif.man"

NON-HUMAN kɛ e.g.: kɛ trupɛsa -'this/that chair'
"Specif.chair"

Dyola:

HUMAN ume - 'this' e.g.: anyine ɔmu -'this/that man'
ɔmu - 'that' "man Specif."

NON-HUMAN kune -'this'
kuyɛ -'that' e.g.: kalakuma kuyɛ -'that chair'
"chair Specif."

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1. No adequate exemplification was available for Bainuk, Cassanga or Balanta.
2. See pt.I, ch.2, pp.112-113.

Manjak:

HUMAN ni -'this'
nung-'that e.g.: nyints nung - 'that man'
"man Specif."

NON-HUMAN ki -'this'
'that' e.g.: tsɛfiki -'this/that chair'
"chair Specif."

Wolof:

HUMAN gi -'this'
ge -'that' e.g.: gɔr gi - 'this man'
"man this"
Specif.

NON-HUMAN be -'this'
'that' e.g.: si be -'that chair'
"chair that"
Specif.

PART II

PART II

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF KRIO IN THE GAMBIA

INTRODUCTION

Prior to European involvement in the Senegambia during the C18, political power in "the Gambia"[1] was mainly in the hands of the centralised Wolof and Mandinka states on the north and south banks of the river Gambia.

In keeping with Hair's suggestion that the ethnolinguistic groups of the Guinea coast have remained in much the same geographical position from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries[2], information from Hair is used in association with data from, Jobson (1623), Moore (1738), Atlas National du Sénégal (1977)[3] and the Language Map of Africa (Dalby, D. 1977) in situating the ethnolinguistic groups on the sketch-map (below).

WOLOF

The Wolof states of Kayor, Jolof, Baol, Walo, Sin and Salum owed allegiance to their ruler the Brøba Jɔlɔf[4]. The states were hierarchically stratified in terms of jambuur 'freemen', intermediary caste groups and jam 'slaves'.

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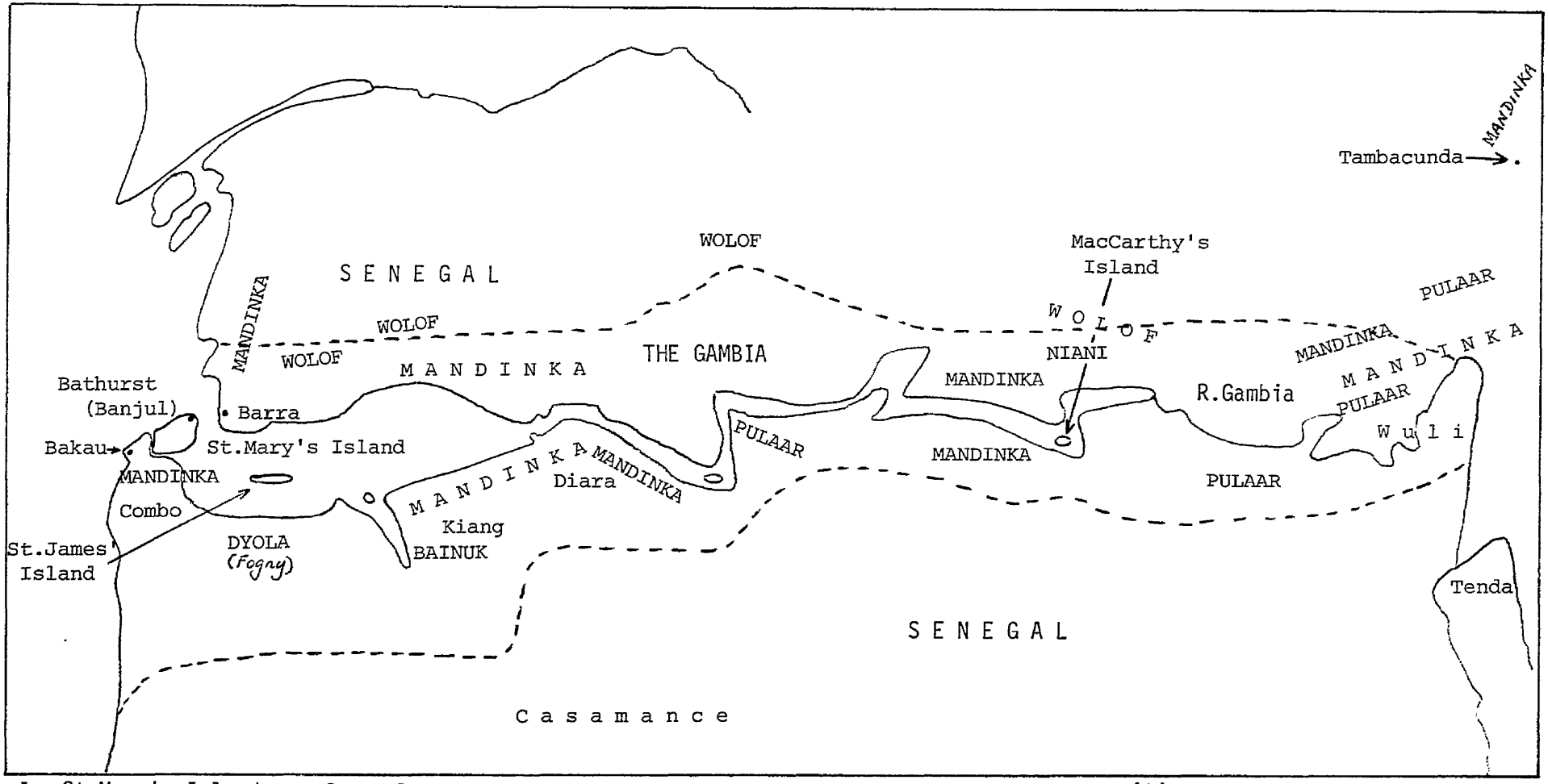
1. 'The Gambia' is defined here as the riverine area enclosed within the present state 'The Republic of the Gambia'.
2. Hair, P.E.H. 1967:247. See also pt.I, ch.1, p. .
3. Atlas National du Sénégal 1977:57; 61 & 67.
4. Gamble, D.P. 1967:17.

SKETCH MAP INDICATING THE MAIN ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS OF THE GAMBIAN REGION [1]



1. St.Mary's Island was formerly separate from the mainland but became connected by deposition.

Within the context of this basic social division, various groups could be identified, including:those of 'royal' descent (Wol. "Hêt u bûr, race royale, dynastie.[Wol.] Bûr fari, grand roi, issu du sang royal par le père et par la mère")[1] included within the jambuur minority, peasants ([Wol.]"BADOLO, Paysan [sic.]...."),[2] smiths ñéñô[3], leatherworkers, evkăt[4] and gewel - 'griots'[5].

Like other skilled castes, who derived some social and at times political advantages from their skills, the gewel benefited in terms of presents from people of royal lineage, and from others wishing to gain the attention of a Wolof king.[6] Such political advantages however, rarely, if ever, allowed the skilled castes a means of becoming jambuur, and the potential political advantages derivable from their skills seem to have been circumscribed.

Traditionally a woman in a gewel family would be given to a Wolof jambuur; should a son be the result of their union, this son would become the next gewel in the household of this jambuur and a horse and a slave would be given to his mother. Should a daughter be born, no gifts would be given[7]. Loyalty to the jambuur group through the generational 'in-breeding' of a caste status was thus ingeniously cultivated within the gewel caste.

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1. Dictionnaire Wolof-Français par Les RR.PP Missionnaires de la Congrégation du S.Esprit et du S.Coeur du Marie.1875:36.
2. Ibid.; p.12.
3. Guy-Grand, V.P. 1923:261 "Les forgerons du pays forment une caste inferieure sous le nom de 'ñéñô'."
4. Guy-Grand,V.P. 1923: 149 "Quiconque travaille le cuir, bourreliers, evkăt ".
5. This feeling of caste is still alive today, according to Rev.J.C. Faye, of the Anglican church, Banjul, himself the former leader of the opposition party which contested the presidency now occupied by Sir D.Jawera.
6. The griot caste traditionally sung the praises of their patron in whose household they lived.In singing these praises they had the opportunity of speaking directly to their sovereign.As such, they, unlike other members of their society, had direct and not intermediary access to the sovereign's attention, an attention they at times manipulated.
7. Rev. J.C. Faye, in conversation, Banjul 1977.

It is probably through such extreme forms of social control that the consciousness of social caste[1] so necessary to the Wolof king-centred political system was encouraged.

MANDINKA

They constituted the most numerous ethnic group along the banks of the Gambia in the eighteenth century, judging by Moore's frequent references to Mandinka-ruled states[2]:

> "...in the Kingdom of Barrah, the king is by Race a Mundingo [sic.] "
>
> "20 leagues along the River, and then begins the Kingdom of Badibu. The King of Badibu is a Mundingo. ....The next is called Sanjally,....this King is likewise a Mundingo,....."[3]

Moore in fact makes actual reference to the numerical supremacy of the Manding:

> "THESE[sic.] different Kingdoms upon the Banks of the Gambia are inhabited by several Races of People,.. The most numerous are called Mundigoes,.... [sic.]"[4]

The Manding state-system was organised on the basis of smaller tributary states owing allegiance to progressively larger and more powerful kingdoms in which these smaller states were included; this is pointed out by Jobson in his travels up the river Gambia:

> "Those petty Kings...who had the title of Mansa, which in their language is the proper name of the King, have all reference to their greater Kings, who live farther from those places...."[5]

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1. See Mahoney, F.K.O 1963: 12-"The Wolofs, particularly conscious of pedigree". See Gamble, D.P. 1967:74-75 for other views on 'Wolof' character. See also Leech, E. 1976:67.
2. As opposed to his fewer references to non-Mandinka ruled status. See Moore, F. 1738: 19.
3. Ibid.; pp.19 & 21.
4. Jobson, R. 1623: 47.
   Jobson further adds the following comment in the margin of page 48: "These great Kings are likewise tributaries to one great King far ahove [sic. i.e. above] in the land, as is reported to us".
5. Ibid.; p.58.

This tributary system correlated well with their system of kingly succession, namely that the eldest member of a 'royal family' should be king of the largest and most powerful state while the next in succession would be king of the next most powerful tributary state and so on:

> ..."one brother doth ever succeed another, until that race is extinct, and then the eldest brothers sonne beginnes [sic.] : and likewise they doe[sic.] distinguish governments, as they are in age".

Their dominant numbers probably aided in the wider diffusion of their language amongst the non-Manding groups and the use of Mandinka as a second language of trade and external communication[1] in both the 'up-river' and 'down-river' areas of the Gambia:

> "The most general language is Mundingoe... If you can speak that Language, you may travel from the River's Mouth up to the Country of Joncoes (alias Merchants:) .... [sic.] ".[2]

More so than their numbers, however, their political power enhanced this diffusion of their language. So strong was their authority in the area, that the establishment of English and other European trade in the area had to be with their blessing in order to be effective. Their blessing was of course obtained in the traditional manner of a present or a set tithe; the latter, for example, was the case for all traders wishing to pass through the country of the Manding[3] King of Barrah:

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1. I.e. with ethnic groups with whom the speaker does not share the same mother tongue.
2. Moore, F. 1738: 38-39. See Delafosse, M. 1955, vol.2, p.150, who gives the form "dyãgo 'commerce' Cf.sarkolle dyõko 'acheter' ".
3. See p.200. Those seeking to ignore the king's authority were promptly reminded: e.g.:..."The Captain went ashore to Gillyfree, and was there seized by the Natives, for anchoring at the Port of Gillyfree, and not paying his Customs to the King of Barrah; .... (Moore, F. 1738: 56).

"To this King the Separate Traders generally pay Custom, which ammounts to about One hundred and twenty Barrs..."[1]

This stratification of state power into a larger number of kingdoms ruled by a small lineage group who, where not united by blood ties, all belonged to the royal or at least freeborn group, reflected the social stratification of Manding[2] society in which this minority of freeborn status (Mnka./Bambara horon)[3] ruled a numerically superior slave status group (Mnka./Bambara jɔng(ɔ)).

Between these two groups based on status was a large caste group (nyamakala) organised mainly in terms of their professions[4]. Within this caste-group, the blacksmiths: "Ferraro or Smith"[5] were of particular importance to the society, mainly because of their ability to fashion the weapons so necessary to the preservation of the state:[6]

"...the first and chiefest [sic.] is the Ferraro or Smith, who holds a good repute [sic.] ...."[7]

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1. Moore, F. 1738: 20.
2. I.e. the Mandinka trade empire.
3. A language mutually intelligible with Mandinka and differing from the latter mainly in the absence of the suffixed definite article o, characteristic of Mandinka. The 'Bambara' are treated as a low status group amongst the Mandinka.
4. See N'Diaye, B. 1970: 14.
5. Johson, R. 1623: 121.
6. The blacksmith caste were also the 'high priests' of traditional African religious practices; amongst the Bambara, for example, they possessed the secrets of manufacturing the 'magical' powder korte, and of communicating with the invisible spirits such as komo, nama and nia. They were also the keepers of fetishes: bolis.
   See N'Diaye, B. 1970: 70-71. Cf. also the magical powers attributed to St. Lucian herbalists, among them the keeping of invisible dwarfs (Patwa bolɔm) see pt. III, ch. 5, p. 502 .
   See also Dalphinis, M. 1977 (b) & 1979 (b).
7. Jobson, R. 1623: 120.

~~while the~~ The importance of the leather worker was not only in terms of the manufacture of items having a purely physical application such as bridles and saddles, but the sewing of charms written by marabouts in leather pouches. The wearing of such charms called "Gregories"[1] (Wol./Mnka.) grigri were thought[2] to give the wearer supernatural power and protection.

> "...The next is he whom we call a Sepatero; one that doth [sic.] make all their Gregories...these men are likewise they that make their saddles and bridles..."[3]

It is probably due to the prestige derived from the 'magical' ability to write (in Arabic) in a non-literate society, and from their 'trade' in charms, that the marabouts ~~they~~ gained a degree of veneration within the Mandinka social system:

> "The Mary-Buckes are separated from the common people, both in their habitations and course of lives... having their Townes and lands set out in severall [sic.] within themselves, wherein no common people have dwelling..."

Despite such veneration they were like all the other social groups in their acceptance of the social barriers within their society:

> "...their Marybuckes or Bissareas...marry likewise in their owne [sic.] tribe or kindred, taking no wives, but the daughters of Mary-Buckes, and all the children they have, are nourished and bred up, unto the ceremonies of their fathers"[4].

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1. Jobson, R. 1623: 121.
2. The belief is still prevalent amongst the Mandinka and other Africans both inside and outside Africa. Cf. Hausa laya - 'charm' of the same description as the above. Similar charms were made in St.Lucia by individuals such as Jolif, a past St.Lucian herbalist. In St.Lucia, however, the contents of the charm were usually quotations from the Bible, and plastic is used instead of leather.
3. Jobson, R. 1623: 121.
4. Ibid.; p.62. It is possible that the physical separation of the Marabouts from the rest of the population marked not only a social difference but at times a difference in ethnic background from the rest of the population.

They also performed the duties expected of the larger non-royal group:

> "...none are exempted, but the Kings and principall [sic.] persons...otherwise all, the Mary-bucke both Priest and people...put their hands to till the earth, and sowe their corne"[1].

In their more devout and strict attitude to Islam, however, the marabouts differed from other social groups in what was an at least nominally Islamic Manding society. Marabouts would, for example, say their prayers faithfully at the required times and totally abstain from alcohol:

> "...are very strict at their Devotions three or four Times a Day..."[2]
>
> "...tying himselfe [sic.] strictly to no manner of drinke [sic.] but water..."[3]

The royal lineage groups however were so strongly addicted to alcohol, that their attitude to Islam was of necessity very lax; for example:

> "The King and all his Attendance profess the Mahometan religion, notwithstanding they drink so much strong Liquors..."[4]

The nominal level of Islam amongst the Manding royalty probably typified the superficial level of Islam practised by the Manding within these kingdoms on the whole. Manding peoples were in fact often non-Mandinka (-speaking) peoples whose indigenous non-Islamic religious beliefs had been subjugated in the earlier down-river Manding conquest, part of whose raison d'etre had in fact been the spreading of Islam[5].

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1. Jobson, R. 1623: 123.
2. Moore, F. 1738: 39.
3. Jobson, R. 1623: 76.
4. Moore, F. 1738: 85.
5. As well as the establishment of a trading empire. See also pt.I. ch.1, pp.66&67 where similar Mandinka invasions along the river Casamance valley are referred to.

The language situation at times reflected this dichotomy between a Mandinka speaking royal caste ruling non-Mandinka speaking peoples:

> "...and further we noted, that the naturall tongue there [i.e. in the region of Tenda (see map above)] spoken, was another different language: yet all the better sort did talke together in the same speech we brought [sic.] with us, and is from the mouth of the River..."[1]

Despite the presence of many non-Mandinka and often non-Islamic peoples within the Mandinka states, at least one of the offices in the Manding political system remained true to its mainly Islamic inspiration, namely that of the "Alcade"[2]. His role was the settlement of disputes within the community according to Islamic laws.

Due to their role as arbitrators of social conflict and their consequently wide social influence and prestige, it was often through them that Europeans obtained their desires from other members of the community, at times offering monetary or other encouragement to the "Alcade", e.g.:

> "...my Alchade, for by that name my hired Mary-bucke was called..."[3]

Indeed with the gradual encroachment of European economic power in the area, the prestige of the "Alcade" in at least one case became closely correlated with European presence in the area e.g.:

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1. Jobson, J. 1623: 95.
   Given the distinction made by the author that the "better sort" understood Mandinka as spoken down-river, the non-Mandinka speakers are likely to have been ethnolinguistic groups under Manding domination who had become second language Mandinka speakers in the up-river Tenda region. The "better sort" referred to are likely to have been their Mandinka rulers who ~~would~~ no doubt spoke Mandinka both down-river and up-river. As Mandinka was brought into the Gambia by invaders from Mali this wider distinction between the languages of the conquered groups (see below) and that of their Manding conquerors seems even more likely.
2. Jobson, R. 1623:64 gives "Alchade" (<Arabic alkali) while Moore, F. 1738:127 gives "Alcade":"This Alcade decides all Quarrels, and has the first Voice in all Conferences, concerning Things belonging to his Town."
3. Jobson, R. 1623: 64.

"THIS [sic.] Man is, up the River called Tobaubo Mansa, which is, in English, the White Man's King.But in most Parts of the River he is called Alcade, and hath a great Power..."[1]

There existed the high potential for social tension and conflict in a caste-orientated society; for example, the forced abdication of power by a Manding king who was "base-born":

"...he was to be put out of his kingdome... there was another to come who had more right than hee, for sayd [sic.] they, this was the Kings sonne, but begotten of a base woman, such as I described their concubines to be...."[2]

In such social situations the role of the "Alcade" as a mediator was doubtless of extreme importance.

It is in fact in its caste-orientation that Manding society shared many parallels with Wolof society and probably due to this mutually shared social conditioning within caste-societies that Wolof and Manding nobles at times even shared political power in Senegambia; e.g.: the kingdom of "Yany" was ruled by both a Wolof and a Manding King:

"...Upper, and the other Lower Yany, each governed by a distinct King, one a Jolloiff the other a Mundingo"[3]

It is probably due to the high dependence of the nobility upon a large peasant population for food, the manufacture of leather and iron goods, that the degeneration and fall of the Manding empire had its real roots.

The many peoples under Manding colonization were distinguished for their labouring enterprise:

1.Moore, F. 1738: 127. In fact the prestige of the "Alcade" is important even in modern times; for example, one of my hosts in Gambia thought it important that I go and visit the Alcadi of the Kombo area where I was then staying in order to receive his blessing. The same "Alcade" was also called upon by this host in order to settle a dispute between himself and some workmen.

2.Jobson, R. 1623: 59.

3.Moore, F. 1728:22.

"The next above Caen is Fagra, famous for laborious People, by which means it abounds with Corn and Rice"[1]

The Manding women as well as the many concubines of slave status were also distinguished by their participation in productive labour; Jobson in fact comments upon the high amount of work expected of the women of Manding:

"...I am sure there is no woman can be under more servitude...with such great staves...beate and cleanse both the Rice and all manner of other graine they eate, which is only womens worke, and very painefull.."[2]

The Manding nobles during this period however seem to have distinguished themselves only in the acquisition of many concubines from amongst the 'lower'-status groups and in their addiction to alcohol:

"...he hath use of other women,...as we may terme them Concubines, who are of a lower birth than his wives.."[3]

"...the King goes and ransacks some of his Enemies Towns, seizing the People, and selling them for such Commodities as he is in want of, which commonly is Brandy or Rum, Gunpowder..."[4]

"...Aqua vitae, for which they sell all things they have..."[5]

The leisure afforded them by their large slave labour force coupled with new vices brought by the Europeans compounded their decline and hastened their fall.

1.Moore, F. 1728:25. Given the traditional fame of the Dyola as rice cultivators in this area it is possible that the people here referred to are Dyola. "Caen" is probably a reference to Kiang and "Jagra" to Diara. See map (above.)
2.Jobson, R. 1623: 54.
3.Ibid.; p.52.
4.Moore, F. 1738: 65.
5.Jobson, R. 1623: 58.

AFRO-PORTUGUESE[1]

As in the Casamance region[2] these descendants of the early Portuguese colonizers and explorers in Africa enjoyed a prestige and a degree of political power due to their business acumen, their nominal Christianity and their questionable degree of European descent. In short, their genetic miscegenation provided them with a 'middle-man' position which they used to a maximum commercial advantage.

Genetically they were more African than European:

> "And these are, as they call themselves, Portingales, and some few of them seeme the same; others of them are Molatoes [sic.]... but the most part as blacke, as the natural inhabitants ...."[3]

Psychologically, however, they took great pains to distinguish themselves from the other African inhabitants, and sought to distinguish themselves as a 'superior' group:

> "...taking it in a great disdaine, be they never so blacke, to be called a Negro"[4].

The two important indices of their self-definition as a different group were the Christian religion and the 'Portuguese' language:

> "...reserving carefully, the use of the Portingall tongue, and with a kinde of an affectionate zeale, the name of Christians..."[5]

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1. The historical description of the Afro-Portuguese, Fula, Dyola and Bainuk which follows is centered on the Gambian region in contrast to their histories in the Casamance region (described in pt.I, ch.1 .)
2. See pt.I , ch.1, pp.*68-85* .
3. Jobson, R. 1623: 28.
4. Ibid.; p.30. See also Moore, F. 1738: 29, who makes the same comment.
5. Jobson,R. 1623:28.

Their 'Portuguese', however, was probably as nominal as their Christianity:

> "...they have amongest [sic.] them neither Church, nor Frier, nor any other religious order"[1].
>
> "...they still retain a sort of a bastard Portuguese language call'd Creole,..."[2].

Such language 'bastardy' could only have been the result of the many African languages with which a minority people, as were the Afro-Portuguese, were in daily contact. One of the most important languages was Mandinka, firstly because it was the most widely spoken language in the region[3] and secondly, because most of the Afro-Portuguese women were Manding[4]. It is extremely likely that the same way in which the former Portuguese language of the original Portuguese became 'Africanised' in the mouths of their Manding wives, it became an 'African' language when taught to their Luso-Manding offspring by these Manding wives[5].

It was in commerce, however, that these genetically mixed people "between blacke and white"[6] made the most effective use of their 'middle' position. They would buy goods from down-river 'factories' of the French and English and re-sell the same goods to some of their 'up-river' Manding contacts and relatives. They would also reverse the chain of events and sell goods of 'up-river' origin to their European colleagues in the 'down-river' factories. From the town of Tancrowall, for example, the Afro-Portuguese part of the population made substantial profits from this 'up-river' - 'down-river' trade:

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1. Jobson, R. 1623: 28. This situation was slightly altered in 1738 when Moore refers to the presence of a single priest "sent yearly over hither from S.Fage, one of the Cape de Verd Islands [sic.]...". (Moore, F. 1738: 29.)
2. Moore, F. 1738: 29.
3. See p. 196 .
4. "When this Country was conquer'd by the Portuguese, which was about the year 1420, some of that Nation settled in it, who have cohabited with the Mundingoes [sic.] ..." (Moore, F. 1738: 29.)
5. The slave plantations of the West Indies and the Carib colonies of Arawak women provide similar parallels where 'mother-language' has influenced grammatical structure while 'father-tongue' has affected lexicon. See pt. III, ch. 4, pp. 360-377
6. Jobson, R. 1623: 28.

> "...there are a great many other Portuguese, who have among them several conoas [sic.] which they send up the River to trade once or twice a Year; by which means they have made this Town a Place of great Resort, and the richest in the whole River"[1].

Indeed, the commercial success of one "Seignior Antonio Voss, a noted Black Portuguese...reckon'd to be worth 10,000 l Sterling..."[2] may well have been indicative of the business acumen of the Afro-Portuguese in general.

Their blood links with the Portuguese and other Afro-Portuguese on the Cape Verde islands could only have improved their business position, given the marketability of Cape Verdian skills. The English fort on St.James' island, for example, relied on 'Portuguese'[3] imported from Cape Verde to carry out their masonry:

> "...the Cape de Verde Islands, from whence [sic.] she [i.e. the ship] bought some Portuguese Masons to repair the Fort"[4].

Given that these off-shore islands were the first port of call for many ships leaving or arriving on the Senegambian coast, such first opportunities for trade are likely to have been of important commercial advantage to the Afro-Portuguese of the islands, and of the river Gambian valley. In their most important commercial activity, the Atlantic Slave Trade, such Cape Verdian links were important. For example, in the case of the Cape Verdian islands of Fogo and Santiago, slaves were brought from the mainland both to populate the islands, and for sale to passing slave-ships[5].

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1. Moore, F. 1738: 51.
2. Ibid.; pp. 49-50.
3. It is likely that many of these 'Portuguese' referred to may have been Afro-Portuguese.
4. Moore, F. 1738: 47. Note also Moore, F. 1738: 22, "APPENDIX No V[sic.]" where two such Portuguese or Afro-Portuguese with other important skills are mentioned as part of the personnel of St.James'Fort:"Domingo Voss, Emmanuel Lopez, } Masons Charles du Costa, Linguister[sic.]... ...Dioge Rodriguez, Purveyor".
5. Andrade, E. 1973: 21.

It is probably this Afro-Portuguese dominance in commercial activity which aided the importance of Kriul as a trading language. The English traders in the Gambia found Kriul essential to the furthering of their commercial activities:

> "...it [i.e. Kriul] is sooner learnt by Englishmen than any other Language in this River..."[1]

As commercial activity represented the dominant domain[2] of contact among many of the peoples in the Gambian valley, the language of the then dominant commercial group, Kriul, naturally became the second most important language of the area due to the increase of commercial activity brought about by the Atlantic Slave Trade in the eighteenth century:[3]

> "The next Language mostly us'd [sic.] here is call'd Creole Portuguese ....spoken by the Linguists which serve both the separate Traders and the Company"[4]

So important was Kriul to commercial activity that it was probably used by most interpreters in the region:

> "Gillyfree in the Kingdom of Barrah...inhabited by Portuguese, Mundingoes...."[5]
>
> "This Town is used to supply all private shipping with Linguisters..."

The King of Barrah made use of this commercial importance of Kriul as a means of ensuring that his customs were paid and of keeping trade within his dominion:

> "... but the King of Barrah, in the year 1733, made it no less than slavery for any of his subjects to serve as Linguisters on Board of any Vessels, but what pay his Customs, and trade in his Country"[6].

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1. Moore, F. 1738: 39.
2. As defined on p. 49 .
3. Curtin, P.D. 1969: 127.
4. Moore, F. 1738: 39.
5. Idem.
6. Ibid.; p.65.

The commercial and political importance of this language and its speakers was not missed by the increasingly important English traders on the river, whose frequent choice of Afro-Portuguese women as wives and paramours was probably as much conditioned by the profit-motive as was the desire of such women to secure white men of commercial standing:

> "...if any White Man has a Fancy to any of them, and is able to maintain them, they will make no Scruple of living with him in the Nature of a Wife, without the Ceremony of Matrinomy"[1].

From such unions, 'British' mulatto traders joined the Afro-Portuguese traders.

The closer contact with Kriul and other African languages which such 'marriages' implied to some extent affected the English spoken by the British mulattoes and their British fathers:

> "...for the English have in the River Gambia much corrupted the English Language by Words or Literal Translations from the Portuguese or Mundingoes; thus they call all Cattle Cows, even tho' they are Bulls or Oxen; they also call a Dispute a Palaver, and a Free Servant a Butler or Grometta, and the stealing a Man and making him a Slave they call Paniaring him"[2].

Emigration of English, French and Portuguese mulatto families from St.Louis and Goree to the Gambian valley in general and to St.Mary's Island in particular, from 1816[3], greatly swelled the ranks of the existing 'British' and Afro-Portuguese groups.

1.Moore, F. 1738: 121.

2.From a letter to R.Plunkett and A.Rogers, dated Feb. 26th. 1724 from B.Stibbs, E.Drummond and R.Hull in Moore, F. 1738:294. Note the calquing (i.e."Literal Translations"), the convergent effects of African languages not making use of gender distinctions, e.g. Mandinka upon English, and the use of loan words from Kriul, e.g.: "Grometta". Such processes have been given much consideration in this study due to their relative importance in the three creole languages analysed.
See also Hancock, I.F. 1971: 33.

3.Mahoney,F.K.O.1963:27& 1975: 32-33.

The Afro-Portuguese women amongst these immigrants brought with them an established dominance in commercial activity, particularly in the slave-trade. These "Señoras" ([seɲoras]) as they were called, used to control much of the labour force in Goree and St.Louis:

> "...they were owners of a large body of Wolofs who were hired out by them as skilled artisans, mechanics, river traders and domestic servants"[1].

The "Señoras" had accompanied their British trader 'husbands' who had left Goree for Bathurst when Goree was ceded to France in 1814.

Like their counterparts on the river Gambia, the British traders at the mouth of the river Senegal and Goree had chosen Afro-Portuguese women whose language had provided a ready entrée to the slave trade:

> "...There are a number of slaves held in slavery by French people at the Gambia, by women who come from Goree and Senegal and live in the houses of British merchants at the Gambia. These slaves, in many instances live in the houses of British merchants, and therefore, I consider are amenable to them"[2].

The gradually more effective suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade contributed directly to the gradual 'disappearance' of the Afro-Portuguese mulatto trading group and the Kriul language in the Gambia. Without their economic advantages, the other indices of their 'superior' status, i.e. religion, European blood, and language, were of more and more questionable importance, as they gradually merged into the very groups from whom they formerly sought to differentiate themselves[3].

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1. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1963:33.
2. National Archives, Banjul, reference no.76, piece no.19.
3. Cf. the case of the Afro-Portuguese of Ziguinchor whose larger numbers and whose geographical closeness to an area with a high number of Afro-Portuguese and Kriul speakers, i.e. Guinea Bissau, have guaranteed their survival as a separate ethnic group, and with it one of the important signals of their separate ethnicity-Kriul.

PULAAR (FULA)

Living under Manding subjugation in the seventeenth century, this semi-nomadic people carried out their traditional occupation of cattle-rearing:

> "There is one people more, dwelling and abiding among these Mandingos, and under their subjection....These are called Fulbies ...Their profession is keeping of cattle...for the most part they are still wandering[1]."

The Fula skill of rearing cattle was merely exploited by their Manding overlords who benefited from Fula cattle without themselves taking any part in the cattle-rearing:

> "....the Mandingo or Blacken/man applies himselfe,at no time in keeping or preserving of Cattle,... [while the Fula, on the other hand]
> ...Cannot at any time kill a beefe but if they know it,the black-man will have the greatest share..."[2]

By the eighteenth century, however, at least one group of Fula resolved to revolt against their parasitical overlords: in the town of "Fatico" after enduring the theft of their cows, a group of Fula:

> "...fell upon the Town, kill'd several, and took some Prisoners, which they sold, in order to repair the Damages sustain'd by their having their Cows taken from them"[3].

Their reaction was a response to the social degeneration which characterised a Manding dependent upon the enslavement of other groups by indolent and alcohol-addicted ruling groups[4].

Fula groups living within Manding were no exception to these socially degenerating effects which were heightened by the Atlantic Slave Trade. In fact, being both literate and Islamised to a greater degree than the Manding, their enslavement and selling of the non-Islamised non-literate and acephalous Senegambian peoples (e.g. below) was, to the Fula

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1.Jobson, R. 1623: 33-34 & 37.
2.Ibid.; p.35.
3.Moore, F. 1738: 143.
4.See pp.204&205

at least a logical development[1].

DYOLA

As in the Casamance area, Dyola peoples resisted Manding colonialism e.g.: the Fulup-Dyola sub-groups:

> "....a sort of People call'd Floops... they have no King among them, each of their Towns...are independent of each other, and under the Government of no one Chief, notwithstanding which, they unite so firmly that all the Force of the Mandingoes (tho' so very numerous) cannot get the better of them"[2].

Bainuk:[3]

Living in the "Fonia" area which "begins where Cabata River falls into the Gambia", this other important politically decentralised Senegambian ethnic group were the most extreme victims of the colonial expansion of centralised states, notably the Manding, under the increasingly dominant influences of the Atlantic Slave Trade. As in the Casamance area, they 'disappeared' as a separate ethnic group. In fact Moore, writing in 1738, saw no reason to distinguish them from the Dyola and points to the Atlantic Slave Trade as the main cause of depopulation, in two Bainuk areas:

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1. "...call'd Pholeys, much like the Arabs; which language most of them speak,...for it is taught in schools, and their Law, the Alcoran, is in that Language". Moore, F. 1738: 30.
   "The Mandingoes and Foulahs, the literati of this region, are seldom sold; but themselves carry on most extensive dealings [in the Atlantic Slave Trade.] "Rankin, F.H. 1834 vol.2 p. 88, writing on the not unsimilar activities of the Fula and Mandinka in Sierra Leone.
   See also pt.II, ch.1, pp.67-68 for further comments on this Senegambian ethnic group.
2. Moore, F. 1738: 36.
3. See pt.II, ch.1, pp.68ff for further comments on this Senegambian ethnic group.

"...The Banyoon Race, which is a sort of Floops,..."[1]

"...I must observe that when these countries were first discovered, they were then large...they are now much lessened, not only in territories, but by having sold into Slavery infinite Numbers of their Subjects".[2]

The slave-selling activities of the Manding, coupled with Dyola and Bainuk resistance to Manding rule, made the Bainuk and the Dyola, here, as in the Casamance, the most likely peoples to have been sold to the Caribbean and American plantations from areas immediately adjacent to this part of the coast[3].

Despite their subordinated status within the Manding sphere, their languages retained some importance in the kingdoms where they still remained in any number:

"BESIDES the foregoing languages, [i.e. Mandinka and Kriul] there are also others which every Kingdom has peculiar to itself; such is that of the Floops, Banyoons,..."[4]

Their role as first languages in an area where Mandinka and Kriul were important second languages underlines the potential for language convergence between first and second languages in the Gambian river valley where these and other languages have come into a diachronic in-contact situation[5]. The importance of Kriul, and other creole languages within such multi-lingual contexts, seems to suggest that creole languages are often part of the net result of such in-contact language situations where a language of inter-ethnic communication is needed.

1.Moore, F. 1738: 36.
2.Ibid.; p.24.
3.Such second-language speakers of Mandinka probably played an important role in the perpetuation of Mandinka grammatical items in proto-Patwa pidgin. See pt.III, ch.5. p.503.
4.Moore, F. 1738: 40.
5.See p.339.

LIBERATED AFRICANS (AKU)

The official suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade in all British possessions in West Africa, the attempts by British West African governors to exact this suppression, and the dual administration of both Gambian and Sierra Leonean British possessions by a Governor stationed in Sierra Leone, combined to make the early nineteenth century history of the Gambia an integral part of the history of Sierra Leone until 1821 when Findlay was appointed as the First Lieutenant of the Gambia[1].

Freetown, the British administrative centre for Sierra Leone and other British territories in West Africa, was in the nineteenth century the focal point for the resettlement of African slaves from slave-ships[2] arrested by the British naval blockade off the West African coast and elsewhere. Being from different ethnic groups in different parts of Africa and speaking numerous and varied African languages[3], these Liberated Africans[4], united by a common experience of slavery and of the 'English' language, evolved Krio as their first language from a seventeenth century pidgin of largely English lexical inputs[5].

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1. The British settlement in Bathurst was administered, along with all other British forts and settlements in West Africa under "a central government in Sierra Leone" from 1821. Grey, J.M. 1966: 294; 323 & 324.
2. Slaves from coastal and inland areas of West Africa; Maroons from Jamaica and others were also part of this early Freetonian population. See Hancock, I.F. 1971: 253.
3. The linguist S.W.Koelle made reference to at least one hundred distinct African languages spoken in nineteenth century Freetown.
4. With the British naval blocade of the Western coast of Africa from 1808 in order to end the Atlantic Slave Trade the term Liberated African was used to refer to slaves freed from slave ships trying to evade this blocade. See Grey, J.M. 1966: 294 & Curtin, P.D. 1969: 243-245 & 249-250.
5. See p. *48* . Described diachronically by Dalby, D. 1970 & Hancock, I.F. 1971: 21 & 31.

Being more readily accessible to the learning of metropolitan English and to the assimilation of British culture it is not surprising that Krio speakers became closely allied to British West African administrations. This close relationship was further enhanced by the ability of the Krio speakers to communicate effectively between the English speaking administrators and the non-~~Krio~~ English speaking African majority in areas under British control in West Africa.

The wish to bring an end to the slave trade in the Gambia, coupled with the problems of disease, housing shortages and violence, which characterised a Freetown overpopulated by ex-slave influxes, made former Gambian areas of slave exportation, namely St.Mary's Island[1], St.James' Island[2], and Mac Carthy's Island, convenient areas of importation for some of these Liberated Africans[3] from Freetown.

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1. On which the British administrative centre for the Gambia was situated at Bathurst (now renamed Banjul).
2. Where a British slave-exporting "factory" was situated in 1730 according to Moore, F. 1738: 17.
3. See a copy of a list of 23 such Liberated Africans from Sierra Leone in the Gambia on p.217 .

"List of Liberated Africans under the Supervision of Government on the Liberated African Farms and Brick Works belonging to Goderich [i.e. in the Gambia] [1].

Sex M	Sex F	Names	Country	How Employed	From whence [sic.]	Date of Arrival at Gambia
-		Corry	....	On Farms and Brick Works	Sierra Leone	1st October 1833
-		Fana	-do-			
-		Fah Corry	-do-			
-		Karry	-do-			
-		.....	-do-			
-		Sampa	-do-			
-		Kannabre	-do-			
-		Guerry	-do-			
-		Dorry	-do-			
-		Bye	-do-			
-		Fah	-do-			
-		Karry	-do-			
-		Balla	-do-			
-		Dorry	-do-			
-		Manny	-do-			
-		.....	-do-			
-		.....	-do-			
-		Sevee	-do-			
-		.....	-do-			
-		Cottoe	-do-			
-		Tarrando	-do-			
-		Mangomah	-do-			
-23-		Carried forward-				

"

1. A copy taken from the Liberated African Register, National Archives, Banjul, reference no.54, piece no.1.
Note that ... = illegible on the available photocopy.

"Register of Apprentices .... Settlement of Bathurst

Name of apprentice and date of apprenticeship 1884	Age	Sex	Nation.....	Name and address of master or mistress	Names and address of parents (if any)	Term of apprenticeship
22nd. Sept. 1884 ....N'Jie	4 yrs.	Female	Jolloff.....	Elizabeth Goddard Wellington Street, Bathurst.		7 years subject to ordinance in contemplation.
1st. Sept. 1884 Mary Sow	15 yrs.	Female	Jola[Dyola]	....Sow Hagen Street Bathurst		one year
2nd. Septr.[sic.] 1884 Nancy Macauley	5 yrs.	Female	Jola	Susannah MacCauley Buckle Street Bathurst.		seven years
10th. Septr. 1884 Charles Fye	3 yrs.	Male	Mandingo....	Barboo Jarbow Long Street Bathust.		seven years
16th. Septr. 1884 Aular Sarr	5 yrs.	Female	Mandingo.....	Elizabeth Roman Lemon Street Bathurst.		seven years
24th. Septr. 1884 Marrie Johnson	15 yrs.	Female	Jolloff.....	Mary Baxton Grant Street Bathurst,	Thomas Johnson and Sara n Jie [sic.]	seven years.
1st. ctober[sic.] 1884 Marion Williams	7 yrs.	Female	Mendi[Mende]..	Matilda Williams Clarkson St.	Parents dead	seven years
7th. Octr.[sic.] 1884 Mary M.Dure	7 yrs.	Female	Jola.....	Eliza... Picton Street Bathurst		seven years"[1] ...

1. A copy taken from the 'Liberated African Slave Register', National Archives, Banjul, reference no.54, piece no.1. Note that.... = illegible on the available photocopy.

As Bathurst was the administrative centre of the British protectorate of the Gambia and as these Krio speakers performed an increasingly valuable part in British administration of a non-English speaking majority, it is not surprising that Bathurst, on St.Mary's Island, was also the focal point of Freetonian ex-slave resettlement in the Gambia.

Also immigrating to Bathurst during this period were many Wolof slaves from St.Louis and Goree in the household of "Señoras" coming into the Gambia between 1816 and 1850[1]. They also settled in Bathurst near the settlements of their masters in "Portuguese Town":

> "Melville Town, later called Jollof Town, for the most part inhabited by artisans of the Wolof tribe lay behind Portuguese Town"[2].

The transfer to Bathurst of these 'slave' Wolof was to become very important as, according to British law in 1808, they were automatically free whereas , according to French law, till 1848, they were still slaves:

> "There are many persons in the Gambia living in the houses of British merchants, [with 'Señoras'] who, if they were to go back to Goree, would be immediately seized upon as slaves; four-fifths of the Jallof population in the Gambia dare not go to Goree"[3].

The Senegambian social-structure[4] with its related reliance on the institution of slavery, however, had its supporters in both Goree and the Gambia, for example in the case of a boy claimed as a slave by a "Señora" in Goree because his parents now living in Gambia had been her former slaves:

1.National Archives, Banjul, reference no. 54, piece no.1.
2.Mahoney, F.K.O. 1963: 36.
3.National Archives, Banjul, reference no. 75, piece no.19.
4.See pp.195-205.

"The boy was born at St.Mary's and had never seen Goree in his life; but on going ashore, the lady claimed him as her slave"[1].

In Gambia, similar attitudes were evident:

"...the section, which makes all children born to a slave free will be a great assistance in stamping out slavery altogether. The natives laugh at this section. 'A child born from a slave must be a slave, [a]nd cannot be anything else', is to them a sound natural law which cannot be set aside by any law of man"...[2].

Such hostility to the ending of slavery in Bathurst was at times also expressed by the French authorities, and diplomatically replied to by at least one British official:

"...I trust will convince you and the inhabitants of Goree that their people are neither enticed or encouraged to come to this place, but I must say should any of them find their way into this settlement which I believe a great many do in native canoes from Joalla [on the Senegal coast] I will not force them to return"[3]. (1823)

As a consequence of such potential and real hostility to the freeing of peoples of slave origin outside Bathurst and other pockets of British influence in the Gambia, these British zones became the 'home-ground' for most slave-descended immigrants, particularly the mainly Yoruba[4] descended Krio-speakers from Freetown. They became known as Aku[5] by others because of their use of Yoruba standard greetings in which the (V)[K] V sequence occurs, e.g.:

1.Fox,W.P. 1843:563 & National Archives, Banjul, reference no.76, piece no.19.
2.National Archives, Banjul, reference no.2, piece no.50,p. .
3.National Archives, Dakar, reference no.1.F.1,piece no.3,p.2.
4.Many of the Liberated Africans in mid nineteenth century Freetown were Yoruba. Hancock, I.F.1971:253.Dr. A.K.Turey, in conversation, I.A.I 1976.
Note that the Yoruba presence is still evident in ~~Aku~~ personal names among the Krio-speakers, such as Akilade, and Ayodele, as well as in the Yoruba style of dress employed particularly by the older Aku women on ceremonial occasions.
5.Mbassy-Njie, C. 1976:4, indicates that the name Aku was Sierra Leonean origin:"Le mot 'aku' est une transformation de 'oku',nom donne par les Sierra Leonais aux descendants d'esclaves d'origine Yoruba".

kabɔ - 'Welcome!',
(e)karɔ - 'Good-morning!', and
(e)kale - 'Good-evening!'

To these Wolof and Aku Liberated Africans were added people of the jongɔ (Mnka.'slave') caste from the up-river and mainland areas of the Gambian valley and particularly from the nearby French[1] areas, who sought to gain freedom from their masters:

> "...I have been able to send a number of Freed slaves to Bathurst...Lately many slaves have been running away from the French Country so that they be made free here..."[2] (1894-1899)

The Dyola slaves were particularly prone to fleeing from their masters[3], e.g.:

> "Jola Slaves continue to run away, and the Acllaides are very dissatisfied in consequence"[4]. (1894)

Although most of these local Liberated Africans were sent to or escaped to Bathurst, some also settled for similar reasons in other areas under close British administration in the Gambia, especially Mac Carthy's island:

> "...M'Carthy's Island...slaves from the interior are continually coming in for freedom"...[5]

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1. Where slavery was not yet outlawed by the French (see above.)
2. National Archives, Banjul, reference no.61, piece no.1, pp.26-27.
3. Who were probably Mandinka see pp.198-205. Some of these escaped Dyola may have gone to settle in Bathurst. "A Jola community from Combo had also taken up residence in one corner of the Island which came to be known as Jola Town"; see Mahoney, F.K.O. 1963:37.
4. National Archives, Banjul, reference no.61, piece no.1, pp.91 & 95. Report of J.H.Ozanne, Travelling Commissioner, North Bank Province, Bathurst, 28th.June 1894.
5. National Archives, Banjul, reference no.61, piece no.1. Travelling Commissioner's Reports for MacCarthy Island Province, 1899, p.96.

Given the many African languages spoken in Bathurst during this period it is likely that their convergent influences may well have been expressed in the single language then capable of being a common language among these diverse immigrant groups- Krio. The influences of Krio could only have been enhanced by the earlier creolisation of English in the Gambia, particularly under the influences of Kriul and Mandinka[1].

Given the structural similarities between Krio and Kriul it is likely that the historically subsequent development of Krio in the Gambia was enhanced by a prior knowledge of Kriul on the part of both Krio and non-Krio speakers in the Gambia.

The structural similarities between Krio and the non-creole Gambian languages[2] would have further ~~enhanced~~ encouraged the development of Gambian Krio. In the same way that Kriul had formerly provided a means of intercommunication amongst speakers of different mother tongues[3], Krio similarly became a language of intercommunication in Bathurst.

West Indian speakers of Caribbean creole English among the West India Regiment and the Royal African Corps in the Gambia[4] and other parts of West Africa also aided the diffusion of Krio and other forms of creole English in Bathurst specifically and in other parts of The Gambia and West Africa in general.

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1. See pp. 209 & 210.
2. See pt.II, ch.6.
3. See p. 209.
4. E.g. in the suppression of African rulers still determined to continue the Atlantic Slave Trade. See pp. 219 & 220. See also Hancock, I.F. 1971: 17-18.

Between 1816 and 1850 members of these regiments occupied the sandbank area of Bathurst and gave that part of Bathurst the name of 'Soldier Town'[1]. Such a partly Caribbean creole English-speaking population would not have failed in aiding the development of Bathurst as a Krio-speaking town[2].

The greatest stimulus for the spread of Krio in the Gambia was because it provided an indirect link with the then most powerful political and economic force in the Gambia- the British. Prior to British military intervention in the Gambia, the immigration of people as economically self-sufficient as the "Señoras" of Goree to the houses of British merchants in the Gambian valley[3] suggests that the British merchants were making profits substantial enough to attract the alliance even of these commercially dominant "Señoras".

British military intervention, in order to put an end to a slave trade from which British merchants had accrued such substantial profits, only gave the military backing to an already established economic dominance[4]. Manpower for administrative posts, the police force, the army and the interpreters for the British administration of the area, was readily available from one of the two groups capable of understanding both some of the African languages of the area as well as the English of the British rulers-the Liberated Africans (Aku) and Krio-speaking Wolof artisans[5], resident in Bathurst.

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1. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1963: 37.
2. The descendents of these former West Indians were in fact indicated to me by Rev. J.C.Faye:
   "The Coles, Williams, Spaldings, Bidwells, Stapletons and Benjamins are in fact all ancestors of disbanded members of the West India Regiment who settled here [in Banjul] ".
3. See pp.210-211.
4. The ascendency of Krio and the gradual disappearance of Kriul in the Gambia is probably related to this rise of British commercial power and the decline of that of the Afro-Portuguese.
5. Note the activities of English speaking missionaries amongst such Wolof. See pp.227-228.

The gradual and continued association between Krio speakers and political and economic power, firstly in the eyes of non Krio-speaking Africans, and secondly in their own eyes, ensured the development of Krio as a language of prestige. This association with a Euro-centred prestige was further enhanced by the European oriented religion[1] of the Liberated Africans (Aku)[2], namely Christianity. Like the Afro-Portuguese before them, the Aku had a religion and a language which distinguished them from the indigenous and mainly Islamicised peoples of the area.

Again, like the Afro-Portuguese before them, political necessity dictated that the Aku minority (whose very existence as freemen was in question)[3] became allies of a more powerful group whose political interests were convergent with their own. The Afro-Portuguese had allied themselves to the Mandinka, the Aku allied themselves to the British.

The early years of Aku settlement in Bathurst, however, were far from prestigious, many who had spent a long period on board a slave-ship en route to Bathurst (often via Freetown) having died shortly after they arrived. Those who survived these journeys were apprenticed to the merchants, the "Señoras" and the free Wolof artisans of Bathurst[4]. The apprenticeship[5] was usually for a seven year period and the apprentices were often children[6].

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1. At least in the judgement of the mainly Islamicised peoples of the Gambian valley.
2. Although the general term Liberated Africans was, in the past used to be inclusive of the Aku/Yoruba in Freetown and Banjul, in modern times the dominance of Aku culture amongst the Liberated Africans has become so established that the term Aku above is used in the Gambia.
3. As far as the 'freemen' of the Mandinka and Wolof were concerned, see pp. 197&200. See also pt.I, ch.1.
4. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975:37.
5. Note that many of the freed Wolof artisans of Bathurst had previously undergone a short period of indenture before gaining their full freedom. They were now to get apprentices from a group who, like themselves, were of a slave background. See Grey, J.M. 1966: 317.
6. See p. 218 .

Those who were semi-fit due to a prior stay in hospital were sent to "Liberated African Farms and Brick Houses" in Goderich[1] village where they made bricks and cultivated cash crops such as cotton and tobacco. When they regained their health they were sent on to Mac Carthy's island to make room for new Liberated Africans who had been discharged from hospital.

These who had been recruited as soldiers in the West India regiment[2] aided in the military suppression of the slave trade, still carried out by Senegambian chiefs such as Fode Kabba; for example the burning down of the 'slave' town of Tunjina in the Gambia was achieved with the aid of Liberated Africans in the West India Regiment:

> "...a regular town kept up only for the purpose of keeping slaves ready for transport...
> In connection with the Expedition I have the honour to recommend for your Excellency's consideration that the men of the West India Regiment who accompanied me should be given an allowance..."[3]

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1. Note that the similar need to accommodate Liberated Africans in Freetown, Sierra Leone, gave rise to Liberated African villages named after prominent British places and personalities e.g. Goderich.
   See Mahoney, F. 1975: 36. See also p. 217 .
2. Most members of this regiment had been recruited from Freetown; it is however likely that others were also recruited on arrival in the Gambia. A number of the early members of this regiment were in fact West Indians who had been sent back to Sierra Leone (from the West Indian/ Caribbean islands) and were recruited as "part of the defences of the British settlements in West Africa....". Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975: 36. See also Hancock, I.F. 1971: 19 and pt.III, ch.1, pp.411-413.
3. National Archives, Banjul, reference no.61, piece no.1, pp. 3 & 7.

They, unlike other Liberated Africans, gained a measure of prestige which expanded, e.g.:

"...to confer the decoration of the Victoria Cross on.. Private Samuel Hodge, 4th. West India Regiment,"...[1]

With the disbanding of this regiment, many of these ex-soldiers joined the police-force, giving Liberated Africans an early dominating influence in another important part of British administration in the Gambian region:

"The following record of changes in the Gambia Police Force is published for general information. 1st.May, 3rd. Class private Samuel French resigned this day. 2nd. May, Thomas A. Joyce and William Johnson enlisted as 3rd. Class Privates from this day. 6th.May, Corporal John W.Davis, 3rd. Class privates John A.Palmer and George Carr to be Stationed at Albreda..."[2]

Largely without economically viable skills, however, the majority of Liberated Africans attained no such prestige. They were instead regarded as immigrants with an inferior status in the households where they were apprenticed and rejected as members of the slave caste (Mnka. jɔngɔ; Wol. jam)[3] who had committed the taboo of living as freemen[4]. To the traditional rulers of the Senegambia and many within their spheres of influence, this could only have been a form of 'sacrilege',a rejection of many prior centuries of

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1.National Archives, Banjul, reference no.77, piece no.5, an extract from the London Gazette dated 4th. Jan. 1867.

2.National Archives, Banjul, reference no.26, piece no.1, Gambia Government Gazette, 1884 & 1885, of May 31st., 1884. Cf. the rise of Barbadians as policemen, in 'British' St.Lucia. See pt.III, ch.1, p. 420 .

3.I.e. anywhere outside the areas of British administration. Note the synchronic Krio term Kɔmbo - 'Combo', for the mainland area on the south-bank off St.Mary's island. The 'segregation' that the term implies may have had its diachronic roots in such a history of slave versus non-slave ethnicity. Note that Kɔmbo is a geographical term having no other meaning in Wolof.

4.See p. 220 .

an established status quo. The term Liberated African could only have been an inter-ethnic insult within this early period of settlement and not a term of pride.

Missionary activity, self-help institutions and a favourable association with the British administration in the Gambia, were some of the elements upon which the Liberated Africans based their social ascent from a previously 'low' social position.

Between 1821 and 1824 Quaker missionaries with the help of two Wolof youths specially trained in England, opened schools in Bakau[1] and in Bathurst. This missionary work was handed over to the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries on the departure of the Quakers to Freetown[2]. In 1841 the Wesleyans had a school at Barra Point and another at Bathurst[3].

Particularly important was the work of Wolof artisans from "Señora" households, and Wolof (jam) 'slave' immigrants from Goree, amongst the Weslean missionaries during the period in and around 1830[4].

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1. I.e. in the Kombo area opposite St.Mary's Island.
2. "The Quakers had come before but in 1821 the Methodists came to Banjul and inherited the pioneer work of the Quakers". See Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975: 42 & Grey, J.M. 1966: 311-316.
3. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975:43.
4. See pp.218&224. See also Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975: 43. Between 1818 and 1830 many jam from slave-ships seized by the French authorities would have preferred to emigrate to Bathurst than return to the houses of their former masters in St.Louis and Goree: "...St.Louis...nous sommes-transportés dans les magasins de Capitaine Canon.. il Existait dans deux magasins particuliers la quantité de Quatre Vingt-Un Nours... [noirs sic.] National Archives, Dakar, reference no.K2, piece no.9,p.1. Judging by figures of jam within the houses of Goree inhabitants in 1849 (I totalled 2014 from the available figures), it is likely that earlier, in 1830, there would have been even more jam who preferred to emigrate to Bathurst. See National Archives, Dakar, reference nos.K9 & K10 comprising, respectively, of two lists of slaves, both dated 1849.

The Wesleyans often helped 'buy the freedom'[1] of these Wolof jam from their Goree masters. For example, one John Cupidon, a Wolof from Goree who worked as an interpreter for the Wesleyans in Bathurst and then as a teacher on Mac Carthy's Island, had purchased his freedom from Goree from his own savings, while another Wolof assistant to the missionaries, one Pierre Salla, bought his freedom by means of Wesleyan missionary funds[2].

In 1849 such educational and missionary activities were expanded by the opening of a Catholic "free boarding-school"[3] in Bathurst, while in 1859 the existing garrison school in Bathurst for the children of the British soldiers was upgraded into a regimental school[4].

Such a centering of educational facilities in Bathurst gave the Liberated Africans, living mainly in Bathurst, a situational advantage in acquiring the necessary skills afforded by a British-centred education in what had become a British-dominated area[5].

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1. Although slavery was by this period officially outlawed both by the British and French authorities, one of the unofficial means used by jam who wished to visit relatives in Goree, without being seized as slaves, was to 'buy their freedom' from their former masters. See Grey, J.M. 1966: 319. See also Mahoney, F.K.O.1975:43.
2. Grey, J.M.1966: 319 & Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975: 43.
3. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975: 44.
4. Ibid.; pp.44-45.
5. This was to be of great advantage to the Aku who would, as a consequence of their 'British education', fill important and influential posts in the later Colony of the Gambia and even the present day independent Republic of The Gambia. This is suggested in the remarks of Rev.J.C.Faye:"The reason for the 'underdevelopment'of the upper-river Muslim areas, with regards to European education, was because missionaries were not allowed to enter the non-Colony area, mainly outside Banjul without the invitation of the indigenous peoples". In fact the speaker himself in order to redress some of this earlier uneven development opened up a school in the up-river regions of the early Colony of the Gambia.

To this situational advantage was added a linguistic advantage in the case of the Krio-speaking majority of ex-Freetonians amongst the Liberated Africans. Unlike those of Wolof extraction from Goree, the Krio-speakers already spoke a language much of whose vocabulary is shared with English. This common lexical source[1] could only have facilitated the acquisition of positions of privilege by the Krio-speakers within the British administration. The fact that the Liberated Africans were on the whole, like the British, an immigrant minority centered in Bathurst[2], ~~such a common background~~ probably enhanced a pre-existing lexical convergence.

These advantages aided some Aku to figure prominently quite early in the education of other Aku. In 1849 the school for liberated African children in Mac Carthy Island was run by Rev. Joseph May, a Freetonian Creole, while the Bathurst school attached to the Anglican Church in 1859 was run by the Freetonian Creole schoolmaster, one William C. Cates[3].

It was mainly through friendly societies, that the Liberated Africans 'liberated' themselves from their formerly low social status[4] within Bathurst society.

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1. This similarity was recognized even earlier by at least one British military leader in Gambia who made use of a Krio-speaking interpreter from the ranks of the West India Regiment as indicated by the following:
   "That the following men be given presents as follows:
   Marina Tumani £5. - -
   Tamani Sanyan £2. - -
   P.C.Joseph Pullen £1.- -
   ...the third for his extra hard work at interpreting".
   National Archives, Banjul, reference no.61,piece no.1.
2. Cf.the history of the Barbadian immigrant minority in Castries, the capital of St.Lucia. See pt.III, ch.1,pp.418-420.
3. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975:44-45.
4. This low social status of the Bathurst Liberated Africans can be contrasted with the comparatively high social status of their 'Creole' Freetonian relatives during this period. This was probably due to the contrasting cultural environments of these two areas. The Bathurst Liberated Africans were brought into contact with established and powerful African civilisations which ostracised them on the same basis as all other slave-descended people within their spheres of influence. In the case of the Freetown area on the other hand the Creoles had a dominating influence upon the many small ethnic groups such as the Bullom and Sherbo who inhabited the area.

As with the early resettlement of Liberated Africans in Freetown, those of Bathurst had also initially settled into groups based on ethnic affiliation, Igbo lived near Igbo, Yoruba next to Yoruba, ex-Goree Wolof and ex-West Indian Regiment soldiers also following this basic settlement pattern. Partly as a consequence, the first Liberated African friendly societies were ethnic societies[1]. Ethnic as they were, however, the funds collected from subscriptions were used to aid needy or bereaved society members[2]. Through these societies, social controls were, for the first time, imposed upon Liberated Africans by Liberated Africans themselves, thieves and other social offenders, for example, being punished within the group.

It was probably this greater cohesive self-control on the part of the Liberated Africans that the British authorities feared was being used for political purposes. The British consequently sought, by legal means, the publication of the membership, financial transactions and aims of all such friendly societies in 1865. The societies protested vigorously against this "Clubs Ordinance" and, as the British Government in 1865 wished to prepare its colonies for self-government, the societies became the centres for political debate amongst the Liberated Africans.

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1. Mahoney, F.K.O. 1975: 50.
2. Cf. the St. Lucian practice of susu (<U. See p. 5/6 .) in which money is usually given to the appointed 'banker', on a weekly basis. Each week, for a prearranged period one member is given all of the money 'banked'. This practice is called padna - 'partner' in Jamaican creole.

Events had proved a catalyst to Liberated African self-definition and political expression e.g.:

> "...all the Liberated African Clubs joined together in 1865 to send Joseph Refell to Study law in London"[1].

As in Freetown, Krio in Bathurst became a unifying force between the different ethnic minority groups represented within the larger Liberated African group[2].

The non-Gambian African mother tongues of the various ethnic minorities are therefore likely to have had convergent effects upon the development of Krio in the Gambia in the same way that non-Sierra Leonean African languages have had determining effects upon the development of Krio in Sierra Leone[3]. These African language influences on Gambian Krio have been reinforced by the synchronically convergent influences of Gambian languages. Kriul has also had an important influence upon the historically subsequent creole language of the region-Krio.Due to a relative degree of grammatical convergence, firstly between the non-creole African language with which Krio had or has contact[4], and secondly between Krio and these languages en masse, Krio probably typifies the wider affinities existing between West African languages in general and creole languages both in the Caribbean and West Africa[5]. It is out of such a similar background of convergent African language influences for example, that an early form of pidgin-Patwa developed in Saint Lucia.

1.Mahoney, F.K.O.1975: 51.

2.The Liberated Africans became known as the Aku because of the predominance of peoples of Yoruba descent amongst them. See p. 220. The Yoruba were also the majority amongst the Liberated Africans of Freetown, ~~Dr. A.K.Turay, in conversation I.A.I. 1975.~~

3.See Hancock, I.F. 1971.

4.I.e.diachronic and/or synchronic contact (with reinforcement.) Defined on p. 48 .

5.Discussed in terms of Kriul, Krio and Patwa in pt.I, ch.6, pt.II, ch.6 and pt.III, ch.7 respectively.

PART II

CHAPTER 2: A SYNCHRONIC OUTLINE OF GAMBIAN KRIO

INTRODUCTION

This brief descriptive outline is of Gambian, as opposed to Sierra Leonean, Krio. Given the general state of decreolization[1] of Gambian Krio, due to pressures from the surrounding African languages of well-established ethnic groups[2] as well as that of an English language-based educational and political system, it is important that it be distinguished from relatively non-decreolized Sierra Leone Krio spoken by a larger and more ethnically distinct population.

PHONOLOGY

Decreolizing influences have resulted in a breaking down of some phonological rules formerly relevant to both Krio varieties. Where these rules are now not totally relevant to Gambian Krio, especially as spoken by second and third language speakers, this is indicated in footnotes.

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1. Defined on p. 50 .
2. See pt. II, ch. 1.

Consonants:

	BILABIAL	LABIO DENTAL	DENTAL ALVEOLAR	ALVEOLO PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b		t d	c j	k g	
NASAL	m		n		ng	
LATERAL (non-fricative)			l			
ROLLED			r			
FRICATIVE		f v	s z	sh		
FRICTIONLESS CONTINUANTS						h
SEMI-VOWELS	w					

Notes on Consonants:

(a) Nasals

Nasals are hormorganic in word final position (transcribed consistently as n)[1] e.g. the verbal markers bin and kin which assimilate to the following consonant in terms of place or articulation: [bin it] - "Past eat", [biŋ kil] - "Past kill", [bim it] - "Past beat", [bin nak] - "Past hit".

(b) Rolled

r has the alternants [ɾ] ~ [ɹ] ~ [R] e.g. [ɾid] ~ [Rid] - 'to read', [stɹit] ~ [stRit] - 'street'. [R] (uvular) is a feature of more conservative Krio[2]. [ɹ] however, has a more frequent occurrence, probably due to the decreolizing

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1. and realised utterance - finally as m ~ n ~ ng.
2. and therefore a feature of the speech of older speakers, as well as those of all ages with strong Sierra Leonean links.

effects of English. [ɾ] is realized in word final position where a vowel initial pronoun follows a word ending in a vowel e.g.[swala] - 'to swallow', cf.[i swalaɾ am] - 'He/She swallowed it'. As such realizations of [ɾ] can be predicted, they are not presented in the orthography.

(c) Interdentals

[θ] and[ð] are not phonemic in Krio but do appear in a few items recently introduced from English e.g.:
[baθpan] - 'bathtub'[1].

(d) Labio-velars [kp] and[gb] occur in Yoruba loans only.

Vowels:

	ORAL			
FRONT	i,	e,	ɛ,	a
BACK	u,	o,	ɔ	
	NASAL			
FRONT	ĩ,	ɛ̃,	ã[2]	

Notes on Vowels:

(a) Nasalised Vowels

All the Krio vowels have nasalised varieties[3] which may occur when a nasal consonant immediately follows the vowel e.g. [ũna] - 'you' (pl.), [ɛ̃m] - 'them', [mɔ̃ni] - 'money', [ãn] - 'hand(s) and [kĩn] - Hab. marker.

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1. See p. 235 .
2. Separately marked as Ṽ. See p. 237 .
3. Not separately marked in this phonological outline.

(b) Stress and Vowel Length

Vowel length is phonemic as a marker of emphasis in Krio.[1] Syllable stress (raised pitch) and vowel length may be combined as markers of emphasis, e.g.:

i ɛd bíig, tonally [bíig] - 'Her head is very big'
"his/her head big"
Emph.

Cf. i ɛd big - 'Her head is big'.

Although such a use of stress may seem to be indicative of decreolization towards English, which also uses stress for emphasis, most West African languages make use of stress manifested by raised pitch in combination with lengthened vowels, as markers of emphasis.

Phonological Reassimilation ⟶ English:

Due to the impact of an English-based education system, reinforced by the use of English as an international language, the phonology of Gambian Krio is in the process of losing its source African phonological features[2] and reassimilating ⟶ English phonology e.g.:[3] Sierra Leone Krio [s] e.g.: [tu mɔs] - 'too much' ⟶ Gambian Krio [tʃ] as in [tu mɔtʃ]. Word initial Sierra Leone Krio [d] e.g. [dɛn] - 'they' ⟶ Gambian Krio [d] ~ [θ] e.g.: [θɛ̃ big] - 'They were very large'.
"them big"
Emph.

Sierra Leone Krio [a] e.g.: [ɔda] - 'other' ⟶ Gambian Krio [ə] e.g.: [ɔdə] - 'other'.

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1. See pp. 255-257 for a detailed description of emphasis. Vowel lengthening without implied emphasis also occurs e.g. rɛɛs - 'rice' and oos - 'house' and is a feature in the speech of 'educated' speakers, probably as an alternant to English diphthongs e.g. [rais] - 'rice' and [haus] - 'house'.
2. As reflected in the phonology of Sierra Leone Krio and described by Hancock, I.F. 1971.
3. See also pp. 236 & 237.

This may also be partly due to the influence of Wolof where [ə] is phonemic. Note that [ə] does not occur in Sierra Leone Krio[1], although more limited phonological reassimilation ——→ English does occur in Sierra Leone Krio.

MORPHOLOGY

Gambian Krio makes very little use of morphology, and grammatical relationships are mainly indicated at the syntactic level.

Nouns:

Nouns, used both as subjects and objects, are uninflected except in the plural where English s ~ z pl. suffixes are at times used.

Notes on Nouns:

(a) Plurality

Plurality is usually marked by a nominal affix (usually following the noun) (feature 8).

This feature is unstable due to decreolizing English influences. Its instability is evident in its alternants which vary from the characteristically Krio to English variants e.g.:

(i) di man ɛ̃ ĩ fambul dɛ̃, al kam fɔ si wi[2]

"the man and he family+pl.,all come for see we"

-'The man and his family all came to see us'.

1.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 436.
2.G 28/L 8(c) (C.N: 8455-8750

(ii) ...wi rid wi buks dɛm[1]
"we read we book + pl. pl.
-...'we read our books'

(iii) di students, dɛ̃ wɑ̃ rid[2]
"the student + pl., they want read"
-'The students wanted to read'

(iv) dɛ̃ animal, dɛ̃ fat[3]
"those (pl.)animal, they fat"
-'The animals are fat'

(v) di kauz fat
"the cow + pl. fat"
-'The cattle are fat'

As seen in the above examples, plurality in Gambian Krio can be marked by a plural affix[4] following the noun (e.g. (i)), as in Mandinka/Bambara and Wolof; by the English derived plural suffixes s ~ z used together with the post-nominal pl. affix dɛm (e.g. (ii)); by the use of the English pl. marker alone (e.g. (iii) and (v)) or by a demonstrative pl.marker dɛm (e.g. (iv)), probably under the influence of English 'those', 'they', used in association with pl. nouns, e.g.: 'Those boys over there, they came to school yesterday! ', where 'those' and 'they' are used in association with the pl.noun 'boys'. The 'intermediate' structure in this decreolization process is exemplified in (ii) in which both the English and the 'African' (structur -ally) pl. markers are simultaneously used.

1.G 23/L 5 (a) (C.N: 7859-8047).
2.G 9/L 12(f) (C.N: 3441-3679).
3.G 47/L 6 (j) (C.N: 6161-6372).
4.This affix is related in form to the 3rd. person plural pronoun in Krio (as well as in Mandinka/Bambara.)

(b) Associative marker

As well as being a pl. marker and the 3rd. pl. pronoun, dɛm also marks group association. dɛm (Assoc.) follows the associative noun(s) e.g.:

yu go cɔp bai Anti Keti dɛm?
"you (sing.) Fut. eat by Auntie Katie them"
- 'Are you going to eat with Auntie Katie and her friends/associates/family?'

Pronouns:

Subject

	1	2	3
SINGULAR	a ~ ai[1]	yu	i
PLURAL	wi	una	dɛm ~ de[2]

e.g.: a nak am - 'I hit him'
"I hit him/her"

i dɔn bring di kɔpɔ - 'She brought the money'
"(s)he Complet. bring the copper"

una bin so di klɔs - 'You sewed the clothes'
"you(pl.) Past sew clothes"

Notes on Subject Pronoun:

(a) Different forms for the 2nd.sing. and 2nd.pl.(feature 11)

Like other African and creole languages, Krio has a different pronoun for both the 2nd. sing. and the 2nd. pl., i.e. yu and una[3] respectively e.g.:

1.The form ai is <Eng. 'I'.
2.de <Eng. 'They'.
3.See pt.II, ch.5, p. 300 .

yu go mit mi tumara
"you(sing.) Fut. meet me tomorrow"
-'You will meet me tomorrow'

au mɔs bɔd yuna kil
"how much bird you(pl.) kill"
-'How many birds did you kill?'

(b) Non differentiation of the pronoun with respect to gender in the 3rd. sing. (feature 12).

Like many other African and creole languages[1], Krio does not differentiate between 3rd. sing. masculine and feminine pronoun forms e.g.:

i bin kam skul -'He/She came to school'
"(s)he Past come school"

Where creole speakers are in close contact with European languages, which do express this gender difference in terms of separate pronouns, there is a potential for confusion on the part of the creole speakers. In the case of Gambian Krio speakers interviewed, the majority of whom did have an English based education, this possibility of language interference is avoided by the use of nouns marked for gender, in association with the 3rd. sing. -i e.g.:

di gal, i bai dɛm -'She bought them'
"the girl (s)he buy them"

di man i de wɛr rɛd shɔt
"the man (s)he Prog.wear red shirt"
-'He is wearing a red shirt'

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1. See pt.II, ch.6, p. 353 .

Possessive

Possession is typically indicated by the placement of possessive pronouns before the 'possessed' noun. The pronouns have the same form as the subject pronoun with the exception of the alternants of the 1st sing. ai~a[1]: possessive mi, and 3rd sing. i : possessive in [i, im]etc. e.g.:

mi	bɛle	de	at	mi
"Poss. (1st sing.)	belly	Prog.	hurt	me"

- 'My belly hurts me'

dɛn	animal	dɛn	fat
"Poss. (3rd pl.)	animal	pl.	fat"

- 'Their animals are fat'[2]

Note on the Possessive Pronoun:

The 3rd sing. possessive pronoun in can function as a genitive link between the 'possessor' and 'possessed' noun, e.g.:

Pɔlin	in	baskit
"Pauline	G.L.	basket"

Object

These are of the same form as the subject pronouns with the exception of 1st sing. a ~ ai: object pronoun mi and 3rd sing. i: object am. They can be used either as direct or indirect object (below).

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1. Derived from English 'I' the first of these forms is suggestive of decreolisation towards English by speakers more exposed to an English-speaking educational system. See pt.II, ch.3. Note that a is the normal form of the 1st sing. subject pronoun in Sierra Leone Krio and points to ai as an historically recent development in Gambian Krio.
2. See below for genitive link.

Verbs:

The Verb Stem is uninflected and follows the Subject Pronoun, Tense and/or Aspect Marker(s)[1] e.g.:

(i) a dɔn go makit
"I Complet. go market"
-'I went to the market'

(ii) i bin dɔn dai yɛstide
"he Past.Complet. die yesterday"
-'He finally died yesterday'

Notes on Verbs:

(a) Verbal nouns

After grammatical fɔ[2] and the progressive marker de[3] a verbal noun may be used e.g.:

fɔ de laf - 'laughing', cf. fɔ laf -'to laugh'
fɔ de rɔn - 'running' , cf. fɔ rɔn -'to run'
fɔ de jɔmp - 'jumping' , cf. fɔjɔmp -'to jump'

(b) Imperative

The imperative form of the verb is used mainly in reference to the 2nd. sing.and 2nd. pl. and consists of the verb/stem only in the 2nd. sing. e.g.:

kam ! - 'Come! '

with the optional presence of the 2nd. pl. pronoun in the case of the 2nd. pl. imperative e.g.:

(una) kam! - 'Come! '

The imperative can be combined with other personal pronouns by the insertion of mek - 'make' before the personal pronoun e.g.:

mek a go si am -'Let me go and see him/her'
"make I go see him/her"

mek wi bit am, gudwan -'Let us beat him/her soundly'
"make we beat him/her good one"

1.See pp.248-251.
2.See pp.258&259.
3.See p.248.

(c) Locative verb

The locative verb de (~ dɛ <Eng. 'there') 'to be in a place', a homophone of the progressive marker de[1], can follow the progressive marker, e.g.:

i de de Banjul
"(s)he Prog. Loc.verb. Banjul"
-'She is in Banjul'

tumara i go dɛ wit im wɛf
."tomorrow he Fut.Loc.verb. with his wife"
-'Tomorrow he will be with his wife'

Adjectives:

Attributive:

Attributive adjectives precede the noun e.g.:

di rɛd buk - 'The red book',
"the red book"

Predicative:

Predicatives follow a subject pronoun or a nominal subject e.g.:

di buk rɛd - 'The book is red',
"the book red"

i rɛd - 'It is red'
"it red"

In Gambian Krio, predicative adjectives can also be stabilised with na (otherwise a nominal stabiliser), e.g.:

di buk we a gi yu na rɛd
"the book which I give you(sing.) Stab. red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

Sierra Leone Krio, however, stabilises predicative adjectives only with i, e.g.:

di buk we a gi yu i rɛd
"the book which I give you(sing.) it red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

---

1. Note the similar use of a locative verb equivalent in form to the progressive marker in Mandinka and other local languages. See pt.I , ch. 2 p. 97 .

This is probably due, in Gambian Krio, to decreolizing influences from English[1] Copula + Adj. (e.g. above) and Wolof Adj. + na (Stab.)[2] e.g.:

Wol. rafɛt na - 'is beautiful'
"beautiful Stab."

Adverbs:[3]

Adverbs may be used to indicate time, manner, augmentation, location, etc.

Notes on Adverbs:

(a) Time

tide - 'today', nau - 'now', tumara - 'tomorrow', yɛstide - 'yesterday'...etc.

e.g.: i kam tide - 'He/She comes/came today'
"(s)he come today"

(b) Manner

wɛl - 'well','properly', saful - 'carefully', patiently' etc.

e.g.: i du di wɔk wɛl - 'He/She did the work well'
"(s)he do the work well"

---

1. See pp. 236 & 237
2. See pt. II, ch. 6, pp. 342 & 343.
3. Adverbs are not described at the syntactic level within this outline. Adverbs in Gambian Krio are used in the same way in Sierra Leone Krio.

(c) Augmentatives: tu, tu mɔc, so:

For example:

i tu big - 'The man is very big'
"(s)he Aug. big"

i ɛd big tu mɔc -'Her head is big'
"his/her head big Aug."

wi an dɛm big so -'Our hands are very large'
"we hand pl. big Aug."

yu wɔk tu mɔc - 'You work too much'
"you (sing.) work Aug.

The above augmentative adverbs are often used in association with predicative adjectives. Tu differs from the others in its pre-adjectival (predicative) position, due to its formal and functional derivation from Eng. 'too'. Tu mɔc and so can both be used after verbs. Their post-verbal and post-adjectival position may not be totally unrelated to the similar occurrence of the Wolof augmentative adverbs: tɔrɔp (<Fr.trop) ~ lool ~ bax, all meaning 'too much'. English and French make use of augmentative adverbs in post-verbal, but not post-adjectival (predicative) position.

(d) Location[1]

NOUN + de

NOUN + ya

e.g.: dat man de - 'That man over there'
"that man there"

dis man ya - 'This man here'
"this man here"

As indicated above, the adverbs de and ya indicate, respectively, distance from and proximity to the speaker. This feature may have been reinforced by Wolof which similarly marks proximity and distance from the speaker by means of nominal suffixes.[2]

1. ~~Cf.~~ The Locative preposition: na, a homophone of the stabiliser and emphatic marker (see below), ~~the locative preposition~~ which may follow the locative verb e.g.:
wi de na im/ɔn ɔs
"we Loc.verb.Loc.Prep.his/her house" - 'We are in his house'

2. See pt I, ch.2, p. 96.

Ya < Mnka. ya - 'place around the speaker'[1] is a homophone of the emphatic marker ya[2] ~~and can also be~~ is used as a referential marker (below.)

Referential Marker: ya:

For example: da bɔi ya i krez
"that boy Ref. he crazy"
-'That boy,(whom we have previously mentioned)is mad'

Reduplication:

Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, can all be reduplicated as a marker of emphasis e.g.:

wantwant no gɛt, gɛtgɛt no want
"want-want Neg. get, get-get Neg. want"
-'The very needy do not get and the very well-off are not needy'

di buk rɛdrɛd
"the book red-red"
-'The book is very red'

Here, the reduplication of want → wantwant-'the very needy' and gɛt → gɛtgɛt -'the very affluent' and rɛd → rɛdrɛd - 'very red'.

Cf.similar reduplication of the adverb saful:

if yu wɑ̃ liv lɔng na laif mek saful
"if you(sing.)want live long Stab.life make softly(Adv.)"
-'If you want to live long be cautious',

Cf. safulsaful go kɛc mɔnki tel
"softly-softly(Adv.)Fut. catch monkey tail"
Noun <
-'It is by being very cautious that you will achieve difficult things like catching a monkey by its tail'

1.See pt.II, ch.4, p.299 .
2.See p.256 .

Prepositions: pan-ɔn', insai-'inside' etc.:

Prepositions may be used to indicate position, e.g.:

fɔ fut tin tinap pan fɔ fut tin....

"four foot thing standing on(Prep.)four foot thing"

-'A four-legged thing stands on a four-legged thing'....

yu insai di haus

"you(sing.) inside the house"

-'You are inside the house'

Conjuction - ɛn - 'and':

ɛn is mainly used to link nouns or a noun and a nominal phrase,e.g.:

Jɔn ɛn Erik

"John and Eric"

-'John and Eric'

Jɔn ɛn di bɔi dɛm

"John and the boy pl."

-'John and the boys'

SYNTAX

Basic Clause Type:

The basic clause type in Krio (excluding adverbs/adverbial phrases) can be summarised as follows:

SUBJECT	VERBAL MARKERS	VERB	(OBJECT)
	(RELATIVE)(NEGATIVE)(TENSE)(ASPECT)	STEM	

Notes on Constituent Elements:

(a) Subject

Any noun or subject pronoun can be used as a subject e.g.:

di bɔi dɛm rɔn - 'The boys ran'
"the boy pl. run"

dɛn rɔn - 'They ran'
"they run"

(b) Verbal markers

Relative

The relative marker we may be placed after a relativized subject e.g.:

di man we rɔn - 'The man who ran'
"the man Rel. run"
Subject

Negative

The negative marker no ~ nɔ is placed before the verbal marker(s)[1] and the verb e.g.:

wi no bin bai ɔɔi
"we Neg.Past buy oil"
-'We did not buy oil'

wi no go go na di wɛl fɔ fec wata[2]
"we Neg. Fut. go Loc. the well to fetch water"
-'We will not go to the well to get water'

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1. See pp. 249-251.
2. Negation is also indicated by the use of the negative stabiliser nɔto; see p. 252.

Tense

Past: bin, e.g.:

(i) a bin du am - 'I did it'
"I Past do it"

(ii) a bin dɔn du am yɛstəde -'I did it yesterday'
"I Past Complet.do it yesterday"

As indicated in the example above and below, bin and go differ from the other verbal markers (see below) in that they can both indicate tense.In e.g. (ii) above dɔn marks completive aspect while bin places the sentence in the past.The past tense may also be unmarked (indicated by ∅ verbal marker e.g.:

dɛn miit wi - 'They met/meet us'
"they meet ~~wɛ~~ us"

dɛn go ə lɔnglɔng we distaans
"they go a long long way distance"
-'They went/go a long long way'

Future: go e.g.:

we go kuk - 'We will cook'
"we Fut. cook

i no go rɔn ɔp di hil an daun egen
"(s)he Neg.Fut.run up the hill and down again"
-'She will not run up the hill and down again'

Aspect

The following markers are used to indicate aspect in Krio.Although the 'time' context is not the main axis in terms of which these markers function, certain 'time' contexts may often be correlated to particular aspect markers, e.g. the 'past time' context with the completive aspect.

Progressive: de

The marker indicates progressive action irrespective of the 'time' context e.g.:

yɛstade a de tɔk wi di majik man
"yesterday I Prog.talk with the magic man"
-'Yesterday I was talking to the magician'

a de it mi dina nau

"I Prog. eat my dinner now"

-'I am eating my supper now'

Habitual: kin e.g.:

i kin ren plɛnti na ya

"it Hab. rain plenty Stab. here"

-'It always rains here'

dɛn kin iit rɛs

"they Hab. eat rice"

-'They eat rice'

Completive: dɔn e.g.:

Audu, wɛl, i dɔn go

"Audu, well, he Complet. go"

-'Audu, well, he has gone'

a dɔn mit am

"I Complet. meet him"

-'I met him'

dɛ̃ dɔn it di fɔl

"they Complet. eat the fowl"

-'They ate the chicken'

Obligative: gɛfɔ, e.g.:

a gɛfɔ riid mi buks dɛm

"I Oblig. read my book pl.

-'I must read my books'

yu gɛfɔ bring am di fud

"you(sing.)Oblig. bring him/her the food"

-'You must bring her the food'

Neutral: ∅ (zero marker) e.g.:

When no aspect marker is used between the subject pronoun and the following verb, the aspect and/or 'time' in which the verb is placed is defined contextually e.g. by the use of adverbs:

(i). na mɔning dɔn, sidom, de[1] taaya, dɛ̃

"Stab. morning Complet. sit-down they tire they

... -'Morning being over, (they) sat down, they were tired

no gɛt bɛte.

Neg. get better"

and could do no better'

In (i) above, it is the completive aspect of the first clause ...na mɔning dɔn which contextualises, within the clauses which follow, the ~~complexion~~ time-reference of the verbs sidom, taaya, and the verb phrase gɛt bɛte, which are all in neutral aspect.

(c) Verbal markers in combination

Past progressive: bin de, e.g.:

yɛstide a bin de tɔk tu di muzishan

"yesterday I Past Prog. talk to the musician"

-'Yesterday I was talking to the musician'

Past completive: bin dɔn, e.g.:

a bin dɔn du di wɔk

"I Past Complet. do the work"

-'I had done the work'

Conditional: bin go, e.g.:

i bin go stiil di kɔpɔ bɔt di polis kam

"(s)he Past Fut. steal (Emph.) the money but the police came"

-'He would have stolen the money but the police came'

Habitual progressive: kin de, e.g.:

ɛvritin kin de muuv

"everything Hab. Prog. move"

-'Everything moves'

---

1. See p. 238 fn. 2 .

(d) Completive (syntactic) marker: dɔn

A homophone of the completive aspect marker, dɔn[1] is also used as a completive (and anticipatory) syntactic marker. In (ii) below dɔn is used as a completive syntactic marker of the sentence which precedes. Cf. the prior use of $dɔn_{(i)}$ as a completive aspect marker.

(ii)..yu $dɔn_{(i)}$ it mi mɔni, $dɔn_{(ii)}$ yu se go na do![2]

"you Complet. aspect eat me money Complet. (syntactic) say go Stab. door"

... -'you have used up all my money; having done this, you are telling (me) to take to the door! '

This use of dɔn as a completive syntactic marker is not necessarily tied to use with sentences in the completive aspect only. In e.g. (iii) below the preceding sentence is in the progressive.

(iii) i de cɔp tik, dɔn, i go om

"(s)he Prog. chop stick Complet. (syntactic) (s)he go home"

-'He was cutting trees, this being done, he went home'

(e) Object

Direct object

Any noun or object pronoun (above) can be used as the direct object of the verb e.g.:

di man kɔt di tik -'The man chopped the tree(down)'

"the man cut the thick"

di man kɔt am - 'The man cut it'

"the man cut it"

---

1. Also used as a verb meaning 'to be done', especially in Sierra Leone Krio e.g.: i dɔn dɔn

"it Complet. done"

-'It is done/finished'

2. G 20/ Q4 ; (C.N: 5547-5588).

Indirect object

After ~~two~~ dual object verbs e.g. gi - 'give' a noun is used as direct object after the pronoun in direct object e.g.:

i dɔn gi am di ɔs

"(s)he Complet.give him/her the horse"
Direct Object

-'He gave her the horse.'

Stabiliser (Feature 1):

The stabiliser na, a homophone of the emphatic marker na[1], is placed before the stabilised item e.g.:

(i) na Jɔlɔf wɔd

"Stab. Wolof word"

-'It is a Wolof word'

(ii) na(i) mi na(ii) di wan we kam fə́əst

"Stab. I Stab. the one who come first"
Emph.

-'I was the one who came first'

In example (ii) the first stabiliser na (i) stabilises the pronoun mi while the stabiliser na(ii) stabilises the noun and the following relative clause: di wan we kam fə́əst.

Negative Stabiliser: nɔto:

The negative counterpart of na above e.g.:

nɔto uman bing go tu ɛm yɛstide

"Neg.Stab. woman Past go to them yesterday"

-'It was not a woman who visited them yesterday'

nɔto im mama ɛn in papa

"Neg.Stab. his mother and his father"

-'It was not his mother and father'

1.See p.256 .

Focalizer: nomɔ ~ rɛk[1]:

Either of the above markers is placed after the focalized item e.g.:

na im nomɔ bin go si dɛ́ gɔvɔnɔ
"Stab. him Focal. Past go see the governor"
-'He alone went to see the governor'

In the above example the pronoun im is being focalized. The English derived focalizer nomɔ, is however used in free variation with the Wolof focalizer rɛk - 'only', e.g.:

na so rɛk in kin du
"Stab. sew Focal. (s)he Hab. do"
-'Sewing was her only trade'

In the responses of G.19, however, both rɛk and nomɔ were used simultaneously:

cɔp rɛk na in nomɔ ĩ want
"fŏod Focal.Stab. it Focal. (s)he want"
-'A meal was all he would accept'

fɔ de rɔn afta dɛ̃ kau biain rɛk na ĩ
"for Prog.run after those cow behind Focal.Stab. it
'Looking after the cattle was the thing

nomɔ ĩ lek
Focal. (s)he like"
the boy enjoyed'

Although this simultaneous use of two focalizers may be said to be idiolectal it seems to be similar to the simultaneous use of s and dɛm pl. markers[2] in that whereas the latter reflect decreolization due to the influence of English, the former is indicative of relexification[3] due to Wolof influences.

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1. As used in the realisation of feature 3, below.
2. See pp. 236&237.
3. See p. 48&49.

In addition to the above syntactic outline, the following grammatical features in Krio, (including the relevant selected features)[1] are also discussed (below):

1) The Realisation of Emphasis (including Features 3 - 6),

2) The Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9), and

3) Serial Verbs.

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1. Defined on pp. 16-21.

1) The Realisation of Emphasis (Including Features 3 - 6):

Emphasis is indicated in Krio by the following devices:

(a) Front-focalisation (feature 3)

The item to be emphasised is placed at the front of the sentence or phrase, and preceded by the stabiliser na e.g.:

na dis man bin kam ya yɛstide
"Stab. This man Past come here yesterday"
-'This is the man who came yesterday'

The emphasised item can be further focalised by the placement of the focaliser (wan) nomɔ ~ rɛk[1] ~ ~~wan~~ after the emphasised item (feature 3) e.g.:

na im wan nomɔ di ticə bin lɛk
"Stab. (s)he one Focal. the teacher Past like"
-'He alone was favoured by the teacher'

na mɔni nomɔ i bin want
"Stab. money Focal. (s)he Past want"
-'The money was that he wanted'

(b) Emphatic repetition (feature 4)

The emphasised item is repeated, e.g.:
di klɔt blák blák blák
"the cloth black black black"
-'The cloth is jet black'

i kin traí,traí,traí,bɔt i no ebul du am
"(s)he Hab.try try try but (s)he Neg.able do it"
-'However he tries he cannot'

1. See p. 253.

(c) Topicalisation (feature 6)

Topicalisation by a pronoun, a stabiliser, a predicative adjective or a noun derived from the same verb stem as the recapitulated verb is another means of indicating the emphatic. For example in the following sentence ((i) below) the whole phrase fɔ luk dɛ̃ shiip is topicalised (and emphasised) by the pronoun and its associated stabiliser na im:

(i) fɔ luk dɛ̃ shiip , na im di bɔi lɛk
"for look those sheep Stab. it the boy like"
-'Looking after sheep was what the boy liked'

In the following examples:

(ii) na shaut i shaut pan dɛm
"Stab. shout (s)he shout upon them"
-'She scolded them'

the verb shaut (ii) is emphasised by shaut (i) , the corresponding preposed verbal noun.

(iii) di buk we a gi yu na rɛd wan
"the book which I give you Stab. red one"
-'The book I gave you(sing.) is red'

(d) Emphatic marker- na and du ya

Emphasis is also indicated by placing the emphatic marker na[1] after the emphasised item which may be a noun or a whole phrase e.g.:

(i) di klɔt na - 'The cloth! '
"the cloth Emph."

(ii) mek we go na - 'Let us go! '
"make us go Emph."

1.Cf.Sierra Leone Krio na ~ nɔ emphatic marker e.g.:
"O Amadu, kam meyk Wi ekskiuz dem noh"[2]
["Andu, come make we excuse them Emph."]
-'Andu, come, let us leave them alone'

2.Decker, T. 1966: 33, the translations are mine.

du ya (Emph.) - although ya is used mainly as an adverb,[1] it is also used to mark emphasis in the phrase du ya -'see here', 'mark you', 'look here', e.g.:

du	ya	mek	yu	no	ɔmbɔg	mi
"do	Emph.	make	you(sing.)	Neg.	humbug	me"

-'Please, do not bother me! '

(e) Emphatic elongation of vowel (feature 5)

The elongation of a vowel combined with heightened pitch in an emphasised item is a general feature of Krio speech e.g.:

di	tɔng	fáa
"the	town	far"
		Emph.

- 'The town is a very long way away'

Cf.

di	tɔng	fa
"the	town	far"

- 'The town is far'

Vowel lengthening with heightened pitch is used more often than repetition and reduplication as a marker of emphasis especially by older Krio speakers, possibly due to the more common usage of emphatic vowel lengthening (and stress) in Yoruba and Temne, two languages which had an important influence on the early Krio pidgin.Cf. Wolof which makes a more frequent use of repetition to mark emphasis and which is having important synchronic influences upon Krio[2] i.e. as represented in the speech of younger Krio speakers.

(f) ....ó(ó) - Emphatic

The insertion of ó(ó), after the emphasised item, with raised pitch in both, is another phonological marker of the emphatic[3] e.g.:

na	mí	óo
"Stab.	me	Emph.

-'It is me! '

1.See pp.244&245.
2.See pt.II, ch.3, pp.272&273.
3.This is also a feature of Yoruba.Dalby, D. in conversation, S.O.A.S, 1980.

2) The use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' i.e.(tɛl)..se/fɔ , (si) se (Feature 9):

(tɛl)...se is a feature of reported speech in Krio[1] e.g.:

(i) i bin tɛl wi se, mek wi kam insaid ɛn it
"(s)he Past tell us say makewe come inside and eat"
-'He told us to come in, sit down and eat'

(Si) se, like tɛl...se is used mainly in sentences in the past tense (e.g. above), although both can be used in progressive and other non-past sentences, e.g.:

(ii) i de tɛl mi se, mek a sing
"(s)he Prog. tell me say make I sing"
-'He is telling me to sing'

(iii) dɛm pipl u de drɔ wata si se, di
"those people who Prog.draw water see say the
wata dɔn drai
water Complet. dry"
'The people whowere drawing water found that the river was dry'

Although (tɛl)...se and si se alone were analysed as a selected grammatical feature[2] other verbs can similarly be followed by se in reported speech e.g.:

sing se, tink se e.g.:

(iv) a de tink se, we go mit egen
"I Prog. think say we Fut. meet again"
-'I think we will meet again'

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1. And other non-creole African languages; see pt.II, ch. 6, p. 351.
2. Described on pp. 19 & 20 .

As suggested in all the above examples there is a pause after ...se, marked by a comma. This contrasts with the use of lexical 'say' in English which is not necessarily marked by a following pause. Cf. Eng. 'I said we would meet again'. Tɛl...fɔ is a free variant of tɛl...se in which fɔ < Eng. 'for' has apparently replaced Twi influenced se[1] in the general relexification of Gambian Krio by English and/or Wolof items. Possibly due to its Eng. influences tɛl...fɔ is not followed by a pause (indicated by the absence of a comma after fɔ) e.g.:

i tɛl dɛm fɔ rɔn -'He told them to run'
"(s)he tell them for run"

Tɛl ...fɔ may well be an intermediate stage in decreolization from tɛl...se ⟶ English tɛl e.g.:

i tɛl ã kam -'He/She told her/him to come'
"(s)he tell him/her come

This would not be totally unrelated to the view that relexification, as indicated in tɛl...se ⟶ tɛl....fɔ , precedes decreolization e.g. in tɛl...fɔ ⟶ tɛl[2]. The element fɔ can be used separately before a verb or a verbal noun (see above) e.g.:

fɔ rɔn om, na f i lɛk
"for run home Stab.it (s)he like"
Verb.

-'To run home was what he liked'

fɔ de rɔn om, na f i lɛk
"for Prog. run home Stab. it (s)he like"
Verbal
Noun

-'Running home was what he liked'

1.See pt.II, ch.4, p. 300 .
2.See p. 241 .

3) Serial Verbs:

Verbal catenation occurs, although not frequently in the sentences recorded. It does occur in Sierra Leone Krio (as also in most non-creole African languages), e.g.: Gambian

Krio: i rɔn tek brum bit am

"(s)he run take broom beat him/her"

-'She ran off, got a broom and beat him'

PART II

CHAPTER 3: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF GAMBIAN KRIO

INTRODUCTION

Areas of major overlap among the social categories for the Krio-speakers interviewed are as follows:

(i) most of the women are Aku,

(ii) the great majority, whether first or second language speakers (and from all age groups) are of the middle and high social prestige groups, mainly as a consequence of prestige being measured on the basis of educational achievement,

(iii) most speakers of the 'low' and 'high' prestige are without Sierra Leone links.[1]

The social categories used here are those used for all three creoles but with the following guidelines more relevant to Krio speaking society: the ethnic division Aku and non-Aku means that all Aku or Aku/Wolof are described as Aku due to the long presence of Aku/Wolof amongst the Aku.[2] All other groups are considered non-Aku. In addition to the social categories used for all three Creole societies, the additional category of 'Sierra Leone links' is used in the sociolinguistic analysis of Krio-speaking society alone[3].

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1. See table on p.262&263.
   These correlations are due to the underrepresentation of certain categories of speakers in the data. See p. 47 of the general introduction.
2. See pt.II, ch.1, p.227&228.
3. See p. 46 of the general introduction.

Table of Krio Speakers and Social Categories

Speaker Number *	Sex	Age group	Prestige	Ethnic group	Sierra Leone Krio +	Sierra Leone Krio -
G 1	F	22>	High	Other		✓
G (2)	M	22>	High	Other		✓
G 3	F	<21	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 4	F	42>	Low	Aku		✓
G 5	F	<21	Mid.	Aku		✓
G (6)	M	22>	High	Other		✓
G 7	F	22>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 8	F	22>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G 9	M	42>	High	Aku	✓	
G 10	F	42>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G 11	F	42>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 12	F	<21	Low	Aku		✓
G 13	F	<21	Low	Aku		✓
G 14	M	42>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 15	F	<21	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 16	M	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 17	F	42>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G 18	M	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 19	M	42>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 20	M	42>	High	Aku		✓
G 21	M	42>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G 22	M	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	

* Aku and first language Krio-speakers are underlined; other first language Krio-speakers are not underlined; second language Krio-speakers from other ethnic groups are circled.

Speaker Number	Sex	Age group	Prestige	Ethnic group	Sierra Leonelinks +	Sierra Leonelinks −
G 23	F	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 24	F	42>	Low	Aku		✓
G 25	F	42>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G 26	F	<21	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 27	F	<21	Low	Other	✓	
G 28	M	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 29	F	22>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G (30)	F	22>	High	Other		✓
G 31	F	22>	High	Aku		✓
G 32	F	42>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 33	M	42>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 34	F	42>	Mid.	Aku	✓	
G 35	M	22>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 36	F	<21	Mid.	Other		✓
G 37	F	42>	High	Aku		✓
G 38	F	22>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 39	M	22>	High	Aku		✓
G (40)	F	22>	Mid.	Other		✓
G 41	M	<21	High	Aku		✓
G 42	M	<21	High	Aku		✓
G 43	F	42>	Low	Aku		✓
G 44	M	22>	Mid.	Other		✓
G 45	F	22>	Mid.	Other		✓
G 46	F	<21	Mid.	Other		✓
G 47	M	<21	Mid.	Aku		✓

KRIO

Interrelationships Between the Social Categories for the Krio Speakers Interviewed *:

		<21	22>	42>
Sex	Male	3	9	6
	Female	9	10	10

	Low	Mid.	High
Male	0	11	7
Female	6	19	4

	Aku	Other
Male	9	9
Female	21	8

	Sierra Leone links +	Sierra Leone links -
Male	8	10
Female	8	21

Age	Low	Mid.	High
<21	3	7	2
22>	0	13	6
42>	3	10	3

Age	Aku	Other
<21	9	3
22>	7	12
42>	14	2

Age	Sierra Leone links +	Sierra Leone links -
<21	1	11
22>	7	12
42>	8	8

Prestige	Aku	Other
Low	5	1
Mid.	18	12
High	7	4

Prestige	Sierra Leone links +	Sierra Leone links -
Low	1	5
Mid.	14	16
High	1	10

Ethnicity	Sierra Leone links +	Sierra Leone links -
Aku	8	22
Other	8	9

* I.e. a total of 47 speakers. Of these 45 (i.e. with the exception of G 43 and G 46) were interviewed in formal speech and all 47 in informal speech.

See pp. 628-635 of the appendix.

FORMAL SPEECH

Of the twelve creole features described in Gambian Krio the following showed alternation in their use/non-use in the selected sentences[1]:

1 - Stabiliser ,
2 - Adjectival Verb ,
3 - Front-Focalisation ,
4 - Emphatic Repetition ,
8 - Use of a Plural Affix[2] ,
9 - Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (i.e. tɛl...se ~ tɛl....fɔ and si se) instead of English influenced tɛl..... and si.... .

The non-use of the above features by each speaker was counted[3] and the results for each feature compared individually with the set of selected social categories[4] in the manner previously described[5]. The following showed meaningful sociolinguistic interactions with one or more of the selected social categories (i.e. differences of 20% and above between sociolinguistic groups) in formal speech:

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1. See p. 674 of the appendix. The non-differentiation of the 3rd. sing. with respect to gender did not show alternation in the formal speech of ten selected sample speakers and was therefore not analysed for sociolinguistic purposes. See p. 34 of the general introduction.
2. And following the noun in Krio. See p. 19 of the general introduction.
3. See p. 674 of the appendix.
4. See pp. 42-47 of the general introduction.
5. See pp. 34-41 of the general introduction.

1) Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Terms of Social Prestige,

2) Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Terms of Sex,

3) Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4) in Terms of Ethnicity,

4) Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Terms of Sex,

5) Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Terms of Social Prestige,

6) Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Terms of Sierra Leone links,

7) Use of Plural Affix - K. dɛm (Feature 8) in Terms of Sierra Leone links,

8) Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9) in Terms of Sex,

9) Cumulative Decreolized (Negative) Score in Terms of Sex,

10) Cumulative Decreolized (Negative) Score in Terms of Ethnicity and Sierra Leone links.

The use/non-use of adjectival verbs (feature 2), when contrasted with the social categories, did not indicate any significant sociolinguistic differences (i.e. of 20% and above between the relevant sociolinguistic groups.) A similar analysis of the cumulative negative scores in comparison with the selected social categories, other than 'sex', 'ethnicity' and 'Sierra Leone links', (above) did not reveal significant correlations[1].

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1. Such non-significant correlations are summarised on p. 676 of the appendix.

1) Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Terms of Social Prestige

As suggested in the Table[1] there is a lesser than average tendency to use this variable feature by speakers of the low prestige group and a progressively higher tendency to use it by the middle and high prestige groups respectively. In numerical terms 5/5 (100%) of low prestige group scored -5 (representing half of the total negative score)[2] and below, while 17/29 (59%) of the middle and only 1/11 (9%) of the high prestige groups scored -5 and below. As the negative scale is equated with decreolization these results suggest higher decreolization amongst speakers of low social prestige and vice versa.

Although this may seem surprising, given the many descriptions of sociolinguistic variation in the New World creoles, where higher prestige is usually related to greater decreolization [3]→European languages, it should be remembered that African creoles have traditionally been markers of higher prestige in contrast to African languages and, not surprisingly, decreolization →African languages was correlated to lower prestige than the use of a relatively non-decreolized creole.

It might be expected that, as traditionally higher prestige in African creoles involved greater use of European as opposed to African language items, high decreolization scores would still equate with a higher use of European items and thus with high prestige today. This would overlook the recent change in the social context of the African creoles studied, namely that they are now in contact with African as well as European languages of prestige.

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1. On p.270.
2. See p.39&40.
3. Bickerton, D. 1975 describes this relationship in Guyanese creole.

Decreolization is therefore now both in the direction of African languages, the most important being Wolof, in the case of Kriul and Krio, as well as that of French and English respectively. Krio speakers traditionally -and still- occupy middle and high prestige positions in the Gambia. In fact, of the 45 Krio speakers interviewed in formal speech only 5 were in the low prestige group[1] (all except one being Aku, and all being women.)

Although this may seem to contradict the view that Wolof is also a language of prestige, the domain of Wolof is mainly that of wider inter-ethnic communication within the area and is not convergent with Krio's domains. It is only beginning, like its first language speakers, to encroach upon the domains of government and business, where first language Krio speakers still wield the major influence. Given the traditional and continued prestige of English, coupled with the new prestige of Wolof, hypercorrection towards English and Wolof on the part of the Krio-speaking women may also be having its effect. These tendencies are also reflected in the sociolinguistic differences between male and female Krio speakers in their cumulative decreolization scores[2] (in formal speech). Although this did not result in any significant correlations[3], the difference between the resultant sociolinguistic groups was 19%.

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1. See table on p. 264.
2. See p. 37 .
3. See p. 284 .

It may well be that in the past decreolization of Caribbean and African creoles was mainly in the direction of European languages of prestige. This is reflected by the greater use of Portuguese, English and French items amongst older speakers of Kriul, Krio[1] and Patwa respectively, but this now historic stage of decreolization as far as the two African creoles are concerned is not the only focus of this study.

Amongst Krio speakers of low prestige, formal speech is likely to be even more decreolized due to hypercorrection[2] towards English. To such speakers the use of Krio is not equated with a prestige that they possess, and their tendency to hypercorrect is therefore based on a desire to impress[3]. Speakers of high prestige, being more educated, had a greater understanding of the researcher's purpose and were more comfortable than low prestige speakers in using Krio formal speech.

It is possible that a second-hand knowledge of Krio, on the part of the non-Aku, especially those who are second language Krio-speakers, may also be a factor giving rise to decreolization due to influences from their mother tongues and/or those of their non-Aku parent(s). 7/15 (47%) of such speakers scored -5 and below in the use of this feature. As 16/29 (55%) of first language speakers also scored -5 and below, however, these differences were not taken as significant[4].

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1. Note the very Anglicised Krio used by speakers ♀ 11, ♀ 24 and ♀ 25 who are all between 42 and 86 years old. Their responses are commented upon on pp. 658-660 of the appendix.
2. See p. 49 .
3. E.g. in the case of speaker number ♀ 11; see p. 658 of the appendix.
4. In the case of the above and all other combination of social categories with language features not described in detail here the differences between the sociolinguistic categories were below 20%.

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY PRESTIGE GROUPS		
	Low	Middle	High
-1 , -2		22, 34, 36, 44	1, 9, (30), 31, 37, 39
-3 , -4		15, 16, 21, 26, 28, 32, 38, 47	(2), (6), 41, 42
-5 , -6	12, 27	3, 7, 8, 10, 14, 18, 19, 23, 25, 33, 45	
-7 , -8	4, 13, 24	17	20
-9 , -10		5, 11, 29, 35, (40)	
	100% at -5 & below	59% at -5 & below	9% at -5 & below

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE*	SPEAKER NUMBER BY SEX	
	Male	Female
- 1	9, 22, 39	(30), 31, 34, 36
-2	44	1, 37
-3	(2), (6), 16, 21, 28, 41, 42	26, 32, 38
-4	47	15
-5	14, 19, 33	7, 8, 10, 12, 23, 25, 45
-6	18	3, 27
-7	20	4, 17
-8		13, 24
-9	35	5, 29
-10		11, (40)
	33% at -5 and below	63% at -5 and below

* Aku and first language Krio-speakers are underlined; other first language Krio-speakers are not underlined; second language Krio-speakers from other ethnic groups are circled.

As all but one of the 'low' prestige Krio speakers interviewed were women, it is possible that their greater decreolization scores may be related to a higher tendency, on the part of women, to be influenced by ~~(a)~~ decreolizing prestige language(s).

2) Front-Focalisation in Terms of Sex:

As shown in the table[1], the women interviewed tended to decreolize more than men in the use of this feature. 17/27 (63%) of the women scored -5 and below while 6/18 (33%) of the men scored -5 and below. As seen in the interrelationships between the social categories only[2] 25% of the women are non-Aku while 47% of the men were non-Aku, thus suggesting that ethnic differences may be the important influence in what seems at first sight to be a difference due to sex. An investigation of front-focalisation and ethnicity ~~(below)~~, however, indicated that ethnicity had little significant influence.

3) Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4) in Terms of Ethnicity:

19/29 (65%) of the Aku scored below -2 (indicating half of the negative decreolized score) but 14/15 (93%) of the other ethnic groups scored -2 and below. This would partly suggest a greater presence of this feature in the synchronic sources of Krio, particularly Wolof (see p.257 above).

1.See p. 271 .
2.See p. 264 .
3.See p. 39 for a discussion of how this midway point in the negative decreolized scores was calculated.

Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY ETHNIC GROUPS	
	Aku	Other Ethnic Groups
-1	17, 37	19
-2	20, 25, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 42	
-3	5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 21, 26, 42, 39	1, 16, 18, 22, 23, 28, 36, 45
-4	3, 7, 8, 12, 14, 24, 29, 31, 41	(2), (6), 27, (30), (40), 44
	65% at below -2	93% at below -2

This is indicated both by the very slight use Kriul speakers made of this feature (two out of ten sample speakers used it[1] in the selected Kriul sentences) as well as the presence of Kriul dimás, Wolof tɔ́rɔp[2] as alternative emphatic markers, and the gradual adoption of Krio tu mɔc as a free variant of the more widespread use of emphatic repetition in Krio. This would exemplify Labov's view of linguistic change being at times reflected (synchronically) in sociolinguistic variation[3].

4) Stabilisers in Terms of Sex:

This feature realised by the form na, a homophone of a Krio emphatic marker[4], was counted as positive wherever it occured in speaker responses to the Linguistic section of the questionnaire. Its non-occurrence could not be predicted in terms of particular sentences as could the other varying features. The sub-section of the questionnaire by which each speaker used their first fifty stabilisers was noted. The 32 sub-sections were marked as negative on the assumption that the more sub-sections used in reaching the first fifty stabilisers, the less the use of this creole feature by the speaker and therefore the greater his/her decreolization.

12/27 (44%) of the women scored below -20 (measuring half in this table), while only 2/18 (11%) of the men scored ~~above~~ below -20[5], again underlining a greater tendency on the part of the women interviewed to use decreolized speech for reasons outlined below.

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1. See also p. 255 of the previous chapter.
2. See table in pt.I, ch.2 p. 244 .
3. Labov, W. (1970) in Pride, J.B. and Holmes, J. 1972: 200.
4. na - Stab. and na - Emph. are separately described in the previous chapter.
5. See table on p. 275 .

Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SEX	
	Male	Female
-15	39	24,31
	21	37
	9,41,44	12,15,26,34
	(2),14,42	36
	16,47	17,25
-20	(6),19,20,22,28,35	1,5,(30),38,45
-25		10
-30		
-32	18,33	29,32,(40) 3,4,7,8,11,13,23,27,
	11% at below -20	44% at below -20

5) Stabilisers in Terms of Social Prestige:

The historical use of Krio as a language of relatively high social prestige (in contrast to African languages)[1] is reflected in the high decreolized score in the use of stabilisers by speakers of low social prestige as compared with a progressively lessening decreolized score on the part of middle and high prestige speakers: 3/5 (60%) of the low prestige speakers scored below -20 (i.e. half) of the negative (decreolized) score, 11/29 (38%) of the middle and 0/11 (0%) of the high prestige speakers scored below -20[2].

These scores also indicate a greater hypercorrection towards English by low prestige speakers in formal speech, and are related to their view of Krio as an 'improper' form of English, which they signalled by trying to impress the researcher with a higher use of Anglicised Krio. A suppression of the use of na - Stab., cf. Wol na[3] by such speakers, may well be one of the means of 'correcting' Krio of this Wolof influence. Educated speakers of high and middle prestige did not display these tendencies[4].

Due to higher relative prestige of English to both Krio and African languages, the use of Krio/Wol. na-Stab. is not used by the majority of low prestige female speakers[5]. The higher prestige of English has a greater influence in the overall 'suppression' of this feature by female speakers in contrast with male speakers, many of whom are of high prestige and who made a greater use of the stabiliser (above).

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1. See p. 292 .
2. See table on p.277 .
3. See pt.II, ch.6, p. 342 .
4. See table on p.277 .
5. See pp.282&283 for discussion on the influence of (a) prestige language(s) on female speakers.

Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY PRESTIGE GROUPS		
	Low	Middle	High
-15	24		31, 39
		21	37
	12	15, 26, 34, 44	9, 41
		14, 36	(2), 42
		16, 17, 25, 47	
-20		5, 19, 22, 28, 35, 38, 45	1, (6), 20, (30)
-25		10	
-30			
-32	4, 13, 27	3, 7, 8, 11, 18, 23, 29, 32, 33, (40)	
	60% at below -20	38% at below -20	0% at below -20

Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SIERRA LEONE LINKS	
	With (+)	Without (-)
-15		39, 24, 31
	21	37
	9, 34	41, 44, 12, 15, 26
		(2), 14, 42, 36
	16, 17, 25	47
-20	19, 22, 28	45, (6), 20, 35, 1, 5, (30), 38
-25	10	
-30		
-32	18, 33, 29, 8, 23, 27	32, (40), 3, 4, 7, 11, 13
	44% at below -20	24% at below -20

6) Stabilisers (Feature 1) in Terms of Sierra Leone Links:

As suggested below, speakers with Sierra Leonean links made less use of the stabiliser na than did those without such links, i.e. 7/16 (44%) with links scored below -20 (measuring half of the decreolized score) in contrast to 7/29 (24%) of those without Sierra Leone links who scored below -20. This is due to the greater use of the Wolof stabiliser na amongst those without Sierra Leone links, and whose Krio thus reflects local rather than external reinforcement[1].

7) Use of Plural Affix -K. dɛm (Feature 8) in Terms of Sierra Leone Links:

Speakers with Sierra Leone links made a greater use of the Krio plural affix dɛm than did those without, i.e. 4/16 (25%) of those with Sierra Leone links scored below -6 (measuring half of the decreolized score) in contrast to 16/29 (55%) of those without links who scored below -6. Given the higher usage of English s ~ z in Gambian Krio in contrast to relatively undecreolized Sierra Leone Krio it is likely that those having Sierra Leone links have had the opportunity to reinforce this otherwise decreolizing feature in their formal speech[2].

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1. 'Reinforcement' is defined on p. 50 . See also pt.II, ch.2, pp. 242&243 in which the local influences of Wol. na on Krio are described.
2. See pt.II, ch.2, pp. 236&237 where the decreolized use of plural affix in Gambian Krio, due to English influences, is described. See also the table on p. 280 .

Use of Plural Affix -K dem (Feature 8) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SIERRA LEONE LINKS	
	With (+)	Without (-)
- 1		
- 2		
- 3	27, 22	36
- 4	8, 23, 28, 33	32, 39, 44, 35
- 5	21, 34, 17	42 24, (30), 31, 37
- 6	16, 19, 29	1, 14, 45
- 7		(6), 7, 11, 13, 15, 26, 41, 20
- 8	9, 10, 25, 18	4, 5, 12, (40)
- 9		(2), 3, 38, 47
	25% at below -6	55% at below -6

Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9) in Terms of Sex

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SEX	
	Male	Female
0	(6),9,16,22,39,42,44	23,26,36,37
- 1	(2),20,33,35,41,47	31,38,45 4,5,10,12,25,27,(30)
- 2	14,19,21,28	1,3,11,8,7,15,13,24, 29,32,34,(40),17
- 3	18	
	28% at below -1	48% at below -1

8) Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9) in Terms of Sex:

As indicated below women decreolized more in the use of this feature than did men i.e. 5/18 (28%) of the men scored below -1 (measuring half of the decreolized negative score) in contrast to 13/27 (48%) of the women who scored below -1[1] . This would be in keeping with the general tendency, indicated above, for women to decreolize more than men in their ~~general~~ use of the selected grammatical features.

9) Cumulative Decreolized Score in Terms of Formal Speech and Sex:

As suggested by Labov and other sociolinguists there is a greater tendency to be influenced by prestige speech forms ~~on the part of~~ among women in general, especially in formal speech:

> "In careful speech women use fewer stigmatized forms than men... and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern...This observation is confirmed innumerable times, in Fischer (1958), throughout Shuy and Fasold's work in Detroit"....[2]

Given the new prestige of Wolof and the traditional prestige of English it is likely that higher decreolization by Krio-speaking women (both Aku and non-Aku) in formal speech reflects the above tendencies. 6/18 (33%) of the male speakers scored below -20 (representing half of the total negative/decreolized score in the table[3]) while 14/27 (52%) of female speakers scored below -20[4].

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1. See table on p. 281 .
2. Labov, W. 1970 in Pride, J.B.& Holmes, J.(eds.) 1972: 191.
3. See table on p. 284 .
4. The other selected social categories and the total decreolized score also not resulting in meaningful sociolinguistic differences (i.e. of 20% and more between all the sociolinguistic groups) are on p. 676 of the appendix.

It is likely that the internal prestige of Krio may have less of an effect upon the women who represent all the speakers of 'low' prestige and 4/11 (36%) of the 'high' prestige speakers. Although most of the women interviewed were of the 'middle' prestige groups i.e. 19/30 (63%), 7/11 (63%) of the men were in the 'high' prestige group making the latter more exposed to both the internal and external prestige of Krio in its traditional domains.

10) Cumulative Decreolized (Negative) Score in Terms of Ethnicity and Sierra Leone Links:[1]

Ethnicity and Sierra Leone links did result in meaningful sociolinguistic differences of 20% and above between the relevant sociolinguistic groups: 17/29 (59%) of the Aku scored below -20 of the total decreolized negative score while only 3/16 (19%) of the non-Aku scored below -20. 5/16 (31%) of speakers with Sierra Leone links scored below -20 while 15/29 (52%) of those without links scored below -20.

This would suggest that although the selected grammatical features are being reinforced by local African language influences in the speech of the non-Aku, second-language Krio-speakers, the same features are being decreolized by both English and local African languages in the speech of Aku first-language Krio speakers.[2] Speakers having Sierra Leone links, however, decreolize less (see above).

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1. See table on p.285 .
2. See definition of the linguistic terms used, on p.49.

Cumulative Decreolized Score in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SEX	
	Male	Female
-5, -6		
-7, -8		
-9, -10		
-11,-12	39	36
-13,-14	22, 42, 44	34
-15,-16	9	23,27,30,32, 37
-17,-18	16,19,28	1
-19,-20	6,14,21,33	8,26,31,38,45
-21,-22	2,20,47	17
-23,-24	35,41	7,10,12,13,15,24,25
-25,-26	18	4,29
-27,-28		3,5,40
-29		11
	33% at below -20	52 % at below -20

Cumulative Decreolized Score in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY ETHNICITY		SIERRA LEONE LINKS	
	Aku	Other	With (+)	Without (-)
- 5,- 6				
- 7,- 8				
- 9,-10				
-11,-12	39	36		36,39
-13,-14	42,34	22,44	34,22	42,44
-15,-16	9,32,37	27,(30),23	9,27,23	32,37,(30)
-17,-18		1,16,19,28	16,19,28	1
-19,-20	26 & 31,38,14,21	33,(6),45	8,21,33	(6),45 & 26,31,38,14
-21,-22	17,20,47	(2)	17	20,47,(2)
-23,-24	24,25,35,41 & 10,12,13,15		25,10	24,15 & 5,41,7,12,13
-25,-26	4,29	18	29,18	4
-27,-28	3,5	(40)		3,5,(40)
-29	11			11
	59% at below -20	19% at below -20	31% at below -20	52% at below -20

INFORMAL SPEECH

Although it may be argued that Krio is an informal mode of speech in itself when contrasted to English, the central purpose of this thesis is to examine Krio (and other creole languages) as a communication system in itself within its own formal and informal social settings. English influences upon Krio are analysed, like those of Wolof and Yoruba, in terms of their external importance to Krio.

Neither the use of the stabiliser, nor the total of all the selected creole features as used by each speaker[1], showed any meaningful variation in informal speech (i.e. resulting differences in the social categories above 20%), thus pointing to the formal use of Krio as the most socially sensitive domain.

Some tendencies were, however, apparent in the contrast made between the total score for all the creole features and the social categories:

(i) women made less use of the creole features than men,

(ii) speakers of the middle prestige group and the 'middle' age-group (i.e. 22> years old) made a greater use of the creole features than speakers in the other two prestige and age-groups,

(iii) the non-Aku made a slightly greater use of these features than the Aku,

(iv) speakers with Sierra Leone links also made a higher use of these features than those without Sierra Leone links (i.e. 6/16 (38%) with such links scored 240 + in contrast with 8/29 (28%) withoutlinks[2].)

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1. See pp. 677 & 678 of the appendix.
2. See tables on pp. 287 & 288 (in which 240+ indicates the mid-point of the score). See also p.39.

Cumulative (%) Score in Informal Speech

POSITIVE SCORE %	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SEX		AGE		
	Male	Female	<21	22>	42>
0-20					
21-40	(6)	31		(6), 31	
41-60	18, 47		47	18	
61-80	9	4, 25			4, 9, 25
81-100	19	7		7	
101-120	(2), 22	1, 5, 10, 24, 29	5	1, (2), 22, 29	10, 24
121-140	14, 20	23		23	14, 20
141-160	41, 42	13, 17, (40)	13, 41, 42		17, (40)
161-180	39, 44	12	12	39, 44	
181-200		3, 27, 32	3, 27		32
201-220		37			37
221-240		11, 15, 34, 36	15, 36		11, 34
241-260	16			16	
261-280	21	(30)		(30)	21
281-300		8		8	
301-320	33	26	26		33
321-340					
341-360					
361-380		38		38	
381-400					
401-420					
421-440					
441-460	28	45		28, 45	
461-480					
481-500	35			35	
	28% at above 240+	18% at above 240+	9% at 240+	39% at 240+	13% at 240+

POSITIVE SCORE %	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY ETHNICITY		PRESTIGE		
	Aku	Other	Low	Middle	High
0-20					
21-40	31	(6)			(6), 31
41-60	47	18		18, 47	
61-80	4, 9, 25		4	25	9
81-100	7	19		19, 7	
101-120	5, 10, 24, 29	1, (2), 22	24	5, 10, 22, 29	1, (2)
121-140	14	23		14, 23	20
141-160	13, 17, 41, 42	(40)	13	17, (40)	41, 42
161-180	12, 39	44	12	44	39
181-200	3, 32	27	27	3, 32	
201-220	37				37
221-240	11, 15, 34	36		11, 15, 34, 36	
241-260		16		16	
261-280	21	(30)		21	(30)
281-300	8			8	
301-320	26	33		26, 33	
321-340					
341-360					
361-380	38			38	
381-400					
401-420					
421-440					
441-460		28, 45		28, 45	
461-480					
481-500	35			35	
	18 % at above 240+	31% at above 240+	0 % at 240+	31 % at 240 +	9 % at 240+

These tendencies, in informal speech, were often significant sociolinguistic differences in formal speech (above) thus again pointing to formal speech as the most socially sensitive of the two speech styles. Sex, prestige and ethnicity, as factors affecting Krio speech, were not significant in the examples of informal speech recorded, but they resulted in more concrete sociolinguistic differences in formal speech. Differences based on age, however, did not increase in formal speech. The fact ~~the~~ that women used less creole features in informal speech, and decreolized most in their use of individual creole features in formal speech, is suggestive of their greater overall comformity to the influences of the non-creole languages of prestige. A contrast betwen individual scores for stabilisers in informal speech and the selected social categories indicated the same tendencies[1] suggested by the sociolinguistic analysis of the cumulative scores for all the creole features.

Despite its continued high prestige in the domains of government and commerce the increased prestige of English, at the international level, and of Wolof, at the local level, have combined to restrict and encroach upon the formerly wider use of Krio. As grammatical performance is under more conscious control than phonological performance, the degree of adoption of any Krio/creole grammatical feature by speakers is itself a conscious statement of their language loyalties[2].

The use of Krio by Wolof elites in the commercial and governmental domains marks an adoption of the language of the milieu in which they are operating. Krio is to them the language of power while Wolof remains the language of

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1. See table on p. 679.
   This may be due to reinforcement of Krio/creole features (other than emphatic repetition in formal speech) by similar features in their first languages or that of their parents.
2. Weinreich, U. 1968: 99-102.

solidarity[1]. G 2 for example, a Wolof who learnt Krio as part of such assimilation, is related to the larger emergence of Wolof and Mandinka elites in formerly Aku-dominated domains. As the Wolof have had long historical contacts with the Gambian Creoles, and are numerically dominant in and around Krio-speaking Banjul their long-term influence upon the Aku is likely to be far-reaching. The present use of Wolof as a second language by the Aku is likely to be a first step in Aku assimilation into Wolof culture. This contrasts markedly with the non-use of any other Sierra Leone language, apart from Krio, by the Creoles of Sierra Leone[2].

Given the past role of Aku society as an alternative to the traditional African societies up-river, in which caste values are still maintained, the adoption of Krio and of Aku values often marks for these emergent elites a rejection of some African values in favour of more European-ised Aku culture. Given their European or Euro-centred education in most cases, this is not surprising. Other local ethnic groups, e.g. Diola and Serer, ~~indicate~~ display similar social motivations in the adoption of Krio.

G.1, of part-Fula descent, G 16, G 22 and G 36, of part Diola descent, G 27 a Diola, G 40 and 46 of part Serer descent, are examples of non-Aku for whom Krio has become their first language. In every case the speakers had little or no knowledge of the languages of their non-Aku parent(s). This is due to the fact that the part-Aku in many cases have Aku mothers, thus making Krio the dominant home language. The selection of Aku wives by the non-Aku is itself possibly suggestive of the wish to assimilate into the socially prestigious semi-European ~~social~~ milieu ~~Aku society~~ has traditionally represented by Aku society.

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1. Brown, R. and Gilman, A. 1960 in Giglioli, P.P 1972:252-282.
2. Dalby, D. in conversation, S.O.A.S 1980.

The fact that many of the non-Aku 'assimiladoes' are from ethnic groups who, like the Aku, also have a minority status, in contrast to the numerically dominant Wolof and Mandinka, is perhaps not unrelated to the past flight to British/Creole controlled Bathurst by members of ethnic minorities wanting to escape the slave-trade in which the Wolof and Mandinka were engaged. Arrival in Bathurst between 1816 and 1850 represented automatic freedom from slavery[1].

The higher use of Krio features in informal speech by the 'middle' prestige group, in contrast to their relatively lower use of both stabilisers and front-focalisation in formal speech[2] may not be unrelated to greater hypercorrection ⟶ English in the formal speech of this group, causing them to suppress such 'un-English' features in their formal Krio. What Labov describes as the "hypercorrection of the lower middle class" in their use/non-use of r in New York[3] may well have its counterpart in the 'hypercorrect' formal Krio of the middle social group. Speakers in the intermediate age group use more Krio features in informal educational speech possibly because they are less affected by the English/ and Wolof influences of those <21 or by the mainly historical English influences to which those 42> have been exposed.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

On a scale of the domains below, the oral use of the following four languages may be arranged in the approximate order:

1.See pt.II, ch.1, p. 219 .
2.See tables on pp.270&277.
3.Labov, W. 1972: 287.

LANGUAGE	DOMAIN
English	Formal education, government and international communication.
Krio	Informal[1] government and commercial communication.
Wolof	Local communication.
(Mandinka)	Local communication.

~~Although,~~ At first sight a situation of triglossia[2] is suggested in which English is the most prestigious , Wolof the least prestigious and Krio is in between. This may well have typified past language relationships in The Gambia. The present decreolized state of Gambian Krio[3], however indicates its gradual decline as a separate language system 'in between' European and African languages.(The Mandinka, due to their numerical strength largely up-river', do not have such close contacts with Krio.)

As Banjul is also the political capital, the position of Krio as the informal[4] language of government, is likely to be maintained for some time and contrasts with the more limited role of Mandinka in this domain, notwithstanding the presence of a Mandinka president.

The past status of many of the Wolof and other ethnic groups as servants or apprentices within Creole households[5], as a means of receiving the European background necessary for their later social ~~emergence~~ prestige, has so affected social relations that even emergent elites from non-Aku groups have been ingrained with the idea of the prestige of the Aku and thus their language, particularly in the domain of government.

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1. Formal and informal are being used in accordance with current usage above, rather than as defined on p. 50 .
2. A term suggested by Abdulaziz Mkilifi, M.H. 1972:197-213 in analysing the sociolinguistic relations between vernacular languages, Swahili and English in Tanzania.
3. See pt.II, ch. 2 .
4. Informal is used with current meaning above and not as defined on p. 50 .
5. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 74 . Note G4/0 (4b) in whose prose narrative the use of Diola as synonymous with servant

...mi....mi Jola, i no kam tide i sok mi
'my Diola did not come today but had left my
wɔcin lɛf am na bathpan .....
washing in the tub '

(C.N: 0937-1136 & 4260 - 4821 .)

For the Aku themselves, Krio remains the language of solidarity and Wolof the language of local communication. A use of Wolof between Aku would only signal an absence of mutual solidarity. Given the increasing prestige of Wolof as an expression of the Wolof political centre of Dakar, Wolof impact upon the Aku is only countered by the use of Krio and the maintenance of Christianity, which remain the two main pillars of a cultural self-defense by the Aku. Being a Christian ethnic minority in a larger Islamic and 'pagan' cultural milieu the Aku also cling to their Christianity[1] as closely as their Krio.

To the local pressure of Wolof and the international pressure of English, local pressure from Senegalese French may also be a contributory factor in the decreolization of Krio, especially considering the wide use of French in Senegal and by many of the Gambian elite who were educated in Dakar.

Given these multiple sources of the relexification and, more importantly, decreolization of Gambian Krio it is likely that Christianity will soon become the only evident basis of Aku ethnic distinctiveness.

1.E.g. as seen on p. 323 . of pt.II, ch.5.

PART II

CHAPTER 4: AFRICAN CALQUES, CONVERGENCES AND LOANS IN GAMBIAN KRIO

INTRODUCTION

As Gambian Krio (G.K) is a variant of Sierra Leone Krio (S.L.K), a division was made (below) between African items also found in Sierra Leone Krio and those found exclusively in Gambian Krio. This division attempts to differentiate between past African influences[1] as opposed to present relexifying, decreolizing and/or reinforcing African language influences.

CALQUES

saful (saful)[2] (also in S.L.K) - 'slowly', 'carefully' e.g.:

if yu want liv lɔng mek saful saful

"if you want live long make softly softly"

-'If you want to live long be careful (in what you say and do.)' Cf. Twi/Fante[3] (abbreviated T/F) kakara kakara - 'slowly', 'softly', 'carefully', 'a little', e.g.:

yɛ nɔ kakara kakara - 'Do it carefully! ';

"do it softly softly"

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1. These have been extensively and well described in Hancock, I.F. 1971. All references to Sierra Leone Krio items are mainly from Hancock and Sierra Leone Krio speakers interviewed in London, unless otherwise stated. All Jamaican Creole (J.C) references are from Cassidy and Le Page (abbreviated as CLP followed by the page no.) unless otherwise stated.
2. Reduplication as a marker of emphasis is described separately in pt.II, ch.2, p.245.
3. Note also the alternative Twi/Fante form brɛo brɛo which lays even greater emphasis on the interpretation 'slowly, 'slowly'.

Wol. dankan dankan - 'slowly', 'carefully'
e.g.: dɛfa l danka - 'Be careful!' ;
"do it softly"

Yor. kpɛlɛ kpɛlɛ [1] e.g.:
o wun shɛ kpɛlɛ kpɛlɛ
"you(sing.)Prog. do softly softly"
-'You are doing it very carefully'

Note also the possible influences of Hausa
kaɗan kaɗan - 'slowly', 'gradually'.
"small small"

Note also Gã blɛo blɛo -'slowly','carefully'.

do klin
"dawn clean"

(also in S.L.K) - 'day break'."...Cf.Wolof bər bu sɛt, ditto. Also Gullah de klün"[2].
"...Mandingo dugu jɛra "the country has become clean/clear...";
Hausa gari ya waye - 'dawn'[3],
"town it Perf.clear"

also black West African and Caribbean French ju netye (lit. "day cleaned")"[4].
Cf. J.C day - clean - 'dawn', (CLP:144.)

big yai

(also S.L.K) - 'greedy', 'greed'.
..."Cf.Igbo anya uku"[5] - Note also Gullah
"eye big"
and J.C big - eye - 'greedy' (CLP:41.)

1.Note also the alternative Yoruba form diye diye which lays greater emphasis on the meaning 'gradually'.
2.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 661.
3.Dalby, D. in conversation S.O.A.S 1980.
4.Dalby, D. 1972: 5 in reference to "day - clean" in Black American speech.
5.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 657; Dalby, D. 1972: 4-5.

yɛri (also S.L.K)- 'to hear' and 'to understand', cf. Gã nu - 'hear', 'understand' "Mandinka me - 'to hear', 'to understand'...Twi te ...[hear, understand]...Also Mende mɛní, Temne təl - 'hear', 'understand'."[1] Note also Hausa ji, Wolof dega, all having the same meaning.

fityai (also S.L.K) -'to insult someone by staring hard at them and then moving one's eyes quickly away', e.g.:

(i) "a dɔn fityái lépet.....
[I Complet. fix-eye? leapord]
I've insulted leápɔ́rd"....[2]

Cf.Twi (ii) bu....ni having the same meaning "cut eye"

e.g.:(iii) o buu mɛ ni ɔwɛ
"(s)he cut Past I eye quick"
-'He/She insulted me' ;

Yor., e.g.:(iv) o ma mi l oju
"(s)he affect me in/with eye(s)"
-'He/She insulted me' ;

Gã, e.g.: (v) ɛ kpɛ mi
"(s)he flitted her eye(s)"
-'He/She insulted me' ; and

Igbo (vi) rɔ anya - 'to insult', in the "bend eye" same manner described above. Note also the convergent influences of Eng.'fix..eye (upon)'

1.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 660; Dalby, D. 1972: 6.
2.Hancock, I.F. 1976: 27.

ful ..... maut (also S.L.K) - "full ... mouth", meaning 'to become annoyed, angry or enraged' e.g.:

di tin ful mi mɔt -

"the thing full my mouth"

'The matter angered me'.

Cf.Twi shɛ ma.....funu - "full....mouth", also having the same meaning, e.g.:

asam nɔ shɛ ma funu ma -

"matter the fill Past me mouth me"

'The matter angered me'-

Note also the converging influences of Twi mɛ - "to become full", and also meaning 'to become angry', e.g.:

asam nɔ mɛɛ mi -

"matter the anger Past me"

'The matter angered me'.

Cf. Hausa cika (a grade 3 verb) -'to become full', 'to become angry' e.g.:

Ya cika har ya kashe shi

"He filled to the extent that he killed him"

'He became so angry that he killed him'

ɔnɛs bad [1] (also S.L.K) - 'very honest'. Such use of a negative attribute to a positive quality is a common feature of African languages e.g. :

Twi: ɔ wɔ sika bɔni -

"(s)he Loc. money bad"

'He/She is very rich'.

Wol. e.g.: bahuu nyu - 'They are very strong'

"bad them"

1.See also pt.III, ch.5, p. 494 . Items like the above though not attested by Hancock for Sierra Leone Krio are included here on basis of their presence in the speech of Sierra Leone Krio speakers interviewed in London during the period of this research.

Yor., e.g.: o lo ɔtɔ bajɛ -
"(s)he has honesty bad"
'She is very honest'.
Igbo, e.g.: "O delu ajo akwukwo [Lit.]
He wrote a bad paper... [but meaning,]
He passed the examination very brilliantly"[1]
Gã, e.g.: ɛ hĩĩ kulaa -
"(s)he good Neg.+at all"
'He is very good'
Cf. also Black American English: She's bad!
- 'She is very beautiful![2]

bra (also S.L.K)-'brother' e.g.: 'bra rabit', cf.S.L.K .... "brɔda ~ brada 'term of address' ", Black American speech "breh, buh - 'brother' as title before animal names in fables. Cf. similar use of Mnka. kɔrɔ '(elder) brother', as title before animal names in fables"[3]. Also J.C bra (CLP: 64) and Ko. na both having the same usage.

CONVERGENCES

títi (also S.L.K)-'a young girl' is a possible convergence between ..."Eng.dialect titty, 'a young girl' (Sc., Nhmb., Cumb., Lancs.)", Yoruba titi (layɔ) "joy is forever", 'traditionally a girls name'[4] and ..."Vai tití, 'name given to a little girl when her real name is not known'.Also Gullah títi, titə ,'little girl'.."[5]

1.Egudu, R.N. 1975: 175.See also pt.III, ch.5, p.485 .
2.Dalby, D. in conversation, S.O.A.S 1980.
3.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 608; Dalby, D. 1972: 5.
4.See also Abraham, R.C. 1958: 646.
5.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 549.

dɔti (also S.L.K)- 'earth', 'ground', 'clay', 'mud'. Cf.T/F "dɔ̀té.... soil, earth, clay, mud....."[1] with possible...."Convergence from Eng.dirty, S.Y [i.e.Standard Yoruba]dɔtí. Also Sr [Sraman] , J.C. , Gu[llah]"[2] and Black American dirt, also with the same meaning, ~~for~~ which Dalby also describes as a convergence of Akan origin[3].

ya (also S.L.K) - 'here'. Cf. Mnka. ya - 'place/environment around the speaker',[4] having convergence with Eng. 'here'.

ɛnti (also S.L.K)- 'indeed',...'a convergence comprising "Twi éntí, 'therefore, on that account'. Cornish dialect has ain't ee (ain't it) (EDD) with the meaning 'indeed', also Gu[llah]ɛnti, Liberian English éne."[5]

Grammatical:

kin[6](also S.L.K) - the habitual marker is a putative convergence between Eng.'can' and the Mandinka habitual/progressive marker ka e.g.: (i) "ń ka táa bólong dáa lè la fùru-tombolongo la, I usually go to the river side to pick up mudfish"[7]. Cf. also possible convergent influences from the Hausa iterative marker kan e.g.: (ii)

Na kan tafi kasuwa
"I Iter. go market"
'I go to market from time to time'.

1.Christaller, J.G. 1933: 93.
2.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 419.
3.Dalby, D. 1972: 5.
4.Delafosse, M. 1955 (vol. 2): 835.
5.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 420.
6.See pt.II, ch.2, p.249 .
7.Rowlands, E.C. 1959: 80.

wan (also S.L.K)- specifier e.g.:

wan man bin kã yɛstade -
"Specif. man Past come yesterday"

'A (certain) man came yesterday'.
is a putative convergence of Eng.'one' and the Hausa specifier pronouns wani (mas.), wata (fem.), wadansu (pl.) e.g.:

wani mutum ya zo -
"Specif. man he (Past) come"

'A (certain) man came'.
Note also the possible convergent effects of wa —— in the Hausa demonstrative, relative and other pronouns; respectively: wanan - 'this one', wancan - 'that one', wanda (mas.) wadda (fem.) wadanan (pl.)

de (also S.L.K) - Prog. marker. Cf. Wol."...di, present habitual action marker"....[1], having convergence with Eng. do.

dɔn (also S.L.K)-Complet. marker. Cf. Wol."...dɔ:n , past habitual action marker"[2], having convergence with Eng. done.

una 2nd. pl. a convergence having influences from ..."Mbundu (y)enu, Ki[kongo] yeno , Igbo unu."[3] Note also J.C unu 2nd. pl. (CLP: 457).

(tɛl).....se[4] (also S.L.K) - 'say','to tell that'. Se is a putative convergence between Eng. Say and T/F se - 'say', 'to tell' as in bisa .....se - 'to ask that'
"ask say"

and bua.....se - 'to reply that'
"reply say"

1.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 439.
2.Ibid.; pp. 440-441.
3.Ibid.; p. 645.
4.Pt.II, ch.2, p. 258 .

LOANS

African language loans in Gambian Krio reflect the Aku historical experience, i.e. of a Yoruba dominated past matched by a Wolof influenced present[1]. The majority of African loans are from these two languages and generally reflect an unfamiliarity with Yoruba and an only second language command of Wolof by most Krio speakers. Yoruba lexicon, particularly cult items, e.g. the special vocabulary of Yoruba hunting societies, is now only of historical importance to Gambian Krio-speakers and, as a consequence, does not feature extensively in everyday life. Their Yoruba repertoire is therefore not as large as that of Sierra Leone Krio-speakers[2] retaining closer contacts with Yoruba in Western Nigeria[3].

As previously suggested[4], contact, or absence of contact, with Sierra Leone, has some sociolinguistic influences. It is also relevant in an analysis of the African loans in Gambian Krio. Wolof items in the speech of the Gambian Krio speakers recorded are greater in number than those attested in Sierra Leone Krio. Present borrowing from Wolof into Gambian Krio appears to be on the increase. Wolof-influenced grammatical items de and dɔn, also in Sierra Leone Krio, would

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1. See pt.II, ch.1.
2. Note the greater amount of Yoruba derived items attested in S.L.K. attested by Hancock, I. F. 1971.
3. See pt.II, ch.1, p. 220 .
4. Pt.II, ch.3, pp.273&280.

suggest the importance of Wolof at a formative stage[1] in Sierra Leone Krio, while the Wolof loans not attested in Sierra Leone Krio would be suggestive of later lexical Wolof influences on Gambian Krio. Synchronic grammatical influences from Wolof on Gambian Krio are exemplified by rɛk[2] .

Mandinka, being mainly of importance in the up-river areas of the Gambia, has not had a particularly important lexical influence upon Gambian Krio.

Yoruba:[3]

fufu (also S.L.K)- 'cassava paste'.Note also Efik fufu - ditto. and J.C "fufu ... starch food boiled and pounded" (CLP: 191)

kpolo ~ kpele (also S.L.K) - 'frog'.

lɛri (also S.L.K)- 'to talk'.

ɔkɔ (also S.L.K)- 'groom'. ~~Cf.Yor. ọkọ - 'husband'.~~

yawo (also S.L.K)- 'bride'.

gɔngɔngɔng (also S.L.K) - 'Adam's apple'.

okobo (also S.L.K) - 'impotence'.

1.As the Wolof were one of the earliest communities in Freetown their influence upon Krio grammatical structure was probably a very important one.See Hancock, I.F. 1971: 434; Baker, P. 1976 & Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a):6.
2.See pt.II, ch.2, p.25a.
3.See Hancock, I.F. 1971: 415-416; 298; 372; 355; 274; 349; 291; 371 & 336 respectively for a full discussion of all the Yoruba derived items below.

jankoliko — (also S.L.K) - 'a chant sung to children who have wet the bed, usually by their mocking playmates'.

kɛ̃lɛngkɛ̃lɛng — (also S.L.K) - 'ideophone used in a song with no apparent meaning'. Note S.L.K "kɛ́lɛ́kɛ́lɛ́ Stealthily".

ogiri — (also S.L.K) - 'a thickening ingredient used in plasas sauce'. Cf. Yor. ògì - 'ground maize made into a paste' and ògìrì -'cooked ègúsí ' [1](see below.)

agidi ~ ogidi ~ ogiri — (also S.L.K) - 'fufu [2] made from couscous'. Cf. S.L.K " agidi Porridge made from Indian corn". Cf. also Yor. origi - 'cooked ègúsí i.e. a food stuff made from melon seeds' [3], and J.C. "agidi....Yor. Agidí 'a prepared meal of Indian corn, as a staple food;' also as a loan word in Ewe". (CLP:6.)

shɛ́ngɛ́ — - 'devil'. Cf. Yor. shango -'the god of thunder'. Cf. S.L.K dɛbul - 'devil'.

ḱpɛ́kpɛ́kpɛ́ — - 'well arranged' (id.) Cf. Yor. ḱpɛ́kpɛ́kpɛ́ - 'orderly', 'well arranged'.

otí — - 'when', Cf. Yor. (ní) ìgbàtí i.e. ìgba - "time" + tí - "at which" - 'when'. Cf. S.L.K wetĩ - 'what' and ustãi - 'when'.

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1. Abraham, R.C. 1958: 445.
2. See p. 302.
3. Abraham, R.C. 1958: 445.

Yoruba Personal Names (also S.L.K):[1]

Modukpe ~ Modu

Alaba

Ayodele

Femi

Extension:

jɛgɛ -'(little) something to eat', possibly an extension based on S.L.K "džédže General name for various small creatures caught on hunting expeditions"[2].

Wolof:

bɛni sid "....seed" (also S.L.K)[3] - 'a sauce ingredient'. Cf. Wol. ...bɛne - 'sesame' and Mnka. bene also with the same meaning. Note also Eng. beniseed < Wol. / Mnka.

kɔbɔ - 'a type of fish'. Cf. Wol. kɔbɔ - 'a type of herring'.[4] Cf. S.L.K ɛring - 'herring' and kɔbɔkɔbɔ - 'garden egg-plant'.

cu(cu) - 'penis'[5]. Cf. Wol. cu also with the same meaning[5]. Cf. S.L.K cucu - 'impotence'.

tal - emphatic ideophone e.g.:

i wait tal - 'It is very white'.
"it white Id."

Cf. Wol. tall (Adv.) - 'very white'[6].

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1. See Hancock, I.F. 1971: 369; 368 and 439 respectively for the Yoruba names above.
2. Hancock, I.F. 1971: 317.
3. Ibid.; p.439.
4. Guy-Grand, V.J. 1923: 462.
5. Items such as the above which are not attested in the available sources have the meanings given them by speakers of Gambian Wolof.
6. Sauvageot, S. 1965: 87.

ndɛl - 'to shave'. Cf. Wol. ndɛl - 'to become bald'. Cf. S.L.K kɔt biya biya
"cut beard beard"
-' to shave'

butut - 'half-penny'. Cf. Wol. butut , having the same meaning and used as the modern term for haf sɛnt (S.L.K) - 'half-penny'
"half cent"

dal - 'alone', 'merely', 'moreover' ; Cf. Wol. dal - ditto.[1] Cf. S.L.K nomɔ - 'merely', 'moreover' and ɛn - 'and', 'moreover'.

soso - sosɛ Wol. sɑ̃sɑ̃ - 'Wolof name for all Manding people'[2].

rɛk - 'alone'. Cf. Wol. rɛk also having the same meaning. This item is used in front-focusing (feature 3) in Gambian Krio.[3] Cf. S.L.K rɛk - 'exactly'.

saisai (man) - 'rascal', 'a profligate'; Cf. Wol. sáisái also having the same meaning[4]. Cf. S.L.K savo (man) <Port. saber - 'to know' and having the same meaning as the G.K. item(s) (above.)

lici - 'crumbs'. Cf. Wol. lici - ditto. Cf. S.L.K krɔmz - ditto.

1.Sauvageot, S. 1965: 87.
2.Dalby, D. in conversation S.O.A.S 1980.
3.See pt.II, ch.2, p.255 & pt.II, ch.3, pp.267ff.
4.Guy-Grand, V.J. 1923: 360.

Mandinka:

toto — (also S.L.K)- 'vagina'. "Cf.Mnka. totó, totú,'parties sexuelles féminines'"[1].

Pulaar:

cuk — (also S.L.K)[2]- 'to pierce', 'to stab'. Cf. Fula jukka - 'to stab'. Note also J.C "juki-juki...Perforated,punctured".(CLP:253.)

Arabic:

walai — (also S.L.K) - 'exclamation', ultimately from Arabic wala(h)i and via. Pulaar, Wolof, Mandinka, Hausa and/or other African languages into Krio. Cf. Hausa walahi - 'By God! '.

Twi/Fante:

kɔngosa — (also S.L.K) - 'scandal - mongerer', cf. T/F " ŋkōnkōnsá "[3] - ditto.

koko — (also S.L.K)- 'coco-yam', cf. T/F "kóōkó , kōókó, 'any of three kinds of edible root'"[4]. Note also Patwa yam koko - 'coco yam'.

butu — (also S.L.K)- 'to stoop', 'to bow', cf.T/F "būtūw - 'to overturn'.[5] " Also J.C butu - 'to stoop' (CLP:86)

1.Hancock, I.F. 1971: 523.
2.Ibid.; pp.553-554.
3.Ibid.; p.406.
4.Ibid.; p.412.
5.Ibid.; p.397.

Twi/Fante Personal Names (also S.L.K):

Ajua - 'Akan day-name for girl born on a Monday'.

Kofi - 'Akan day-name for a boy born on a Friday'.

Gã:

bɔbɔ (also S.L.K)-'boy'..."Cf. Adangme bɔbɔ́ - 'little'...."[1]

Hausa:

dabaro pipul (also S.L.K)- 'scandal mongerer(s)'.Cf.Mnka. dabarú, dabaró - 'underhand dealing, trickery'[2] Cf. Hausa dabara - 'trick', 'strategy'. All ultimately from Arabic via Fula[3].

langalanga (also S.L.K)- 'penis' . Cf. Hausa "laaŋgaalaŋgaa - 'anything long and slender'."[4] J.C langgulala - 'tall and slender' (CLP:270.)

ganga - 'drum'.Cf.Hausa "gàngá...type of drum"[5]. Note the S.L.K item "gánga ... 'dress' " which Hancock derives from Scottish and Yorks dialects as well as "Port. ganga ...'a kind of yellow cotton cloth'...."[6] According to S.L.K speakers asked, the item also has the meaning 'drum' in their variety of Krio.

1.Hancock, I.F. 1971:400.
2.Ibid.; p.522.
3.Delafosse, M. 1955:100.
4.Hancock, I.F. 1971:640-641.
5.Abraham, R.C.1946:296.Note that low and high tone represented in Abraham by V̄ and V̲ respectively are indicated here by ´and `.
6.Hancock, I.F. 1971:626.

Mende:

jakitɔ̃bɔ — (also S.L.K)- 'cassava leaf'. Cf. Me. "sakítɔmbɔ+i , ditto"[1].

pɛ́ɛgí — - 'a nonsense word'. Cf. S.L.K and Me. pɛgi - 'small', 'slim'[2].

Meaning Change:

gwangwa — - 'a type of vegetable'.Cf. S.L.K "gwangwa" - 'a species of fish' <Me. "nguangúá" [3] also having the same meaning.

Kongo:

kanda — (also S.L.K) - 'skin'.Cf. the similar items in the following Bantu languages:

Nyoro	"eŋ/kānda "	(class 9/10),
Nyankore	"eŋ/kānda "	(class 9/10),
Ila	"lu/kanda "	(class 11/10),
Matengo	"lu/kanda "	(class 11/10),
Nyungwe	"khanda/ma/kanda"	(class 5/6),

all meaning - 'skin'. Note the Common Bantu reconstructed form:"*KANDA skin (human? or animal?)"[4].Note also "kikongo kanda,kabenda nkanda,'skin'....J.C kánda 'pericarp of palm kernel'.C.P[Camerooms Pidgin]nkanda,'skin'"[5] and ..."Me. kanda , 'skin'..."[6].

1.Hancock, I.F. 1971:471.
2.Ibid.; p.463.As African language items were a feature of oral literature occuring mainly in song,they are characterized by features typical of the song genre.I.e.elongated vowels and stress of the whole lexical item.See pt.II,ch.6, pp.346 &347.
3.Hancock, I.F. 1971:473.
4.Guthrie, M. 1967-1971:18 of vol.2; no.1003 in Guthrie's classification.
5.Hancock, I.F. 1971:430.
6.Cassidy, F.G.and Le Page R.B.(eds.), 1967:256, who suggest the above derivation for the J.C. item.

gumbe - a song genre[1]. The item is not Mnka. Wol. or Yor.[1] Cf.S.L.K "gumbe Drum type.Cf.Mb. ŋkumbi, Ki ŋgoma,'drum'. ..."[2]. Note also J.C "GOMBAY, GOOMBAH [sic.]....Prob. Ko[ngo] ŋgoma, ŋkumbi, drum. ...A drum; various types have borne the name...but all seem to be played with the fingers rather than with sticks".(CLP:202.)

Arabic:

Amɛt - 'grocer' and/or 'Mauritanian'[3].A meaning shift based on the Arabic name Ahmɛd. Cf. S.L.K treda - 'grocer', 'trader'.

Kriul:

kaka (also S.L.K)- 'excrement', 'to defecate'. ... Cf. Kriul kaka ~ kɔkɔ <Port. caca - ditto. "Widespread in all French and English-derived Atlantic creoles; .... [e.g. Patwa kaka also having the same meaning.] Only similar indigenous form is Me. kã, - 'dirt,refuse'."[4]

1.See pt.II, ch. 5, pp.316ff.
According to the best written sources available for the above languages i.e. Delafosse, M. 1955, Sauvageot, S. 1965 and Abraham, R.C. 1958, respectively.
2.Hancock, I.F. 1971:428-430. (Mb-'Mbundu' Ki-'Kikongo'. Ibid.; p.727.)
3.Many Mauritanians are grocers in Banjul.
4.Hancock, I.F. 1971:217.

NONSENSE ITEMS

Items in the lists which follow were mainly found in the Krio oral literature and used as 'nonsense items' by the speakers. It is likely that the use of many potential Africanisms as 'nonsense items' reflects the conservative role of oral literature and the varying degrees to which different items are perpetuated within it: from the meaningful and the partially meaningful to the meaningless[1].

Possible Etymologies for Items of Unknown Derivation:

táyéman - 'salesman'. Cf. S.L.K "tay ....Indian hemp. Temne kə-tháy....Eng. 'tie', cf. Kr. bóndul - 'bundle'..."[2] and possibly refering to the tied bundles often carried by wandering salesmen (/women)? Cf. S.L.K treda - 'trader' (above) and biznisman-'businessman/person'.

bunga - bəngə - a species of fish. Cf. J.C "bogobi....cf. Me. bóngà, a small fish... A small, round fresh-water fish..." (CLP:58.)

, S.L.K speakers use the item to mean herring.
or
'a fish species usually prepared in a dried form'.

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1. See pt. II, ch. 5, pp. 326ff.
2. Hancock, I.F. 1971: 493.

ɔkɔ shi - items in a traditional Krio song sung to the bride by the crowd to tell her that the groom is waiting for her at the church.The element ɔkɔ has been previously described[1]. Shi however, had no meaning as far as the speaker was concerned. Cf. however, the Yor.item shi - 'to move' giving the meaning - 'the groom has moved' for ɔkɔ shi[2].

ɔkɔ wáálílé - (y)áátilé - 'husband/groom...'[3].Cf.Yor.latilewa - 'honour comes from home', a phrase suitable to the song from which these items originate, i.e. a marriage song sung to the yawo ('bride') announcing that the ɔkɔ ('groom') is waiting for her.

Items of Unknown Derivation and Meaning:

opɛ́le - ? Cf.Yor. ɔkpɛlɛ - ' a chain used in Ifa divination'.

ogéni - ? Cf.Igbo ogene - 'a metal gong'.

dise - ? Cf. Eng. and S.L.K D.C. - 'District Commissioner'. Note also Efik:

di se - 'come and eat'.
"come eat"

1.See p. 302 .
2.Prof. Babalola, in conversation, S.O.A.S 1980.
3. As far as the speaker was concerned these were all nonsense items with the exception of ɔkɔ - see p. 302 & pt.II, ch.5, pp.326 & 327.

ɛngi ɔlɔfɛ̃ - ? Cf. Yor. ɔfɛ - 'a charm which can make the wearer light enough to jump over any obstacle'.

kaba - ? Cf. J.C "kaba-kaba ...Yoruba kábakàba, Adv., confusedly, not smoothly... Poorly done, worthless" (CLP:255.)

makríngkéngkré - ? Cf. J.C "kreng-kre ... Twi kyerénkyé, basket" (CLP:265.) Cf. S.L.K kringkring - 'a vegetable prepared in the same way as spinach'.

fɔgutabɔ - ? Yor. fɔgu + ɔta - 'to defeat (an)enemy'
"defeat enemy"
Note that the Krio item occurred in the sentence 'vɛnjɛns fɔgutabɔ' - 'vengence...'
"vengence <? "

abibiwe (also S.L.K) - ? nonsense item(s) featuring in 'high-life' songs. Cf. Igbo iwe - 'anger'.

PART II

CHAPTER 5: AFRICAN ITEMS IN KRIO ORAL LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Oral literature is an important aspect of culture in most African and other societies, especially those having a non-literate tradition. Krio-speaking society in the Gambia is no exception. Like written literature, oral literature is representative of the traditions, beliefs and preoccupations of the societies from which it originates.

As language is a focal point of cultural life[1], a study of creoles and the African languages influencing them necessitates the study of oral literature as an aspect of the speaker's wider knowledge of his/her language.

FORM

Oral genres evident in Krio oral literature, i.e. prose narratives, proverbs (Krio parabul), riddles, songs and tongue-twisters[2], are also present in the oral literature of other African (and non-African) societies[3]. Hymns and Negro Spirituals (collectively named shaut in Krio) and Gumbe (see below) are categories of the song genre which are particularly important to Aku society.

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1. "To speak means...to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the whole weight of a civilization" (Fanon, F. 1967:17-18.) See also Lévi-Strauss, C. 1963: 79 & Hymes, D.H. 1971:269-293.
2. See sub-sections 1,6,7; 2; 3,6,7,8; 4,5,10; 9 respectively of the oral literature questionnaire; p. 611 of the appendix.
3. See Finnegan, R. 1970.

The Krio terms for the oral genres elicited in response to this questionnaire are:

GENRE NUMBER	TERMS USED IN THE ORAL LITERATURE QUESTIONNAIRE	KRIO TERMS/FORMULAE
1.	prose narratives	tori - 'story'
2.	proverbs	parabul - 'parable'
3.	riddles	ridul - 'riddle'
4.	songs in general[1]	sing ~ sɔng including Gumbe (below)[2] - 'song'
5.	songs sung by children only	sing ~ sɔng including Gumbe (below) - 'song'
6.	beginning formulae for	
	(a) prose narratives	(response:) il....aul - <? or <? ^ <?
		wan de ya...
		"one day here"
		'Once upon a time....'
	(b) riddles	(no equivalent Krio term recorded.)

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1. A distinction was made between songs in general (genre 4) and songs sung by children only (genre 5) or special occasions (genre 10) in the oral literature questionnaire.

2. Krio sing can be used either as a noun or a verb e.g.

a	go	sing	dis	sing	fɔ	yu
"I	Fut.	sing.(verb)	this	song (noun)	for	you"
-'I will	sing	this	song	for	you'	

7. ending formulae for:

(a) prose narratives

tori go tori kam i
"story go story come it
lɛf pan yu
left upon you"
-'Stories come and go (but) the moral is left with you'
or tori dɔn
"story Complet.
-'The story is finished'

(b) riddles

(have no overt ending formulae)

8. failing formulae for riddles only

a no ebul (am)
"I Neg. able (it)"
-'I do not know the answer'

9. tongue-twisters

(no equivalent Krio term recorded.)

10. songs sung on special occasions only:

(a) religious song

shaut - 'Hymn(s) and ~~for~~ Negro Spiritual(s)'
Nigro spiritual
-'Negro Spiritual(s)'
cɔc ims
"church hymns"
-'(Church) hymn(s)'

(b) marriage songs

Nigro spiritual
-'Negro Spiritual(s)'
cɔc ims
-'Church hymn(s)'

Prose narrative and, particularly, song are the most productive genres[1]. It is within the latter that the majority of African language items were recorded. As in the analysis of Kriul and Patwa oral literature the responses of the first forty Krio speakers interviewed, in terms of the Oral Literature Questionnaire[2], are used as a representative sample of Krio oral literature.

Although many of the similar genres in Krio, Kriul and Patwa oral literature may be due to the form of the oral literature questionnaire aimed at eliciting similarities between creole and African oral literatures, some minor differences between Krio and Kriul oral genres, for example, are evident: Krio oral literature has no equivalent to the Kriul 'dirge' genre. Some similarities between the oral literatures of the three creoles are however independent of the questionnaire (Q): the Krio song category - Gumbe, for example, is similar in form to Kriul Kumpo and to Patwa Kutmba and other Patwa song sub-genres[3].

Gumbe:[4]

This song sub-genre typically comprises the use of a repeated chorus, summarizing the theme of the song alternating with thematic variants of the song interjected between the choral repetitions. Gumbe may include other genres, e.g. prose narrative or proverb illustrating the themes of a Gumbe may be interjected between the repeated chorus.

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1. See p. 319 for a statistical representation of the genres used by each speaker in his/her responses to the oral literature questionnaire.
2. See p. // of the general introduction and p. 611 of the appendix.
3. See pt.I, ch.5, pp.142ff. See also pt.III, ch.6, pp.517-519 for similarities and differences between Krio and Patwa oral genres.
4. See pt.II, ch.4, p. 309.

More usually, one or more gumbe (of the same structure) may be similarly interjected within a longer Gumbe[1] song unit. For example:

GUMBE

Gumbe:

Chorus:...ple yu ganga man
"play you(sing.) drum (<Hausa)[2] man"
-'Play your drum!'

ɛnjɔi yusɛf a ɛnjɔi misɛf
"enjoy yourself I enjoy myself
-'Enjoy yourself like I am,

yu ple yu ple yu ganga nan
"you(sing.)play you(sing.)play you(sing.)drum man
-'Play your drum!

gumbe
(song): yu ple yu ganga a ple mi on
"you(sing.)play you(sing.)drum I play my own...
-'Play your drum (and) I will play my own....

Chorus: (as above)

gumbe: ple yu on we yu on
play you(sing.) own Rel. you(sing.) own
Play what is natural for you,

a ple mi on we a sabi
I play my own Rel. I know (<Port. sabir) ~~know~~
I play what I know,
ɛnjɔi yu on a ɛnjɔi mi on....
enjoy you(sing.) own I enjoy my own"
Enjoy yours and I enjoy mine.....'

Chorus: (as above)

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1. Henceforth Gumbe refers to a longer song unit (described above, see also p.333ff.) which may include shorter gumbe.
2. See pt.II, ch.4, p. 307.

Gumbe:

gumbe

(prose narrative): Bandele ker yu go sinema

"Bandele carry you(sing.)go cinema

-'Bandele is taking you to the cinema,

se i go lɛf mi fɔ git makit

say he Fut. leave me for get market

-Saying that he will leave me to do the shopping in the market,

gumbe(song): Bandele Bandele....

Bandele Bandele....

- Bandele Bandele....

wetin yu du mi so?

what you(sing.)do me so

- Why do you treat me like this?

yu si na God go pe yu

you(sing.)see Stab.God Fut. pay you(sing.)

- You see God will punish you

yu prɔmis mi sinima

you(sing.)promise me cinema

- You promised you would take me to the cinema,

yu mek a wet na get ...

you(sing.)make I wait Stab. gate...

-(But) you make me wait at the gate...'

Chorus: pata pata[1] ana wawayo[2]

washing instrument,washing instrument one(Prog.)trickery"

- There is always someone tougher.Someone is playing the trixter'[3]

1.Cf.A short form of the Krio proverb

na aian ston go plit pata

"Stab.iron stone Fut. split washing instrument"

-'In the same way that iron stone will split the tough wooden spoon used for beating clothes,so too there is always someone tougher than the toughest character'

2.Cf.Hausa ana wawayo -'Someone is involved in

"one Prog.trickery(Emph.)" trickery'

wayo is reduplicated above,as in Hausa for emphasis.

3.These Gumbe extracts are by G(48),(C.N: 6473 - 7111)

See pp. 700ff. of the appendix for other examples of gumbe by G 4.

As suggested in the example above various Gumbe may also be strung together at length, depending on the oral literature repertoire of the performer(s) of a GUMBE session.

The Krio genres represented were each responded to by different percentages of the first forty Krio speakers i.e.:

GENRE NUMBER	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS RESPONDING
1	24/40 (i.e. 60%)
2	34/40 (i.e. 85%)
3	18/40 (i.e. 45%)
4	28/40 (i.e.70%)
5	6/40 (i.e. 15%)
6	36/40 (i.e. 90%)
7	29/40 (i.e. 73%)
8	28/40 (i.e. 70%)
9	12/40 (i.e. 30%)
10	29/40 (i.e. 73%)

This would suggest that, of the non-formulaeic genres[1], proverbs (genre 2), songs (for special occasions; genre 10) and songs in general (genre 4) are the most productive in ~~synchronic~~ present-day Krio oral literature (see below).

CONTENT

Krio oral literature reflects some of the historical and social forces which have acted upon Aku society. One of the important influences is that of slavery, evident for example, in the following extracts from two Negro Spirituals (Krio Nigro spiritual):

(i) wi go leba at di masta vinyad
"we Fut. labour at the master vineyard
-'We will labour at the master's vineyard,

leba, leba, leba ɔn....
labour, labour, labour on"
Labour, labour, labour on...'

(ii) wi go mit bai di riva Jɔdan
"we Fut. meet by the river Jordan
-'We will meet by the river Jordan

wi go mit ɔn Kenan shɔ
we Fut. meet on Canan shore"
we will meet on Canan's shore'[2]

Such Negro Spirituals, brought by slaves returning from American and Caribbean plantations, in their allusions to items essential to slave societies: masta and leba, as well as their emphasis on a compensatory non-human world

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1. I.e. excluding genres nos. 6,7 & 8.
2. Consult C.N: 6109-6194 for the complete versions of both songs by G 22.

(or heaven): Kenan shɔ , point to the psychological conditions ~~ates~~ of a slave history[1]. The singing of Negro Spirituals and hymns[2] was reinforced by Methodist and other missionaries working amongst the ex-slaves on their arrival in the Gambia from Freetown[3]. It is possibly due to this later missionary activity that these shauts are identified as English, and not Krio, by the Aku themselves. This view is also indicative of the desire of older Aku to be identified as 'European' in culture.[4]

Being in the domain of a Euro-centered Christianity (one of the crucial markers of the Aku as a separate ethnic group) this view of shauts as English[5], and thus European, is quite logical but also represents a denial of the African dimension in the origin of the shauts, possibly because of their slave origin.

This slave background is also evident in other genres e.g. proverbs:

(i) ɔkra nɛva lang pas im masta bɔt
"ocra never long past his/her master but
i de tranga
(s)he Prog. stronger"
-'Ocra is never longer than the person who eats it, but it is more pliable/tougher.'

(ii) ɔkra nɛva lang pas im masta
"ocra never long past his/her master
-'Ocra is never longer than the person who eats it,
bɔt wan de wan de ya, i go butu bifɔ am
but one day one day Emph.(s)he Fut.stoop before it"
...but one day the person who eats ocra (i.e.masta) will stoop before ocra (to pick it)[6].

---

1. Cf. similar psychological coordinates in the Old Testament accounts of the history of Jews as an enslaved people in Egypt. See also Dalphinis, M. 1977:13; 1979(b):11 & Simpson, G.E. 1978.
2. Such songs formed an active part in the practice of Afro-European religions in the new world. See Simpson, G.E. 1978.
3. See pt.II, ch.1, p.228 .
4. See pt.II, ch.3, p.321.
5. Even if the shaut were indeed English they would, like the other forms of English recorded in the Gambia in the 18th. century, have been in creolized or at least pidginized English. See pt.II, ch.1, p. 210 .
6. C.N: 0937-1136; 4260-4821 & 6088-6161 . G 4 and G 16 respectively.

The idea that ocra , 'the slave', is actually stronger than whoever eats it, i.e. his 'master', coupled with the suggestion that one day masta will bow before ɔkra, is indicative of an appraisal of slave society from a 'slave' viewpoint, laying emphasis on adaptability (symbolised by the 'pliable' strength of ɔkra), an important survival tactic for a slave, and on the hope of all slaves that one day the tables would be turned and

masta....go butu bifɔ am.

The historical connection of the Aku with Freetown is also evident in the oral literature e.g. in the following tongue-twister/riddle (when preceded by the 'question' form 1,1,1,1? i.e. What does 1,1,1,1 mean?):

Lamin na sɔkɔ[1] Lɔkɔ Limba lamp laita Legɔs lebɔra

"Lamin Stab. 'four-eyed' Lɔkɔ Limba lamp lighter Lagos labourer"

-'Lamin is a clairvoyant Lɔkɔ, a Limba lamp lighter, (and) a labourer in Lagos'.

In the above tongue-twister, past Aku contact with the Limba and Lɔkɔ ethnic groups living in and around Freetown is evident as well as the possibly inferior status accorded to those groups by Krio-speakers in Sierra Leone[2].

The Aku self-portrait as a Christian ethnic group in an Islamic Senegambia, where 'pagan' traditional African practices are tolerated, is the main inter-ethnic factor apparent in their oral literature. For example, the perpetuation of Christian hymns as a productive genre amongst Aku of all age-groups within such an Islamic cultural milieu is itself indicative of a Christian self-identification stated more plainly in the following song:

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1. G 23/Q.3 , C.N: 6194-6411 &8047-812 . A loan-word from Temne also having the same meaning. See pt.II, ch.6, p. .
2. This contrasts with the high external prestige (as defined in Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a): 1) given to the Wolof in and around Banjul by the Aku.

...biliv in Gɔd shal nɛva pɛrish,
"believe in God shall never perish

- '(Those who) believe in God shall never perish,

biliv in jege[1] yu go pɛrish
believe in black-magic you Fut. perish[2]"

(but those who) believe in black-magic will perish'.

The alternating lines of social force within Aku history originating from other African ethnic groups can be analysed in terms of the relexification[3] its oral literature has undergone with respect to the African (and other) items in the oral genres (numbered 1 - 10 in the table below)[4] used by the first forty speakers. Whenever one or more item(s) from an African (or other) language was recorded in the oral responses of the first forty speakers, the derivation of the item(s) ~~occurred~~ was noted in the table below.

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1. See pt.II, ch. 4, p. 304 .
2. G31/O. 4 , (C.N: 0249- 0301)
3. As defined in Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a): 1.
4. See pp. 717-723 of the appendix for examples of the actual item(s) used in each oral genre and by each speaker.

African (and other) Lexical Items in the Oral Literature Responses of Forty Krio Speakers

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(i) 1		G								
(i) (2)		G		Yor.						
3	Eng.	G	G	G	Yor.	U	G			U G
4	Wol.	G		G						Yor.
5			U G			U	G	G	Yor.	Yor.
(6)		Yor.	G			U				
7		G		Mnka.		U	G	G		
8	G		G		U	U	G	G		G
9		G	G			U	G	Eng.		
10	U	G				U	G	Eng.		Eng. Yor.
11		G		U		U	G	Eng.		G
12	G	Yor.	G	G		G	G	G	G	G
13	U	G	G	Eng.	U	U	G		G	U
14	G	Port. Pul.	Yor.			G	G			Eng.
15	Wol.		G	U		U	G	G	G	Eng.
16	Yor.	T/F B.				G		G	G	
17	G	G	U	Yor. G Mnka		G	G	G	G	Yor.
18		G	G	U		U		G	Yor.	Yor.
19		Yor.	G			U	G			G
20	G	G		G		U	G	G		
21		G		Wol.		U	G	G		Yor.

KEY

G - Gambian Krio only.

Items included from other languages:

A -African (calque or convergence)
Yor.-Yoruba
Wol.-Wolof
Mnka.-Mandinka
Pul.- Pulaar
Me.-Mende
T/F -Twi/Fante
H. - Hausa
B. - Bantu languages
Eng.- English
Fr.- French
U.-Unknown

(Note that as in the other tables for Krio, Aku first language Krio speakers are underlined; other first language speakers are not underlined; second language Krio speakers from other ethnic groups are circled.)

Blank space = not recorded.

(continued)

(i)See p.66 of the appendix for general comments on the oral literature responses (informal speech) of these and other speakers.

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
22		G		G		U	G	G	G	Yor. U Eng. Yor.
23	Yor.	G	Temne	U		U	G	G	G	Eng.
(i)										
24		G				U				Yor.
25	G	G	G	G	Eng.	U	G	G		Eng.
		Yor.								Eng.
26	G	U	G	U		G	G	G		Yor.
										Eng.
27	U			G		U				U
		Yor.			Me.	Wol.				Me.
28	G	G		U		U	G	G	G	Yor.
29		G	Yor.		U	U		G	G	Eng.
(30)		Yor.		Me.		U	G	G		Wol.
				Mnka.						
31		T/F	G			U	G	G		Yor.
32		T/F		G		U	G	G		
				H						
33	A			Eng.		G	G	G		
		T/F								
34	G	H		U				H		
	Wol.									
35	U	G				G				G
36	Wol.	Wol.		G		G	G	G		Yor.
	U									Eng.
37	G	G		G		U	G	G		Yor.
								(i)		
38	G	G		G		U	G		G	Yor.
				Yor.						
39	G	G		T/F		U	G	G	G	
40	Wol.		G	U	G	G	G	G		Yor.

(i) See p.66/ of the appendix.

As the Yoruba[1] were the numerically dominant ethnic group amongst the Freetown Creoles and the early immigrants into the Gambia, Yoruba lexicon has consequently had an important influence in Krio, as reflected in the following:

Selected Yoruba Items Recorded in Gambian Krio Oral Literature[2]

KRIO		YORUBA	
ɔkɔ (yawo)	- 'bridegroom'	oko iyàwó	-'bridegroom'
yawo	- 'bride'	iyàwo	-'bride'
titi	- 'a young girl'	Tití	- a male or female name
okobo	- 'impotence'	òkó bó	-'sexually-impotent male'
gɔngɔngɔ	- 'Adam's apple', 'throat'	gógóngó	-'Adam's apple'
ḱpɛkpɛkpɛ	- 'orderly', 'well-arranged'	ḱpékpékpé	-'orderly', 'well-arranged'[3]

The above Yoruba lexical items in Gambian Krio do not reflect the wider range of Yoruba vocabulary in Sierra Leone Krio, including a substantial number of Yoruba culinary terms in particular[4].

1.See pt.II, ch.1, p. 220 .
2.See pt.II, ch. 4 for other Yoruba items in G.K.
3.The Yoruba items above have been taken from Abraham, R.C. Dictionary of Modern Yoruba, 1958.Where the item is not available in the above source, the adapted I.A.I orthography adopted for this thesis is used to represent information from Yoruba informants and other sources e.g. Hancock, I.F. 1971 in conjunction with the comments of W.F.Winston, lecturer in Yoruba and Igbo,S.O.A.S.
4.Cf.Mbassy-Njie, C. 1976:94, who has indicated the presence of some Yoruba culinary items in G.K.

It could be argued that four of the above Yoruba items are in a domain to do with marriage, from its beginnings with a young girl (Títí) right through to the actual ceremony and leading to possible impotence òkó bó. However, the range of Yoruba items in Krio proves to be more general, even after allowing for the terms relating to marriage and cookery[1]. A more general corpus of body and sexual terms is exemplified by the above Yoruba items which would include all the above survivals apart from kpékpékpé. Such a survival of bodily and sexually related terms may not be unrelated to a psychological need to perpetuate familiar vocabulary for intimate reference. Cf. African items in Patwa, also in such an intimate and body-related domain[2].

The majority of all Yoruba items recorded were found in oral literature[3] rather than during conversational uses of Krio. This is due to the conserving value of oral (and written) literature[4], in its ability to perpetuate lexicon from a language with which most Gambian Krio speakers had not had direct contact for many years[5]. Such storage may well be part of a general preservation of culturally valued items through the medium of oral literature.

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1. See pt.II, ch.4, pp. 302ff for other Yoruba items in G.K.
2. See pt.III, ch.5, pp. 501, 502 & 508.
3. See the table on pp. 530ff & pp. 717-723 of the appendix.
4. The poetry of R.Burns, for example, conserved many Gaelic items which were not frequent in the general conversation of the Scottish people of his day. Irish oral literature preserves more Celtic items than available in every day Irish speech. Andrzejewski, B.W. personal communication, S.O.A.S 1979.
5. See pt.II, ch. 1.

Selected Wolof Items Recorded in Gambian Krio Oral Literature

KRIO		WOLOF	
cucu ~ cu	- 'penis'	cu	- 'penis'
saisai (man)	- 'a rascal', 'a profligate'	saisai	- 'a rascal', 'a profligate'
lici	- 'crumbs'	lici	- 'crumbs'
Sosɛ	- 'a Manding person'	Soso	- 'a Manding person'[1]

The above examples of Wolof relexification of synchronic Krio oral literature are by contrast indicative of oral literature as a context for lexical innovation in language in which the new item(s) gain acceptance in oral literature prior to their use in formal language[2]. This acceptance is particularly important in the case of 'new' lexical items whose meanings may not be totally clear to second-language speakers of Wolof, as are many of the Aku.

Such innovation is not unrelated to the increasing prestige of Wolof[3] in and around the Krio-speaking areas of Banjul. In fact the higher number of Wolof loans in G.K. as opposed to the higher number of Yoruba loans in S.L.K. may well reflect a change in the language loyalties[4] of the Aku.

This dynamic between oral literature ~~both~~ as a context for conservation and innovation is at the surface contradictory. It may be partly explained by the greater number of Wolof loans in the informal speech[5] (and in some cases also

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1. See pt.II, ch.4, pp.304&305 for other Wol. items in G.K. & pt.II, ch.6, pp.342&343 for Wol. influences on G.K. in general.
2. It is possible that grammatical items may gain immediate acceptance in formal language without any such prior familiarization. Note for example, the many more Wol. grammatical loans in formal Krio as opposed to the greater lexical loans in (informal) Krio oral literature.
3. See pt.II, ch.3, p.293 .
4. Weinreich, U. 1953: 99.
5. The responses to the oral literature questionnaire are defined as informal Krio, and the responses to the linguistic questionnaire as formal Krio. See p. 13 .

the formal speech) of Aku between 8 and 42 years old[1] in contrast to that of the older generation between 42 and 90[2] in which there were fewer Wolof loans. Despite this rel.tive lack of Wolof items in the responses of speakers aged 42> , two of these speakers used Wolof exerpts, in reported speech, during their informal Krio e.g.:

(i) G 2 (aged 43):...dɛng kin sing grang grang turabi..
...."they Hab. sing...."
...'they usually sing...'

Cf. the following extract from a Wolof song:

....gal gang cirabi...
..."boat be harbour...."
...'the boat is in the harbour....'[3]

(ii) G 4(aged 74):...dɛn dɛn bigin sing nau:
.."then they begin sing now"
.."then, they (now)began to sing:...'

CHORUS: ..... man loma fɔr dɛncá
ndádá lo nanga lící
mom lomu fɔ́r wáná....

(iii)Cf.the Wol.song:man loma for dɛnca
"I whatever pick keep
-'I keep whatever I pick

CHORUS: ..... nanga lo nanga lící
you can go you pick crumbs
You can go, you merely concern
yourself with trifles.
... mom loma fɔr waana....
he whatever pick swallows...."
... Whatever he picks he swallows...'[4]

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1. Speakers <21, and 22> of the age ranges differentiated in pt.II, ch.3, pp.262ff.
2. Ibid.; i.e.speakers aged 42> .See also the table of item(s) of African (and other)origin in the informal speech of each speaker on pp.717-723of the appendix.
3. See pp.697-704of the appendix.

It is likely, generally speaking, that innovation and conservation are themselves intrinsic mechanisms in oral literature in its preservation of ethnic memory as well as in the reflecting of present ethnic experience. Such structuring of the present is in itself part of the preservation process.

The song[1] genre features highly in such structuring due, to some extent, to its potential provision of a musical mnemonic to lexical and other cultural material of importance to group memory. Lexical items thus become 'frozen' in music often keeping their form and losing some or all of their former semantic content. As a consequence, they either become used with new meanings or are classed by the speakers as 'nonsense words' e.g. in a boat trip to the Banana Islands, off the coast of Sierra Leone, in 1961 fishermen sang a song of welcome to their passengers[2].

As far as the fishermen were concerned the words of the song, which included kabo kabo... , were meaningless. Further analysis of the recorded song showed that the entire text was that of a Yoruba song[3] still sung in Nigeria.

Song, with its included African (or other) survivals is often perpetuated by the memorization involved in continual repetition. Such feats of memory are usually performed by specialists perpetuating ~~(a)~~ song(s) of established traditional value to the society e.g. a Mandinka griot, in his perpetuation of the Sunjata epic, often arrives at:

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1. I.e. the poetic text of song unless otherwise stated.
2. Dr. D. Dalby and his wife.
3. Dr. D. Dalby, personal communication, S.O.A.S 1978. The word kabo is a Yoruba greeting meaning 'welcome'. See also pt. II, ch. 4, pp. 310ff for a list of such 'nonsense items' in G. Krio....Cf. also the 'nonsense' words iyaye nanaye appearing frequently at the beginning or as a chorus in Hausa girls' songs used in accompaniment to their games (Dalphinis, M. 1974.) These words are also used in incantations to certain spirits in 'Bori' spirit-possession e.g. yar Nánà Dr. A. King, personal communication, S.O.A.S, 1974. See also Abraham, R.C. 1962: 689.

..."a version which seems to him the most satisfying. With repetition, this version becomes more or less fixed, and even the words will tend to become fixed to some extent"[1] (my underlining.)

Finnegan, makes the distinction between oral poetry/songs memorized by the aid of set formulae included within a song, and songs which are memorized exactly, and she elaborates:

..."in many poetic traditions some genres are recognized as less innovative and creative -with more emphasis on memorization, less on composition- whereas in others there can be a high degree of creativity by the individual poet"[2].

It is not unlikely that oral traditions having neither specialist genres, (as does the Sunjata epic for example) nor the specialists to perpetuate them, (as among the Manding griots), place a greater reliance upon group memory within which relatively limited individual repertoires interlock in a shared memorization of the songs[3] and the African (or other) survivals within them. Of the 47 speakers responding to the oral literature questionnaire, 23[4] of them were responsible for the group memorization of all the non-Wolof African items perpetuated in the recorded Krio oral literature, thus pointing to such a group memory process.Such group memory would have been essential within the context of the Atlantic Slave Trade where the survival of specialists responsible for preserving oral literature would have been virtually impossible.

The degree to which lexicon from diachronic sources is subject to semantic change, or has become devoid of any meaning, is thus a composite result of the time which has elapsed since contact with the language(s) concerned and of the loss of ethnic loyalty to that/those language(s).

1.Innes, G. 1973: 118.
2.Finnegan, R. 1977:84.
3.And other genres.
4.See p.717-723 of the appendix.

The relative lack of semantic change in the Yoruba lexicon in Krio is thus a measure of continued language loyalty to Yoruba, despite the time which has elapsed since closer contacts[1] with the latter. Relexification in oral literature seems to be a structured process within a historical and social continuum.

As oral literature is a mode of communication in which the most profound aspects of any culture may be expressed, psychologically,[2] symbolically and politically[3], it is likely that present Wolof relexification in Krio oral literature is but one index of the change also visible in ethnographic and political terms[4].

As song is one of the most productive genres in Krio[5] oral literature, this may also have contributed to the appearance of most of the African language items in the data in this genre. However, the use of song is in itself partly an invitation to the audience to be receptive to language stimulii outside the range of formal discourse, and possibly other oral genres e.g. the use of special imagery, of archaic words possibly having prestige value within the speech community, or of words of ritual/religious significance. Such a genre therefore makes available a fairly wide range of mnemonics for memorization purposes, other than music alone[6]. The 'enjoyment' of song may in fact involve the

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1. Some Aku have close and on-going contact with the Creoles of Sierra Leone who in turn have similar contacts with Western Nigeria.
2. Lévi-Strauss, C. 1963: 79.
3. Cohen, A. 1974.
4. See p. 338. Detailed research in this respect is outside the confines of this study and points to the need for detailed anthropological research of this and other Creole societies.
5. Of the five main genres represented, song (general genre) was used by 70% of the 40 speakers whose oral literature responses are closely analysed here. Cf. proverbs (genre 2) used by 85% of these speakers. See p. 319.
6. Although, quite clearly other genres, when linked with extra-linguistic phenomena such as religious or other rituals, may achieve similar ends, e.g. the greater use of Hebrew vocabulary in Yiddish religious conversation as opposed to the increase of Slavic vocabulary in the speech of Slavic Jews is no doubt tied to the ritual element as a mnemonic to the memorization of Hebrew vocabulary. Dr. B. Andrzejewski, personal communication, S.O.A.S, 1979.

hearers' passive agreement to be 'brainwashed' by means of these special effects, and ~~to~~ to thus, commit culturally valued lexicon to memory. The wider range of special stimulii in Krio song therefore makes it more available both for innovation, in the inclusion of Wolof loans, and for conservation in the perpetuation of Yoruba items.

Gumbe[1] songs, as popularized by the Gambia Gumbe Boys group[2], is the main example of Krio songs relying upon formulae as a memory aid for the singer. Such songs rely upon a chorus summarizing the theme of the song (see above.) As with other formulaeic song[3], the singing of the chorus provides the singer with the time and the simulus provided by the repetition of the theme, to 'compose' the next verse of the song.

However, musical content may play an important part in the perpetuation of Krio Gumbe within a largely Wolof cultural milieu. As well as having a chorus to aid both memory and composition,[4] each Gumbe has a tune which is repeated, with a little improvisation throughout, both for the chorus and the 'composed' lines of the included gumbe (see above.) As indicated previously, such musical content aids the perpetuation of past language items[5]. It is therefore not surprising that many African language items, particularly those reflecting Yoruba and S.L.K. origins are evident within this genre, particularly when it is used by musical specialists such as the Gambia Gumbe Boys :

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1. See pt.II, ch.4, p. 309 .
2. A group of Krio singers having a half-hour weekly programme on Radio Gambia in which Krio songs are sung. G 33, is the lead singer/guitarist in this group (see appendix pp.317ff.) Such a half-hour programme was recorded by myself during my fieldwork: G(48), (C.N:6453 -7111 .)
3. Finnegan, R. 1977: 58-86.
4. See pp.317ff.
5. See p. 330 . .)

G (48); note for example the relatively high number of such items in the responses of the latter[1]. The particularly Yoruba flavour of the Gumbe tunes played by the latter is itself suggestive of continued Yoruba influences[2].

The various smaller gumbe within the larger unit are often thematically united by one or more larger themes which are expressed within the Gumbe both by other genres, e.g. parabul and prose narratives and by shorter gumbe. Within the Gumbe of G (48) for example, a parabul reflects attitudes to women:

...na man lɔv, wuman na lɛk dɛ̃ de lɛk man...
"Stab.man love woman Stab. like they Prog.like man"
-'It is men who love(women), women only like men....'

This theme is partly reiterated in a gumbe, included in the longer Gumbe and dealing with male and female infidelity:

...anɔda wuman de, anɔda man de....
"another woman Loc.verb another man Loc.verb"
-'Another woman is involved, another man is involved'..

The introduction of the various instruments and personalities in the band, on the other hand, dealt with at the beginning of the GUMBE session ,is reiterated in a gumbe about drums:

...ple yu ganga[3] man (Rep.)....
"play your drum(s) man"
-'Play your drums fellow'

1.E.g. G (48) at C.N: 6453-711
See also pt.II, ch.5, for a description of these items.
2.The attention of a Musicologist would be valuable in delineating such influences further than the general observation above.
3.See pt.II, ch.4, p. 307, for a description of this item.

The lead singer of G (48) is G 33, who, being of direct Sierra Leonean origin[1] is perhaps untypical in the wider extent of his GUMBE repertoire of half an hours' length in the case of his weekly Radio Gambia programme (see above.)However his specialist response, also due to a greater musical ability, is a reinforcing element upon the more restricted gumbe songs sung by younger Krio speakers not having special musical ability e.g. G 47, aged 13 and members of the audience of the same age-group (i.e. <21) who also sang gumbe with the latter. The gumbe of these <21 Krio speakers, including G 47 was only of approximately 8 minutes duration[2]. It could be argued that the comparative lack of experience of such speakers (<21)[3] was responsible for the lack of material available for interjection between the choruses in order to make their shorter gumbe into longer Gumbe units. However, older speakers in of 2> and 4> also made similar limited interjections during their gumbe songs e.g. G 4 and G 11[4] (both 4>), and thus also did not have a large enough repertoire to construct a Gumbe.

It seems likely therefore that where musical expertise or very close contacts with the S.L sources of G.K culture are lacking, i.e. in the case of the majority of speakers, the Gumbe only comprised ~~of~~ a chorus with few interjections or a chorus without interjections, e.g. in the case of two gumbe sub-songs, sung by G 4.

The use of longer Gumbe can be viewed as particular to a specialist group like the Gambia Gumbe Boys. However, as a Gumbe often consists of a number of smaller gumbe, the latter are more easily remembered and performed by

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1.See p. 633 . . See also pt.II, ch.3, for the influences of Sierra Leone links upon G.K.
2.See p. 701 of the appendix, C.N: 0837-1136 .
3.See pp.628-635of the appendix.
4.See appendix, pp.700ff & consult C.N: 0937-1136 & 2536-2827 respectively.

non-specialist[1] Krio-speakers.

As such the Gumbe sub-genre seems to have been maximally adaptable to the American and Caribbean slave-past of many Krio speakers, as shorter gumbe could be remembered by individuals and expanded into longer Gumbe by groups during inter-slave activities.

Whether gumbe ~ Gumbe were so used extensively is questionable. However, its ability to remain largely dormant within the group memory[2] of non-specialists during the periods of repression characteristic of a slave-past, only to re-emerge in the present as an expanded and sophisticated genre in the hands of specialists, is relatively less questionable.

Due to this past viability, and its present productivity, Gumbe is likely to play an important role in the perpetuation of Krio oral literature, despite Wolof influences in other genres. It is clear, however, whether Gumbe survives Wolof cultural dominance or not, that the oral literature of some G.K. speakers is already mainly Wolof based e.g. G 4 who volunteered Wolof songs first when asked to sing[3] (C.N: 0937 - 1136), while the children, of which one Krio audience was mainly comprised, had also volunteered Wolof proverbs during the use of the oral literature questionnaire.

Within the context of a slave past the general ~~non~~dis-satisfaction Africans felt with European song genres may well have been a factor in encouraging retention of african song and other oral genres[4]. However, the present higher degree of convergence possible between Wolof and Krio song, and other oral genres, has not fostered ~~of~~ any similar dissatisfaction of Krio-speakers with Wolof oral genres.

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1. Unlike longer and more complex songs also relying upon formulae as a memory aid. The latter often rely upon specialists to perpetuate them in the oral mode e.g. the specialist griots of Manding and the Sunjata epic; see Innes, G. 1974.
2. See p. 331 ff.
3. See p. 704 of the appendix.
4. ~~C.N: ; see also p. of the appendix.~~ Especially where modes of performance are concerned.

As audience participation is an integral aspect of the actual performance of Krio oral literature[1], the inclusion of one genre in another, e.g. the inclusion of parabul in Gumbe by G (48) (C.N: 6453-7111), ~~are both as~~ re-echoed in the similar performance and form of Wolof and other African oral literature[2], and it is likely that the 'Wolofization' of Krio oral literature will be all the easier because of its unobtrusiveness.

Encroachment upon Krio, however, is not being made by Wolof alone, but also by Mandinka, as reflected in the following extract from a marriage song[3]:

G 13:... e fati bolo[4] ...(Rep.)..'hey fat hand'
"hey fat hand"

Cf. Mandinka bolo - 'hand'. Such Mandinka influences are not in terms of lexical items alone in the case of ~~the~~ G 13 (a fourth language speaker of Mandinka) whose other song[5] has the same music as that of a Mandinka initiation song, sung by the initiant after his circumcision[6].

Local African language influences upon Krio are partly enhanced by the general ease which speakers <21 display in their use of African language items, e.g. in the case of G 13 above (aged 8.) This ease is only shared by a few speakers in groups of 22> and 42> . The reasons for this difference are both historical[7] and social[8].

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1. As seen for example on pp. 699 ff of the appendix.
2. See Finnegan, R. 1970.
3. In response to 0.10; see p. 614 of the appendix.
4. The whole song is at C.N: 3130-3302 .
5. In response to 0.4.
6. According to the Mandinka speaker to whom I played this song: Mr.F.S.Kamara, of the Curriculum Development Centre Banjul, The Gambia.
7. See pt.II, ch.1.
8. See pt.II, ch.3.

Although a purely domain-orientated view of the Wolof items intruding into Krio (see above) is not entirely satisfactory[1], it is possible that the general inapplicability of any domain to the wide semantic range of the Wolof items[2] is related to the many-sided and increasing pressure of Wolof culture upon that of the Aku Krio-speakers. Such cultural pressure can no longer be distinguished in terms of a single domain. The decreasing influence of Yoruba on Krio, on the other hand, is evident in the decreasing number of Yoruba items in G.K. as opposed to S.K. , as well as the higher number of Yoruba items which are becoming 'nonsense items' in G.K.[3]

However, the fact that most of the African language items in Krio have appeared in oral literature, is indicative of the dual social forces which continue to impinge upon the language. In the informal domain of oral literature, African cultural values are displayed. It is consequently the context for African language items. The formal domain of Krio[4] is indicative of the educational and international social pressure of European cultural values, coupled with the local pressure of Wolof culture. The formal domain is consequently the milieu of decreolization and hypercorrection[5] towards English and, to a lesser extent, Wolof.

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1. See p. 328 .
2. Cf. the tentative domain into which the selected Yoruba items may be included. See p. 327 & pt.II, ch.4, pp.302ff.
3. Until all Yoruba items in Krio may even become classed as a few 'nonsense'words. See pt.III, ch. 5, pp. 515ff. See pt.II, ch. 4, pp. 310ff.
4. Elicited by interviews based on the linguistic section of the questionnaire used during fieldwork in Gambia and Senegal between October 1977 and February 1978. See p. 12 and the appendix, pp.604-611.
5. As defined in Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a): 1.

PART II

CHAPTER 6: AFRICAN GRAMMATICAL FEATURES IN GAMBIAN KRIO

INTRODUCTION

Like Kriul, Krio's main African languages of diachronic contact are more numerous than a number of its main African languages of synchronic contact (as outlined above.)[1] The former can be differentiated from the latter as follows:

Languages of Diachronic Contact:

Mandinka
Wolof
Yoruba
Twi/Fante (due to the great similarity between these languages they are not separately described.)
Igbo
Bantu languages[2], as exemplified here by Lingala and Kinyarwanda[3].

Languages of Synchronic Contact:

Mandinka
Wolof
Dyǫla

Of the latter, both Mandinka and Wolof are having reinforcing influences upon Krio, while Wolof's increasing external prestige[4] is also having a decreolizing influence.

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1. I.e. as outlined in pt.II, ch.1.
2. As in the case of Patwa pidgin, Krio pidgin is likely to have been influenced by a wide range of Bantu languages rather than any specific Bantu language.
3. Although both Bantu languages are less directly relevant to the historical patterns of the Atlantic slave-trade, they are included here to widen the Bantu framework of comparison, thus supplementing the examples taken from Kikongo and Umbundu in pt. III, ch.7.
4. Defined on p. 49 and described in relation to G.K. in pt.II, ch.3, p. 307 .

The selected grammatical features are therefore analysed in terms of the following tentative chronological[1] outline, with special reference to the reinforcing and/or decreolizing influences upon these features from the languages of synchronic contact.

SELECTED GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

The following selected grammatical features were found both in Krio and one or more of its African languages of contact:

1. Stabilisers,
2. Predicative Adjective,
3. Front-Focalisation,
4. Emphatic Repetition,
5. Emphatic Elongation of Vowel,
6. Topicalisation,
7. Catenation,
8. Use of a Plural Affix,
9. Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for',
11. Differentiation of the 2nd. sing. and 2nd. pl., and
12. Non-Differentiation of the 3rd. sing. Pronoun[2].

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1. Obviously the influences of Yoruba, Twi/Fante etc. are likely to have been simultaneous rather than as adopted above for convenient discussion.
2. Suffixation of the definite article and possessive pronouns (feature 10) was not found in Krio, although present in most of its African languages of contact.
This feature is also evident in Patwa and, to a more limited extend, in Kriul. See pt.III, ch.7, pp.554&555 and pt.I, ch.6, pp.180-182 respectively.

The following grammatical feature is also relevant to Krio and its African languages of contact i.e. the use of tense/aspect markers (excluding the negative marker.)

As the use of the above features has already been exemplified[1] for Wolof, Mandinka and Dyola, further illustration of these languages will only be given with reference to their decreolizing synchronic influences upon Krio.

Stabiliser (Feature 1):

In addition to Mandinka and Wolof, Krio and the following languages of diachronic contact make use of stabilisers e.g.:

Krio: na tri - 'It is a tree'
"Stab. tree"

Yoruba: ~~ni - Stab., e.g.:~~
~~"me"~~
"owo ni nwon fun mi, it was money they gave me"[2]
["money Stab. they give me"]

Igbo: ɔ bu osise - 'It is a tree'
"(s)he/it Stab. tree"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: ezeli nzete - 'It is a tree'
"Stab. tree"

Kinyarwanda: ni igiti - 'It is a tree'
"Stab. tree"

1.See pt.I, ch.6.
2.Rowlands, E.C. 1969: 25.

Indeed the use of Wolof la ~ na e.g.:

garab la - 'It is a tree'
"tree Stab."

xɔ̃x na - 'It is red'
"red Stab."

is having decreolizing effects on the use of predicative adjectives (see below) in Gambian Krio.

Cf. Sierra Leone Krio - i rɛd - 'It is red'
"it red"

Gambian Krio - na rɛd - 'It is red'
"Stab.red"

As suggested above, the use of Wol. na - Stab. preceded by an attributive adjective has resulted in the more frequent use of Gambian Krio na - Stab. followed by an attributive adjective[1].

Twi/Fante and Dyola, however, do not make use of a stabiliser[2].

Dyola: "inje ajaburug - 'I am a stranger'"[3]
["I stranger"]

Those African languages of contact (above) which do make use of stabilisers have similarly influenced the Patwa stabiliser se[4].

Predicative Adjective (Feature 2):

Cf. the similar use of predicative adjectives in Mandinka and Dyola[5] with the following:

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1. See also pt.II, ch.3, p. 279 .
2. See pt.I, ch.6, p. 169 .
3. Sapir, J.D. 1965: 112.
4. See pt.III, ch.7, p. 547 .
5. See pt.I, ch.6, p. 170 .

Krio: i red - 'It is red'
"it red"

Wolof: dafa xɔ̃x - 'It is red'
"it Stab. red"

The use of attributive adjectives followed by the stabiliser na in Wolof is however influencing the use of this feature in Gambian Krio (see above.)

Yoruba: o pupa
"(s)he/it red"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kinyarwanda: ratukura, ~~all~~ also meaning 'It is red'
"red"

In contrast to the other African languages of diachronic contact (above), Twi/Fante adjectives are precèded by the copula ye, e.g.:

ye kɔkɔ - 'It is red'
"(s)he/it be red"
Pred.Adj.

Similarly in Igbo the predicator di - 'have' precedes an adjective e.g.:

ɔ di mmeemmee[1] - 'It is red'
"(s)he/it have blood blood"

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1. Note that a number of Igbo colour adjectives are reduplicated (unemphatic) forms of nouns referring to items of the colour concerned e.g.: akukɔnde - 'green', cf. aku - 'grass'. Cf. emphatic repetition in Igbo.
See p. 345 .

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3):

Cf. the similar use of front-focalisation in Mandinka, Wolof, Dyola[1] with the following:

Krio: im nomɔ bin kam
"(s)he Focal. Past come"
-'He/She alone came'

Yoruba: okũ nikã lo de
"(s)he Focal. Rel. come"
-'He/She alone came'

Twi/Fante: ɔnu nkwã na bɛɛ (Twi)
"(s)he/it Focal. Emph. come Past "
-'He/She alone came'

na nǥkutsi na ɔ bɛɛ (Fante)
"(s)he Focal. Emph. (s)he come Past"
-'He/She alone came'

Igbo: sɔɔsɔ ya bialu
"Focal. (s)he come Past"
-'He/She alone came'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: ye nde a ya ki
"(s)he Focal. (s)he come Past"
-'He/She alone came'

In contrast to Kriul, Krio, Patwa and most of their African languages of contact, the Igbo focaliser precedes the focalised item:
Cf. ~~also,~~ Kinyarwanda: ni we wa je
"Stab. (s)he Disj.Pron. come"
-'He/She alone came'

1.See pt.I, ch.6, pp.170&171.

As suggested above some Bantu languages do not make use of a focaliser, but of a stabilised disjunctive pronoun.

Unlike in Kriul, Patwa and many of its own African and European languages of contact, Krio does not make use of a homophone of its focaliser as an adverb meaning alone/only e.g.:

*im kam nomɔ
"(s)he come only/alone (Adv.)"
-'He/She come/came alone'

Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4):

The use of this feature is evident in Krio and its languages of contact[1], e.g.:

Krio: i de rɔn, i de rɔn.....
"(s)he Prog. run (s)he Prog. run"
-'He/She runs on and on'.....

Yoruba: o sare sare....
"(s)he run run "
-'He/She runs on and on'....

Twi/Fante: ɔgwanii, ɔgwanii ..... (Twi)
"(s)he/it run Past, (s)he/it run Past"
-'He/She runs on and on'.....

Igbo: ɔgbagide, gbagide
"(s)he Neut. run run "
-'He/She runs/ran on and on'.....

1.See pt.I, ch.6, p. 172 .

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a kimi ki, a kimi a kimi[1]
"(s)he run Past (s)he run (s)he run"
-'He/She runs on and on'

Kinyarwanda: ya rirutse a (r)[2]iruka a(r) iruka
"(s)he Past+run (s)he run (s)he run"
-'He/She runs on and on'

Unlike English, Krio and its African languages of contact do not make use of a connective between the repeated items.

Emphatic Elongation of Vowel (Feature 5):

As in Mandinka[3], this feature is also evident in Krio and a number of its languages of diachronic contact e.g.:

Yoruba: o gl5̃5̃5̃
"(s)he intelligent"
Emph.
-'He/She is extremely intelligent'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: azali na mayéele
"Stab. with intelligence"
Emph.
-'He/She is extremely intelligent'

Kinyarwanda: azi abugéenje
"(s)he know intelligence"
Emph.
-'He/She is extremely intelligent'

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1. Note that in sentences which are so emphasized in Lingala and Kinyarwanda only the first verb is followed by the past tense marker.
2. Note that (r) is epenthetic in order to avoid * VV.
3. See pt. I, ch. 6, p. 173.

It (i.e. feature 5) is however not commonly used in Wolof and Dyola[1] nor Twi/Fante which makes use of a number of emphatic ideophones in which elongation of vowel may optionally occur e.g.:

Twi/Fante: wa bin pa (~páa)
"(s)he/it intelligent Emph.(~ Emph.)"
- 'He/She is extremely intelligent'

Topicalisation (Feature 6):

In addition to Mandinka and Wolof [2], Krio and its main African languages of contact also make use of this feature e.g.:

Krio: di buk we a gi yu, i red
"the book Rel. I give you(sing.) it red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

Twi/Fante: buk ɛno mi dimaa wu nu yɛ kɔkɔ
"book it I give Past you(sing.) it be red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

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1. See pt.I, ch.6, pp.172&173.

2. See pt.I, ch.6, pp.173&174.

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: buka na pesa ki yo e zali mɔtane
"book I give Past you(sing.) it Stab. red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

Kinyarwanda: igytabu na guhaye ki ratukara
"the book I give Past it is red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

Topicalisation is not used as an emphatic marker in Yoruba and Igbo, e.g.:

Yoruba: iwe ti mo fũ ɔ pupa
"book Rel. I give you(sing.) red"
-'The book I gave you is red'

Igbo: akwukwɔ m nyelu gi di mmeemmee
"book I give Past you have blood blood"
-'The book I gave you is red'

Catenation (Feature 7):

Verbal catenation is a feature of Krio and its African languages of contact[1], e.g.:

Krio: i dɔn tek buk bit am
"(s)he Complet.take book beat them"
-'He took the book and beat them'

Cf.Yoruba: o mũ iwe o na wɔ̃
"(s)he take book(s) (s)he beat them"
-'He took the book and beat them'

1.See pt.I, ch.6, p.175 .

Twi: ɔ fa buku nɔ dibu wɔn
"(s)he take book the beat them"
-'He took the book and beat them'

(see below for Fante)

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a simba ki buku a beti bangu
"(s)he take Past book (s)he beat them"
-'He took the book and beat them'

Kinyarwanda: ya fashi igitabu a ra ba kubita
"(s)he take book (s)he Past them beat".
-'He took the book and beat them'

In both Igbo and Fante as in Portuguese, English and French, a connective intervenes between the catenated verbal series[1], e.g.:

Igbo: ɔ wɛɛlu akwukwɔ ahɔ biya kwa tiye la ihɛ
"(s)he take Past book that come and also beat them something"

and

Fante: ɔ fa buku nɔ ɔzi buru nɔ ,
"(s)he take book the with beat them"

both also meaning 'He/She took the book and beat them'

Use of a Plural Affix (Feature 8):

In addition to Mandinka and Wolof[2], Krio and its following languages of diachronic contact make use of this feature. As in many Afican languages, the plural affix is similar in form to the 3rd. pl. pronoun[2], e.g.:

1.See p. 22 for examples in Port., Fr. and Eng.
2.See pt.I, ch.6, pp.76&79.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	3RD. PLURAL
Krio:	di man	di man dɛm	dɛm kam
	"the man"	"the man pl."	"they come/came"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they came'
Yoruba:	okũrinyɛ	awɔ̃ okũrinyɛ	wɔ̃ wa
	"man the"	"pl. man the"	"they come/came"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they came'
Twi/Fante:	bɛnyi nu	mbenyi nu[1](Twi)	wɔ re ba
	"man the"	"pl.man the"	"they Prog. come"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they are coming'
	bɛnyi nu	mbɛnyi fu(Fante)	wɔ re ba
	"man the"	"pl. man the"	"they Prog. come"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they are coming'
Igbo:	mmadu[2]	ndi mmadu	ha biya
	"man"	"pl. man"	"they come/came"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they come/came'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala:	moto	batu	ba ya ki
	"sing.man"	"pl. man"	"they come Past"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they came'
Kinyarwanda:	umuntu	abantu	baaje
	"sing.man"	"pl. man"	"they Past come"
	-'the man'	'the men'	'they came'

As suggested in the Twi/Fante, and Igbo examples above, however, the 3rd. pl.in the latter are not similar in form to the pl. marker.

1.Twi/Fante also makes use of other plural prefixes i.e. a & n e.g.: "ekúw - heap, pl. akúw ....akyené,-drum, pl. nkyene". See Bellon, I. 1963: 3.

2.Note that Igbo does not make use of a definite article.

Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9):

In addition to Mandinka and Wolof[1], Krio and its African languages of diachronic contact make use of this feature e.g.:

Krio: i tel am se, sidɔm
"(s)he tell them say sit down"
-'He/She told them to sit down'

Twi/Fante: ɔ kãa cire wɔ sɛ, ntsina wɔ asɛ
(Twi) "(s)he tell(Past)show them say sit they down"
-' He/She told them to sit down'

Igbo: ɔ gwalu ha ka[2] ha nɔdu ani
"(s)he tell Past them that they sit ground"
-'He/She told them to sit down'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kinyarwanda: ya ra ba bwiye ati nim wi care
"(s)he Past them tell say please you pl.sit"
-'He/She told them to sit down'

This feature is not however evident in Yoruba and some Bantu languages including Lingala e.g.:

Yoruba: o niki wã joko
"(s)he tell them sit"
-'He/She told them to sit down'

Lingala: a loka ki na bango, bo vaanda
"(s)he say Neut.with them you(pl.)sit down"
-'He/She tells/told them to sit down'

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1. Kriul, Patwa and many of their African languages of contact also make use of this feature. See pt.I, ch.6, pp.179ff & pt.III, ch. 7 p.554.
2. Note that like Patwa, Igbo uses 'tell...that' instead of 'tell...say'. Cf. Patwa di kɔ̃ ha with "say like this"
Igbo gwa...ka "tell..that", and both meaning 'tell...that'.
See pt.III, ch.2, pp.448&449.

Suffixation of the Definite Article and Possessive Pronouns (Feature 10):

This feature ~~is not used~~ does not occur in Krio, although used in Patwa and a number of the African languages of contact with Kriul and/or Patwa, i.e.: Mandinka, Wolof, Bainuk, Balanta, Dyola, Manjak, Ewe/Fon, Twi/Fante and Yoruba[1].

Differentiation of the Second Singular and Second Plural (Feature 11):

	SECOND SINGULAR	SECOND PLURAL
Krio:	yu	una
Yoruba:	iwɔ	ɛ̃yĩ
Twi/Fante:	wo	mo
Igbo:	yi	unu

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala:	o	bo
Kinyarwanda:	u	mu

For example:

Krio:	yu de kam	una de kam
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.)Prog.come"
Igbo:	yi na abiya	unu na abiya
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.)Prog. come"

1.See pt.I, ch.6, pp.180-182 & pt. III, ch. 7, pp.554-557.

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala:	o zali koya	bo zali koya
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.)Prog. come"
Kinyarwanda:	u ri kuza	mu ri kuza
	"you(sing.)Prog.come"	"you(pl.) Prog.come"

and all meaning (respectively) 'You (sing.) are coming' and 'You (pl.) are coming'.

Non-Differentiation of the Third Singular Pronoun (Feature 12):

In addition to Mandinka and Wolof[1], Krio and its following African languages of contact also make use of this feature:

	THIRD SINGULAR PERSONAL SUBJECT PRONOUNS MALE/FEMALE
Krio:	i [2]
Yoruba:	o
Twi/Fante:	ɔ
Igbo:	ɔ

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala:	a
Kinyarwanda:	a

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1. See pt.I, ch.6, p. 184 .
2. Cf. also Kriul i & Patwa i - 3rd.sing. male, female and inanimate. See pt.I, ch.2, p. 90 & pt.III, ch.2, pp. 430 & 431 respectively.

For example:

Krio:	i sidɔm	-	'He/She/~~It~~ sits/sat'
	"(s)he sits/sat"		
Yoruba:	o rí	-	'He/She/~~It~~ walks/walked'
	"(s)he walk"		
Twi/Fante:	ɔ kɔ fiye	-	'He/She/~~It~~ goes home'
	"(s)he go home"		
Igbo:	ɔ biya	-	'He/She/~~It~~ comes/came'
	"(s)he come"		

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala:	a zali ya	-	'He/She/~~It~~ is coming'
	"(s)he Prog. come"		
Kinyarwanda:	a rimu kuza	-	'He/She/~~It~~ is coming'
	"(s)he Prog. come"		

The Use of Tense/Aspect Markers (Excluding the Negative Marker):

The similar use of tense/aspect markers in Krio, Mandinka, Wolof[1] and Krio's other African languages of contact can be summarized as follows:

TENSE/ASPECT

Krio:			
		ø	(neutral)
	bin (past)	dɔn	(completive)
		de	(progressive)
		kin	(habitual)
	go (future non-imminent)	de	(future imminent)

1. See pt. I, ch. 6, pp. 81-114.

All Krio tense/aspect markers unlike those of Kriul[1], and some of Kriul's African languages of contact, are all pre-verbal[2], e.g.:

	TENSE		ASPECT	
Yoruba:			ø	(neutral)
			ti	(completive)
			ng/ma	(progressive)
			ng/ma	(habitual)
	a ~ (o)	(future non-imminent)	ng	(future imminent)
Twi-Fante:				
PRE-VERBAL			a	(completive)
			re	(progressive)
	bɛ	(future non-imminent)	re	(future imminent)
PRE-VERBAL	VV	(past)[3]		
			A low toned subject pronoun (ˋ) followed by a low toned (monosyllabic) verb (ˋ) marks the habitual.	
Igbo:				
PRE-VERBAL			ø	(neutral)
			na	(progressive)
			na adi	(habitual)
	ga	(future)		
POST-VERBAL	lu	(past)	na	(completive)

1. See pt.I, ch.6, p. 188 .
2. Unless otherwise stated above the tense/aspect markers of Krio's African languages of contact are also pre-verbal.
3. I.e. elongation of the final vowel marks the past tense.

Bantu languages, e.g.:

	TENSE		ASPECT	
Lingala:				
			zali	(progressive)
PRE-VERBAL	ko	(future non-imminent)		
POST-VERBAL	ki	(past)	ø	(neutral)
			si	(completive)
			ka	(habitual)
Kinyarwanda:				
	ra	(past)	ri(mu)	(progressive)
			ja	(habitual)
	za	(future non-imminent)	rimu	(future imminent)

For example:

TENSE (PAST)

Krio: i bin kam - 'He/She came'
"(s)he Past come"

Twi/Fante: ɔ kɔɔ fiye - 'He/She went home'
"(s)he go Past home"

Igbo: ɔ biya lu - 'He/She came'
"(s)he come Past"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a ya ki - 'He/She came'
"(s)he come Past"

Kinyarwanda: ya ra je - 'He/She came'
"(s)he Past come"

TENSE (FUTURE NON-IMMINENT)

Krio: i go kam – 'He/She will come'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.)come"

Yoruba: a[1] a bɔ – 'He/She will come'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.)come"

Twi/Fante: ɔ be kɔ fiye – 'He/She will go home'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.)go home"

Igbo: ɔ ga abiya – 'He/She will come'
"(s(he Fut.(N.Im.)come"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a ko ya – 'He/She will come'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.)come"

Kinyarwanda: a za za – 'He/She will come'
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.)come"

ASPECT (NEUTRAL)

Krio: i kam – 'He/She comes/came'
"(s)he Neut.(Ø) come"

Yoruba: o wa[2] – 'He/She (comes)/came'
"(s)he Neut.(Ø) come"

Igbo: ɔ biya – 'He/She comes/came'
"(s)he Neut.(Ø) come"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a ya – 'He/She comes/came'
"(s)he Neut.(Ø) come"

1. o → a before a.
2. wa - 'come' is generally used except in progressive, habitual and future imminent aspect when bɔ is used.

ASPECT (COMPLETIVE)

Krio: i dɔn kam - 'He/She has come'
"(s)he Complet.come"

Yoruba: o ti wa - 'He/She has come'
"(s)he Complet.come"

Twi/Fante: abofra no a hwɛ ase - 'The boy has fallen'
"boy the Complet.fell down"

Igbo: ɔ biya na - 'He/She has come'
"(s)he come Complet."

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a si a ye - 'He/She has come'
"(s)he Complet.(s)he come"

ASPECT (PROGRESSIVE)

Krio: i de kam - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

Yoruba: o ń bɔ - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

Twi/Fante: ɔ re kɔ fiye - 'He/She is going home'
"(s)he Prog.go home"

Igbo: ɔ na abiya - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a zali ya - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

Kinyarwanda: a rimu kuza - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Prog. come"

ASPECT (HABITUAL)

Krio: i kin kam - 'He/She(habitually)comes'
"(s)he Hab. come"

Yoruba: o ṇ bɔ - 'He/She(habitually)comes'
"(s)he Hab. come"

Twi/Fante: mè dɔ̀ nò - 'I love her always'[1]
["I love her/him"]
Hab.

Igbo: ɔ na adi abiya - 'He/She(habitually)comes'
"(s)he Hab. come"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: a ya ka[2] - 'He/She(habitually)comes'
"(s)he come Hab."

Kinyarwanda: a ja za - 'He/She(habitually)comes'
"(s)he Hab. come"

ASPECT (FUTURE IMMINENT)

Krio: i de kam - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.)come"

Yoruba: o ṇ bɔ - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.)come"

Twi/Fante: ɔ re kɔ fiye - 'He/She is going home'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.)go home"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kinyarwanda: a rimu kuza - 'He/She is coming'
"(s)he Fut.(Im.)come"

1.Rapp, E.L. 1832: 18-19.
2.Cf. Patwa ka, Mnka. ka, also used as habitual markers.
See pt.III, ch. 4 , p. 483 .

PART III

PART 3

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATWA IN ST. LUCIA

INTRODUCTION

The geographical position of St. Lucia, its main towns and its mountainous centre are outlined below.

Much of the historical background to the development of Patwa in St. Lucia, especially with respect to its Martiniquean connections, has been discussed elsewhere.[1] The African dimension of this historical background has, however, only been outlined. In this chapter, a discussion of the origins of the various St. Lucian ethno-linguistic groups,[2] particularly the African, are given more detailed attention.

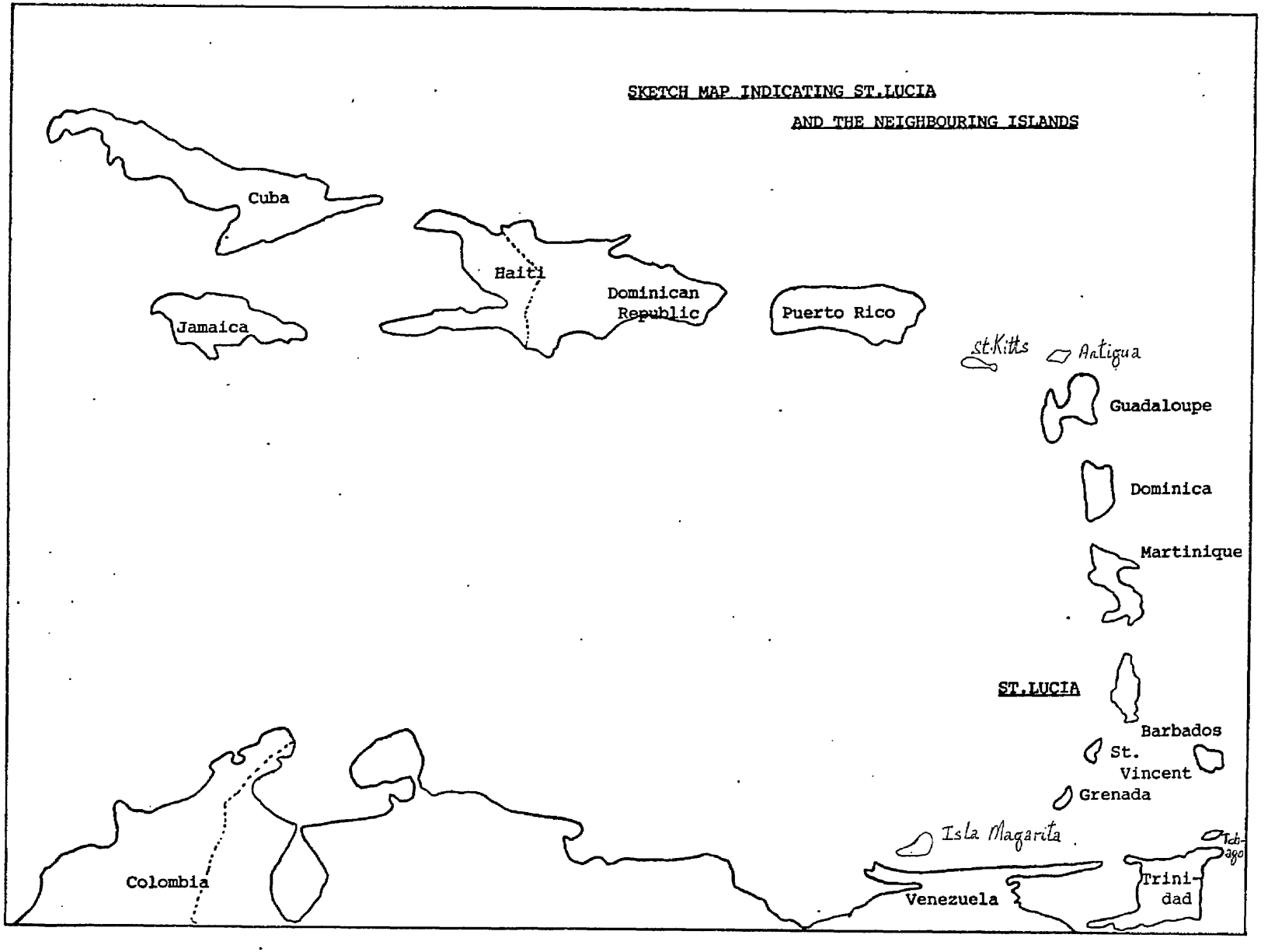
ISLAND CARIB

The earliest known inhabitants of the islands of Dominica, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint Vincent and St. Lucia were the Arawak. Descriptions of the Arawak characterise them as a non war-like people:

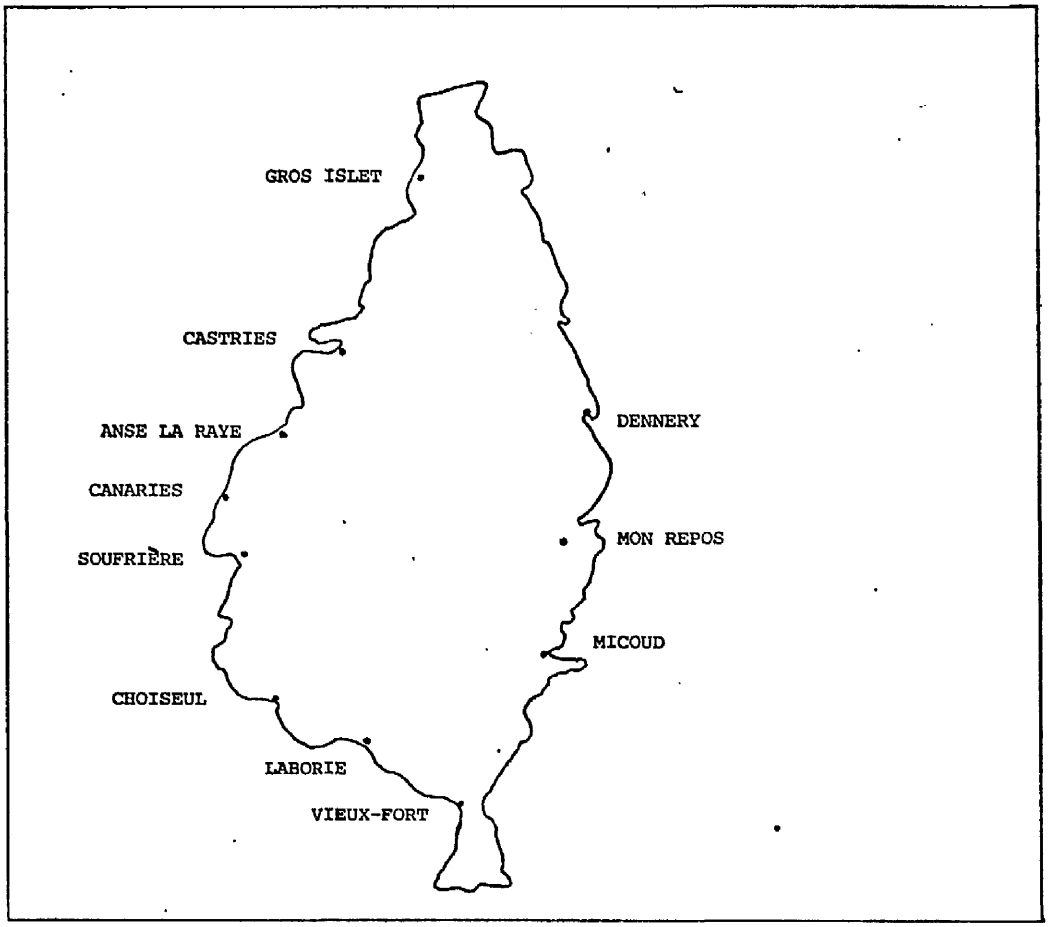
> .."étoient[sic.]des gens simples, doux, serviables, affectionnez aux étrangers."[3]

---

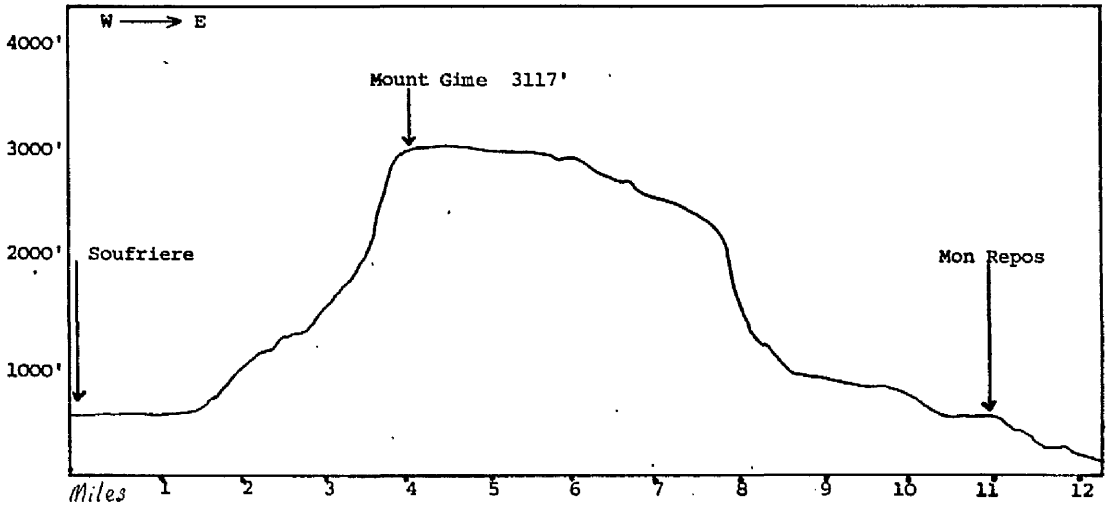
1. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b).
2. As in the other chapters dealing with historical background, i.e. pt.1, ch.1 and pt.2, ch.1.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 333. Such past descriptions have been echoed in historically more recent allusions to the Arawak, e.g. Taylor, D. M. 1938:112, "Physically, the Caribs of Dominica (the product of a cross between the fierce Carib invader and the docile Arawak Islander in pre-Colombian days)" ...


SKETCH MAP INDICATING ST.LUCIA
AND THE NEIGHBOURING ISLANDS
Cuba
Haiti
Dominican Republic
Jamaica
Puerto Rico
St.Kitts
Antigua
Guadaloupe
Dominica
Martinique
ST.LUCIA
Barbados
St. Vincent
Grenada
Isla Magarita
Tob-ago
Trini-dad
Venezuela
Colombia

SKETCH MAP INDICATING THE MAIN TOWNS IN ST.LUCIA



RELIEF CROSS SECTION BETWEEN SOUFRIERE AND MON REPOS



In these islands the invading Carib peoples colonised the Arawak:[1] they killed off the Arawak men and took over the Arawak women:

> "Il ya a apparence qu'ils tuerent tous les mâles et qu'ils reserverent les femmes."[2]

The Caribs are believed by Labat (1722) to have sailed from the Gulf of Mexico, travelled via Florida, the Bahamas and the larger islands of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico before reaching the smaller islands of the Windward chain:

> ... "en cotoyant la Côte depuis le fond du Golphe du Mexique jusqu'a la pointe de la Floride, ils ont passer le Détroit de Bahama, et cottoyant les Grandes Issles de Couve, Saint Domingue et Port Ric, arriver aux petits Isles" ...[3]

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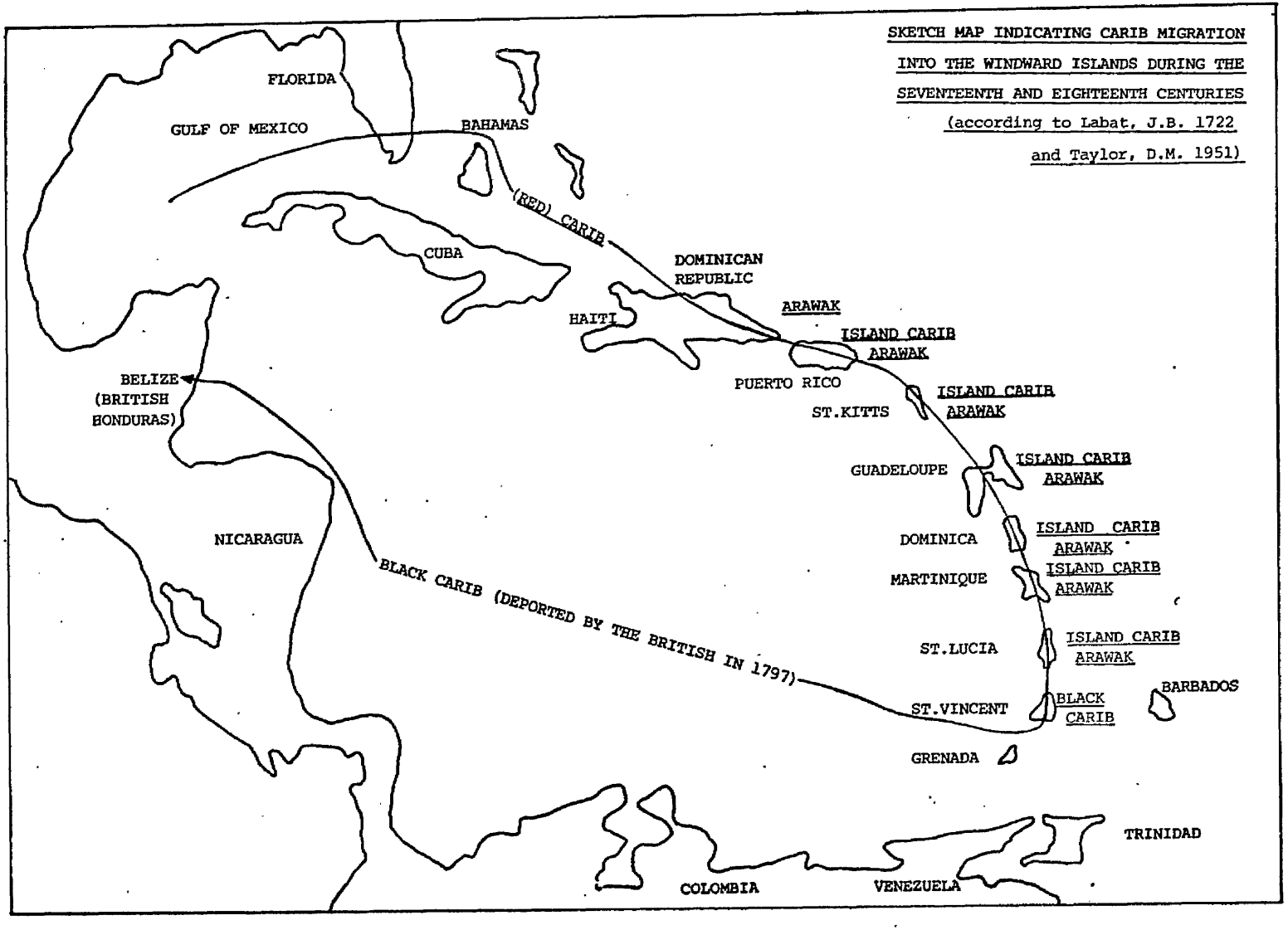
1. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:442-443, also refers to Carib/Arawak wars on the American mainland: "Comme nos Sauvages ont de vieilles guerres, tant contre quelques nations des Europeans, que contre les nations Sauvages de la terre ferme, nommément contre les Aloüagues [sic.]."
2. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 334, writing about the Caribs in general and those of Dominica in particular in 1700.
   Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:499, gives a similar description of Carib colonisation of the Arawak: "Ils prennent hommes et femmes prisonniers, ils destinont les hommes à la mort sans acune [sic.] remission, et les femmes à l'esclavage. Quoi que bien souvent ils les epousent elles ne portent iamais [sic.] de brodequains ou chaussure .... ils leurs font porter les cheueux courts en signe de leur seruitudes."
3. See map on p. 364.
   Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:401, indicates the mainland American origin in Carib belief: ... "ils ont tous cette croyance qu'ils sont descendus des Kalibis peuples qui demeurent à la terre ferme, et qui sont leurs plus proches voisins [sic.]." He also indicates an alternative viewpoint on Carib origins, probably held by non-Caribs: ... "ces Sauvages ne sont que des parcelles des desbris, ou bien les réchapez des horribles massacres que les Espagnols ont fait dans les isles de Cuba de l'Espagniola, de S. Iean de Port-ric et autres [sic.]..." (Ibid.:p.402) If true, however, this view indicates that Carib movements into the smaller Windward islands was an attempt to avoid the genocidal practices of the Spanish.


SKETCH MAP INDICATING CARIB MIGRATION
INTO THE WINDWARD ISLANDS DURING THE
SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES
(according to Labat, J.B. 1722
and Taylor, D.M. 1951)
FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMAS
(RED) CARIB
CUBA
DOMINICAN
REPUBLIC
HAITI
ARAWAK
ISLAND CARIB
ARAWAK
PUERTO RICO
ISLAND CARIB
ARAWAK
ST.KITTS
BELIZE
(BRITISH
HONDURAS)
GUADELOUPE
ISLAND CARIB
ARAWAK
NICARAGUA
DOMINICA
ISLAND CARIB
ARAWAK
MARTINIQUE
ISLAND CARIB
ARAWAK
BLACK CARIB (DEPORTED BY THE BRITISH IN 1797)
ST.LUCIA
ISLAND CARIB
ARAWAK
BARBADOS
ST.VINCENT
BLACK
CARIB
GRENADA
TRINIDAD
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA

They are also believed to have originated from Florida due to linguistic and cultural similarities between them and certain (American) Indian groups in Florida:

> ... "qu'ils viennent de la Floride ... certains Indiens de la Floride parlent à peu de chose près le même langage de nos Caraïbes et ont les mêmes coûtumes, ..."[1]

They replaced the Arawak kingship system by a democratically ~~-oriented-~~ social system of:

> ... "elected chiefs and democratically organised carbets"[2] (large communal dwellings.)

Their preservation of the Arawak women was the cause of the "men's language"/"women's language" dichotomy within their society, with the women continuing to use Arawak among themselves and Carib to their newly installed menfolk, while the men spoke Carib amongst themselves:

> "Les Caraïbes ont trois sortes de langues. Le premier ... que tout le monde parle, est comme affecté aux hommes. Le second est tellement propre aux femmes .... Elles sçavent[sic.]la langue de leurs maris, et doivent s'en servir quand elles leurs parlent; mais elles s'en servent jamais quand elles parlent entr'elles,[sic.].... "[3]

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 333.
2. Taylor, D. M. 1951:31-32.
   As democratically oriented as Taylor suggests it might have been, the Carib social system presupposed the use of Arawakan slaves: "... s'ils croyoient quand leurs pères auoit occupé ces terres, qu'il eut des habitans naturels: Ils respondirent que non, et que ceux qui viuoient dans leurs montagnes estoient des esclaves fugitifs, appellez Aloüagues[sic.]..." (Du Tertre J. B. 1654:403).
   The probable slave-caste status of the Arawakan women is also implied by Du Tertre: "Toutes les filles et les femmes, excepté les esclaves, portent dés[sic.]leur tendre ieunesse[sic.]une certaine demy-[sic.]chausse ... " (Ibid:p.436)
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 331-332.

The third 'language' was a specialised one known by some men only:

> ... "qui n'est connu que des hommes qui ont été à la guerre, et particulierement des vieillards."

and used in contexts such as war possibly, and certainly during discussions when secrecy was desired on the part of the speakers, i.e.:

> "Ils s'en servent quand ils sont quelque Assemblée de consequence, dont ils veulent tenir les resolutions secrettes. Les femmes et les jeunes gens n'y entendent rien."[1]

The resultant Arawak/Carib descendants of this genetic mixture were the Island Carib[2] who were also known to have developed a trade pidgin:

> "Ils ont composé eux-mesmes[sic.]une sorte de langue, dans laquelle il s'y recontre de l'Espagnol, du François, et du Flamand, depuis que ces nations ont eu commerce avec eux; mais ils ne s'en servent que lors qu'ils negotient."[3]

One of the earliest references to the Island Carib in Saint Lucia indicates their efforts to stop the incursion of the new invaders of the islands, the Europeans, including the English who in 1640 had established themselves in Saint Lucia.[4] By the use of

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1. Ibid .. Labat adds: "C'est plûtôt un jargon qu'ils ont inventé qu'une langue."
   Du Tertre's statements mirror those of Labat: "Les femmes on un langage tout different de celuy des hommes ... Les vieillards aussi usurpent[sic.]une façon de parler tout autre que celle des ieunes [sic.]gens. Quand ils ont dessein de faire la guerre, ils on un baragoin pour la persuader à ceux de leur nation, qui est fort difficile a apprendre ... Il faut remarquer que le langage duquel les hommes se servent quand ils haranguent en public n'est pas entendu des femmes ny des petits enfans[sic.]." (Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:443; 462-463)
2. Or at least so described by Taylor, D. M. 1951.
3. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:463. It is probable that the presence of this pidgin amongst the Island Carib would have facilitated communication between Patwa-speaking St. Lucian-Martinican maroons and their Island Carib hosts in St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Martinique (see below).
4. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):1 & 1979(b):1.

poison gas "in the form of burning pimento (capsicum)"[1], the Island Carib chased the English out of Saint Lucia. A few months later the French took over the island.

Labat underlines Saint Vincent and Dominica as areas of Island Carib population:

> ..."les deux Isles qu'ils occupent, qui sont la Dominique et Saint Vincent."[2] (1700)

Nevertheless the Island Carib presence in Saint Lucia is attested by Labat, mainly in terms of their at times friendly but mainly hostile relations with the French, who are said to have inhabited the island from 1640:

> "Cette Isle avoit été habitée par les François dès l'année 1640."[3]

Initial relations between the early French inhabitants, consisting of 40 men sent by du Parquet "sous la conduite du sieur de Rousselan", appear to have been friendly since as Rousselan himself:

> ... "avoit épouse une femme Caraibe, ce qui le faisoit aimer des sauvages, ..."[4]

The Island Carib reception to Rousselan's successor, one "sieur de la Reviere [sic]"[5] in 1654 were less friendly; he was killed by the Island Caribs by the end of that year. The next successor, one "sieur Hacquet" got the same reception:

> ..."tué par les mêmes sauvages en 1656".[5]

In 1657 "sieur d'Aigremont Gentilhomme"[6] was named Governor of Saint Lucia. He also died later by Island Carib hands in 1660:

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1951:19; we are told nothing about any indigenous Carib in the island but if, as indicated ~~on p.~~ above, the French governor had married an Island Carib and was well liked by these "Sauvages", one would assume that there were some, if not many Saint Lucian Island Carib living there prior to 1640.
2. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV,:334.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722: vol.IV, 450.
4. Ibid: pp.450 & 451. See also Verin, P. 1959:350.
5. Ibid: p.452.
6. Ibid: p.453.

... "un d'eux lui ayant donné un coup de couteau dans la poitrine; ..."[1]

The Island Carib in St. Lucia, according to Labat, were seasonal visitors from Saint Vincent hunting for turtles:

... "Les Sauvages de Saint Vincent, et des autres Isles n'y venoient que dans les tems de la ponte des tortuës,[sic.]..."[2]

As there were Island Carib in Martinique to the north of St. Lucia,[3] as well as in Saint Vincent to the south of St. Lucia, it seems unlikely that there were no Island Carib actually living in Saint Lucia. Further, given the deaths of the French governors, it seems unlikely that Island Carib, other than those with a residential claim on St. Lucia, would be so diligent in the killing of French governors, especially since the Island Carib from Saint Vincent came to hunt only during the short period that turtles came to lay their eggs. Labat's lack of reference to Island Carib living in Saint Lucia cannot be correlated with their absence.[4]

The death of a group of English people in Saint Lucia in about 1658 was also suggested to be at the hands of Saint Vincent

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1. Ibid: p.458.
2. Ibid: p.450.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 456.
4. "Ces Sauvages qui avoient assez mal à propos commencé la guerre contre les François, creurent qu'il les falloit entierement destruire ... Pour cét effet, ils appellerent à leurs secours tous les Sauvages des mesmes[sic.]isles voisines." (Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:71) It seems unlikely that the Island Carib would have viewed Saint Lucia as not being part of their legitimate territory. The whole question of a separate Vincentian as opposed to Saint Lucian Island Carib people would not have been a part of an Island Carib-based view of their territorial rights, at least as far as the above comments of Du Tertre suggest in reference to the Island Carib in Martinique.
   Therefore, even if any of the French governors in Saint Lucia were in fact killed by Island Carib travelling from St. Vincent, such a killing would have been merely part of an all out defence of what they viewed as their legitimate territory in the face of genocide.

Island Carib coming to Saint Lucia to hunt turtles:

> ... "Les Caraibes ... de Saint Vincent ... passerent a Saint Alousie [i.e. St. Lucia] en s'en retournant chez eux, et trouvant quelques Anglois occupez à la pêche de la Tortuë, ils les massacrerent ..."[1]

Whether or not the Island Carib had an earlier treaty to fight on the side of the French[2] in 1658, it did not stop them fighting on the side of the British in their capture of Saint Lucia in 1664:

> ... "les Anglois firent un corps de quatorze à quinze cent hommes, auzquels se joignirent six cent Sauvages ..."[3]

However, given that war had broken out between the Island Carib and the French in Martinique in 1655,[4] ~~the success of~~ and the fact that French genocide, ~~which by 1658~~ (by 1658)[4] resulted in the death or flight of all but a few Martiniquan Island Carib, it is possible that the deaths of the French governors of Saint Lucia (in 1654 and 1656) and ~~the death~~ of a group of English ~~people~~ in Saint Lucia

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 456.
2. As suggested by Labat, J. B. 1722: Vol.IV, 457.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 458 & 459.
4. Taylor, D. M. 1951:19.

(in 1658) may well have been part of ~~a general move~~ an attempt[1] by the Island Carib to rid themselves of all European[2] invaders.

The ~~siding~~ participation of a group of Island Carib in the English invasion of Saint Lucia in 1664 can ~~therefore~~ be interpreted as part of an increasing Carib hostility against the French:[3]

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1. Given the Island Carib ability to organise war on at least two islands:
   "In war time ... supreme authority was given to another commander, or war chief, who usually led the combined armies of Dominica and Guadeloupe" (Taylor, D. M. 1938:115). It is not unlikely, however, under such genocidal conditions that war would have been carried out on many other fronts. Du Tertre, J. B. 1656:441-443, in fact, gives an earlier description of the post of 'Minister of War' amongst the Island Carib, within the Island Carib leadership system:

   "... trois sortes de Capitaines qui leur commandent ... les maistres de quelques Canots ou Pirogues ... ceux qui ont des habitations en propre ...[i.e. the head of a tabui, see below] ... ceux qui sont esleus[sic.]tels par suffrages, ou bien parce qu'ils ont fait paroistre un grand courage dans leurs guerres, ou bien pour auoir tüé plusieurs de leurs ennemis[sic.]."

   "Capitaines" of the latter category were the war leaders; their political influence was however restricted to the sphere of war alone:

   "Tous luy obeyssent[sic.]en ce qui concerne la guerre seulement: car hors de là ils ne sont nullement considerez."
   Du Tertre, in fact, also mentions the presence of two such 'elected Ministers of War' amongst the Dominican Carib:

   "Dans celle de la Dominique, il y en a deux qui y demeurent fort éloignez l'un de l'autre de peur que leur authorite ne se choque[sic.]..." (Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:441-443).

2. The Europeans in this case were mainly French.

3. Labat's view of pro-French sentiments amongst the Island Carib, see p.369, may therefore be open to argument.

> "... a combined force of English together with the Indian followers of Carib Warner ... the son of a Dominican Carib woman and Sir Thomas Warner, first Governor of St. Kitts."[1]

The reactions of the Saint Lucian Island Carib[2] were, however, based upon a Saint Lucian orientated self-interest rather than part of any general Island Carib anti-French strategy. Under French rule they had been "allowed to retain their plantations," but, under the new English rulers, their rights to the land were revoked:

> "Lord Willoughby took away their plantations in Saint Lucia."

The Saint Lucian Island Carib, dissatisfied with the new English presence:

> "... were among the first to protest and seek reprisals ..."[3]

From 1683, however, the Island Carib in Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent were to be given other reasons to become not only anti-French but also anti-English:

The King of England then gave his permission for an attack upon the Island Carib. It is to these Island Carib, in Saint Vincent and probably St. Lucia that many African Maroons (nɛg mawɔ̃) fled. In Saint Vincent, some were also taken in war and others from a shipwrecked Spanish or Flemish ship:

> "Quelques-uns sont fugitifs Marons, qui ont été pris en guerre, ceux-là sont esclaves des Caraïbes, qu'ils appellent Tamons; mais le plûpart viennent de quelque navire Fleman ou Espagnol, qui échoüa proche de leurs Isles[sic]."[4]

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1951:19.
2. See p. for comments on their 'absence'.
3. Taylor, D. M. 1951:20.

4. De La Borde in Hennepin 1712:574; Taylor, D. M. 1951:21. See also the map on p. 382

Labat in fact comments upon this new acceptance of African maroons by the Carib in St. Vincent who, in the past, used to return them to the English or sell them to the French or Spanish:

> "Je ne sçai[sic.]par quelle raison ils ont changé de methode, et ce qui les a portez à recevoir parmi eux, et à les regarder comme faisant qu'an même peuple."[1] (1700)

It is probable that the political maxim: 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend' provided the motivation for the change that La Borde was not aware of.[2]

Where, however, such an alliance may not have been desired by the Island Carib, the increasing numerical superiority of the maroon slaves amongst them forced such an alliance; in Saint Vincent at any rate:

> "... le nombre des Negres s'est tellement accru, ou par ceux qui les sont venus joindre de la Barbade, ... il les ont constraints de partarger l'Isle avec eux, et de leur ceder la Cabesterre. Main ce n'est pas encore cela qui chagrine le plus les Sauvages, c'est l'enlevement frequent de leurs femmes, et de leurs filles, dont les Negres se saisissent quand ils en ont besoin ..."[3] (1700)

As a result, the 'original' Island Carib (of Carib and Arawak descent) lost their distinguishing "red" colour[4] and became brown and black in Saint Vincent, i.e. Black Carib. It is likely that a similar convergence took place between the Island Carib in Saint Lucia and the Saint Lucian maroons (nɛg mawɔ̃).[5]

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 443; Taylor, D. M. 1951:22.
2. In some ways similar to the Bainuk in Casamance this group on the verge of extermination allied themselves to a larger group whose enemies were also their enemies.
   See pt.1, ch.1, p. 58.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 443-444; Taylor, D. M. 1951:22.
4. People from 'Carib' areas in St. Lucia such as Canaries are called mun wuz - 'red people'.
   "people red"
   See also Dalphinis, M. 1977(b), p.1, fn.2 & fn.1,1979(b) & pt.III, ch.4, p. 473.
5. Idem.

Taylor, however, argues against any possibility of Afro-Carib cultural convergence:

> "... it is just as clear that no real fusion of these two groups ever took place; but that in the early eighteenth century, the 'Blacks' came greatly to outnumber the 'Reds' ... "[1]

He points to differences between the cultural traits of the African and those of the Carib:

> "... an opposition between the modal personalities of the peoples concerned ..."[2]

His exemplification of some aspects of Carib life, however: polygamy the extended family and communal life cast doubt upon his viewpoint:

> "... large communal houses ... these homesteads, comprised from thirty to a hundred or more individuals; and had its headman, who conducted family rites ..... Children of either sex .... were surrounded by a number of mothers, fathers, siblings and grandparents ..."[3]

What could be more similar to the West African family compounds of the societies from which the maroon slaves had been exported than the features of Island Carib "communal houses" described above?

Further, given the presence of Island Carib items in Patwa and probably all the Caribbean creoles of French lexical input[4], as well as the presence of French creole loans in the speech of the Dominican Island Carib, the Saint Vincent and the St. Lucian Island Carib, it

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1951:28. See also pp.29 & 30 for further arguments against any possible Afro-Carib cultural convergence by Taylor.
2. Ibid.; p.28.
3. Taylor, D. M. 1951:28-29
4. See Dalphinis, M. 1979(a).

is more likely that mutual political interest,[1] cultural similarity and genetic convergence provided the background to language convergence between Island Carib and French creole[2] speakers in all the Windward islands.

Taylor's conclusions as to the basically Arawak morphology and syntax of the Island Carib language in Saint Vincent are very relevant to ~~such~~ the study of Island Carib items in Saint Lucian Patwa and other Caribbean creoles of French lexical input:

> "... Black Carib speak a language whose morphology and syntax are mainly Arawak, and whose vocabulary is Ignerian Arawak, with Galibi (Cariban family), Spanish, French and English overlays."[3]

As the Island Carib women were Arawak, any of the children of the original Island Carib invaders would have been highly

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1. On this point Taylor shows some agreement: "... fugitive slaves from the adjacent European colonies. There is every indication that the local Carib Indians looked upon these negroes as freemen, and as useful allies in their struggle against the encroaching tide of French and English aggression." (Taylor, D.M. 1951:138)
2. Some of the items quoted as French loans by Taylor may have been Patwa items brought to the Carib by maroon intermediaries. See pt.III, ch.4 , p.489 and Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b).
   Given the Island Carib hostility to the French, particularly in the early years of their presence in Saint Lucia as between 1640 and 1660 (see p.367ff) it is possible that the relationship was not as conducive to the mutual exchange of loan words as it was between Patwa speaking maroons and the Island Carib in St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Martinique. In Saint Vincent, the Island Carib and later Black Carib relationship to both the French and the English was in fact one of hostility. (Taylor, D. M. 1951:26) In the case of the English hostility was so great that the English exported most of them to Br. Honduras in 1797. (Taylor, D. M. 1951:26) It seems likely that such similar hostility would not have been conducive to the inclusion of French loans in the language of Saint Vincent Black Carib without Patwa-speaking Saint Lucian Maroon intermediaries; nor would English loans figure largely in the Black Carib language for the same reason. There are, in fact, relatively few English loans in Island Carib.
3. Taylor, D. M. 1951:138.

influenced by the morphology and syntax of their Arawak speaking mothers.[1] Lexically, however, the Carib language of their fathers was of a more predominant influence, judging by the mainly Carib lexical items which have been perpetuated in Patwa.

This is of great importance in the consideration of the social, and linguistic influences which have formed a background to the development of Saint Lucian Patwa and other Creole languages within the context of the Atlantic slave trade. Were the influences of African mothers upon the language of more grammatical than lexical importance? Are grammatical structures more resistant to language change than lexical items? Is the whole classification of creole and other languages by their vocabulary merely a superficial one?

The Mandinka and other African language grammatical items[2] which lie at the core of Saint Lucian Patwa grammatical structure,[3] and the mainly Arawakan morphological and syntatic structure of the Island Carib language in Saint Vincent (and probably Saint Lucia), suggests that the grammatical structure of Saint Lucian Patwa may be closely related to its Afro/Carib origins.

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1. Compare the influences of the African languages of African mothers on the Kriul language of their mulatta children by Portuguese fathers in Ziguinchor (pt.1, ch.6.). See also pt.III, ch.4 , p.483ff on the whole question of the importance of 'earlier' languages upon subsequent ones. Such an importance can only be increased where the earlier languages are those of most of the women in a given population.
   Similar historical circumstances may have accounted for the divergence in origin between Beja morphology, which is similar to that of the Cushitic languages of the ~~Omoro~~ Oromo peoples, and the Beja lexicon which indicates non-Cushitic origins. It is possible that past non-Cushitic conquerors of the Beja speaking people were the source of this lexicon. Andrzejewski, B. W. personal communication, S.O.A.S., 1980.
2. Pt.III,ch.7.
3. ~~As well as~~ i.e. the area of Patwa's greatest divergence from French and other European languages. ~~Cf. also the African language influences upon the grammatical structure of Kriul in pt.II, ch.6, p.~~

Language apart, however, Verin's more recent descriptions of Island Carib linguistic and other cultural survivals in Saint Lucia, particularly in La Pointe village and "en bas Choisel"[1](Fr.):

ãba Shwzɛl
"under Choisel" (Patwa)
-'lower Choisel'[2]

are indicative of the Island Carib contribution to the Saint Lucian cultural mosaic. Island Carib pottery (Island Carib and Patwa: kanawi - 'pottery'), for example, was exported to nearby islands from Saint Lucia:

> "... sont vendus dans toute l'île et jadis exportés vers les iles voisines de la Barbade et même de la Martinique ..."[3]

The Carib skill of house building in mud and sticks was also outlined in the building of "cailles fourchés en terre

[i.e. Patwa - kai fushe ã te
"house dig in earth"
'houses made of mud'] .... "[3]

These and comprised two compartments, capable of holding up to fourty people.[3] The latter survived up to ~~about 1600~~ the 17th century when the first Island Carib-European contacts occurred.

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1. Verin, P. 1959:360.
2. See map on p. 362.
3. Verin, P. 1959:356 & 358. Verin also indicates that ... "les petits cases palissadées soient une survivance des muina ou cases caraibes qui se transformèrent au moment des contacts avec les Européens."
   See also Taylor, D. M. 1938:125 who notes that ~~refers to~~: "... the usual but now rare dwelling of the Dominica Island Carib is known as the munan (French spelling) ..." (my underlining).
   See also Breton, R. 1665 who refers to "pallisse, ou pallissade de busches, courara." in p.272 of his "Dictionaire François Caraibe," 1665.
   See also Taylor, D. M. 1951:28 who refers to the Island Carib housing system:
   "Within these, the houses (muenu) of the married couples and their small children were, in the old days clustered about one or two large communal houses (tabui), which served in the day-time as general parlour and workshop, and at night as dormitory for the unmarried. Each 'carbet', as the French called these homesteads, comprised from thirty to a hundred or more individuals; and had its headman ..." (see above.)

Some Black Carib cultural traits, however, if they are not due to adoption of African practices from the early Africans in Saint Lucia, are definitely the result of past Afro-Carib cultural convergence in Saint Lucia, for example, the Saint Lucian practice of keeping the placenta either in talcum powder in a box, usually by the grandmother or mother, or the burying of the placenta under a tree which will subsequently belong to the child:

> "... après l'accouchement, le placenta est soigneusement enterré et un cocotier est planté dans le trou. L'arbre devient propriété perpetuelle de l'enfant, même si le terrain qui porte l'arbre fait l'objet d'une cession."[1]

This practice of burying or keeping the placenta[2] is common to many African ethnic groups, e.g. among the ethnic groups of northern Ghana, where the naval string is guarded:

> "The mother then places it in the shell of a shea-nut, and places this in the wall of her room, generally over the entrance."[3]

Amongst other Ghanaian groups the burial of the placenta is also practised:

> "Among the Gas, according to Field, the placenta is buried in the bath-house; ... among the Gurensis, the placenta is placed in a pot and buried at the foot of the kitchen midden ... among the Kusasis, it is buried in a pot on the compound farm, and covered by another

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1. Verin, P. 1959:358.
2. Brathwaite, E. 1971:213 also refers to this custom in Jamaica.
   "When a child is born, the placenta and naval string were carefully disposed of. 'The mother must guard it carefully and, after three days to a year from the time of birth, must bury it in the ground and plant a young tree over the spot, which henceforth becomes the property of the child and is called his 'navel-string tree'.
   ... The Placenta: ... some say it must be buried under a breadfruit or coconut tree which will then belong to the child ...
   ... The Umbilical cord: This also should be buried and a tree planted over it for the baby."
3. Cardinall, A. W. (undated):70.

pot ... and ~~that~~among the Dagabas [Dagbanes],
it is put in a pot and buried behind the compound."[1]

It is possibly such favourable cultural convergence[2] between the African and Island Carib peoples in Saint Lucia which aided the perpetuation of Island Carib language items in Saint Lucian Patwa.

AFRICANS

Much research has been carried out in the field of the African origins or 'roots' of Africans now in the Americas and the Caribbean.[3] Notwithstanding the scientific value of such research, a brief comment needs to be made upon its limitations. These limitations are evident in the sources themselves, often comprising lists of slaves given names of origin by slavemasters unfamiliar with Africa, and without ~~colla~~*cerro*borative sources of a linguistic and/or historical nature. Added to this, the various meanings of geographical terms related to Africa during this period[4] make scientific verification of these names of origin difficult and, at times, impossible. Within these limitations, however, some degree of scientific comment can be made on the African origins of the St. Lucian slaves.

As suggested by Curtin[5] and ~~collaborated~~ *confirmed* by the researcher's own ~~efforts~~ *evidence*, few sources deal with the actual origin of the St. Lucia slaves.

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1. Kaye, B. 1962:55 fn.1.
2. This area, though being outside the bounds of this study, would be most fruitful ground for detailed anthropological research as other items not mentioned in any detail here, e.g. 'black magic' practices, the pacification of the spirits of the dead, ancestral rites, etc. point to an Afro-Carib cultural convergence greatly underestimated in the otherwise very sound works of Taylor.
3. E.g. Herskovits, M. J. and Hertskovits, F. S. 1933, Curtin, P. D. 1969 and Haley, A. 1976.
4. A geographical term may have had a trade meaning, e.g. Cape Verde referred (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) to Africans from "present day Gambia, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau" rather than *its* actual geographical position. See Curtin, P. D. 1969:103-104.
5. Curtin, P. D., personal communication 1978.

Correspondence from ~~with~~ Prof. R. B. Le Page reiterated this although the latter indicated that he was doing some research in the area.[1]

This absence of direct sources is perhaps related to the history of St. Lucia as an early satellite of Martinique, where early French presence in the Windward Islands was centred. Early importation of Africans into St. Lucia was via Martinique and dated from at least 1640, when Governor Duparquet seized St. Lucia from the Island Carib (see above) which became between 1640 and 1650 the property of the "Compagnie des Isles d'Amerique."[2] By 1654 French success in Martinique prompted a desire to enlarge the French colonial presence in St. Lucia and with it a larger slave presence:

> "... la colonie Françoise dans l'isle de la Martinique ... a si heureusement reüssi, qu'elle puisse maintenant enfanter des nouvelles peuplades qu'elle a desia[sic.]déchargée dans les isles de la Grenade, et de Sainte Alousie ..."[3]

An analysis of the origins of Africans in Martinique is therefore likely to be broadly indicative of the origins of the early St. Lucian Africans. According to Du Tertre they were of origins which reflected the areas of French presence in Western Africa, i.e.:

> "... des costes[sic.]d'Angole, de Guynee ou de Cap vert[sic.] ..."[4]

Given the earlier French presence on the Upper Guinea Coast (Senegambia) especially in the areas now covered by Senegal and The Gambia,[5] it is not unlikely that Du Tertre has indicated the origins of the Africans in reverse chronological order. His later statement ~~at~~ as to the prior disappointment of the French colonists with Islamic Africans from "Cap-Vert" (see below) would also suggest this:

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1. Le Page, R. B., personal communication, 1979.
2. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):1 & 1979(b).
3. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:69.
4. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:474.
5. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 155. See also Curtin, P. D. 1969, chs. 4 &5.

> "Ceux qui viennent du Cap-Vert sont Mahomatans, mais si stupides et ignorans ... Nos habitans estimant beaucoup plus les negres d'Angole que ceux du Cap-Vert, tant pour la force du corps, que pour l'addresse en tout ce qu'ils entreprennent."[1]

The fact that St. Lucia was owned by the "Compagnie des Isles d'Amerique"[2] which had transformed its Senegambian assets into "La Compagnie du Senegal"[3] and which also named St. Lucia's governors until 1674, may itself be suggestive of a predominance of Senegambian slaves amongst the Africans first imported into Martinique and St. Lucia:

> "... cette derniere Compagnie ... a toûjours[sic.] nommé des Gouverneurs à Sainte Alousie jusques en l'an 1674."[4]

Senegambia has also been suggested as the earliest main source for the French Caribbean slaves:

> "... les anciennes zones de recrutement [des esclaves]: ... Sénégal, le Cap Vert, le pays des Rivieres du Sud, c'est-à-dire toute la côte occidentale d'Afrique au nord de la Sierra-Leone, paraissent des points épuisés."[5]

In the following slave list the Senegambian origins of the early French Caribbean slaves including those of Martinique and St. Lucia ~~is~~ are also suggested:

> "... peut-être la plus ancienne liste d'esclaves de la traite française."[6]

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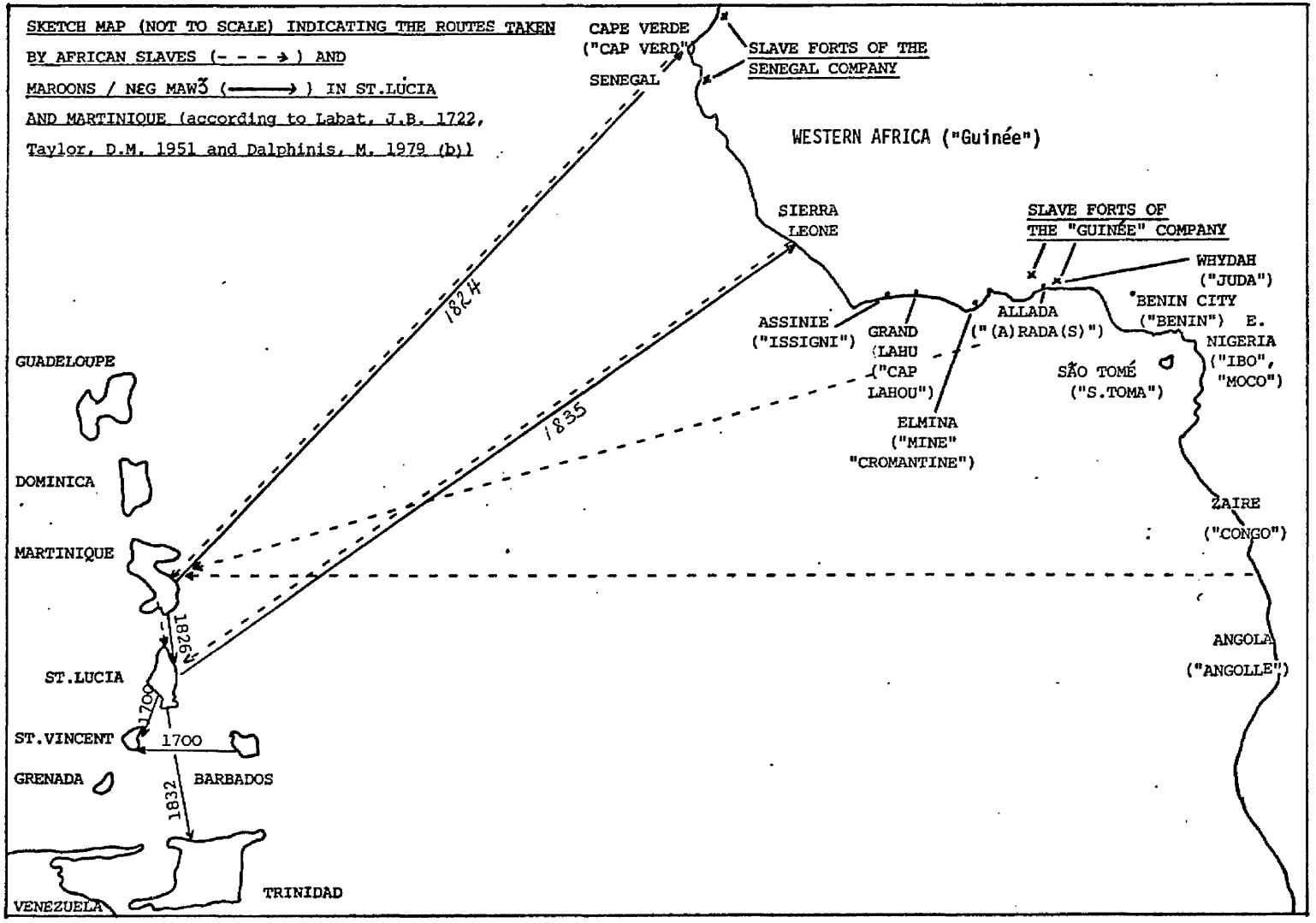
1. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:474 & 475.
2. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):1 & 1979(b).
3. Ly, A. 1958:118.
4. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol. IV, 460.
5. Debien, G. 1967:544.
6. According to Delafosse, M. and Debien, G. 1965:319.

The list describes a number of slaves brought from Cap Vert to Le Havre on the 24th September 1677.

"No.	Noms	Noms Retablis[1]	Age	Taille
1	Sambaré		23 ans	5 pieds 3 pouces
2	Gamby		19 "	5 " 3 "
3	Manhuel		22 "	5 " 5 "
4	Sansiques		20 "	5 " 5 "
5	Colas		24 "	5 " 7 "
6	Samba Guiaye	Samba Gaye	22 "	5 " 5 "
7	Mallyguiaye	Malik Gaye	26 "	5 " 4 "
8	Diamba Guiama	Demba Thiam	25 "	5 " 6 "
9	Comtisilla	Conté Sylla	24 "	5 " 6 "
10	Ianoir Secq	Anouar Secq	23 "	5 " 6 "
11	Dianbaguaingue	Demba Gning	25 "	5 " 6 " ... " 2

1. Ibid; Names reconstructed "pour la plus grande part ..." by M. Mokhar Diop.
2. See Delafosse, M. and Debien, G. 1965:319.


SKETCH MAP (NOT TO SCALE) INDICATING THE ROUTES TAKEN BY AFRICAN SLAVES (- - - →) AND MAROONS / NÈG MAWÒ (——→) IN ST.LUCIA AND MARTINIQUE (according to Labat, J.B. 1722, Taylor, D.M. 1951 and Dalphinis, M. 1979 (b))
CAPE VERDE ("CAP VERD")
SENEGAL
SLAVE FORTS OF THE SENEGAL COMPANY
WESTERN AFRICA ("Guinée")
SIERRA LEONE
SLAVE FORTS OF THE "GUINÉE" COMPANY
WHYDAH ("JUDA")
BENIN CITY ("BENIN")
E. NIGERIA ("IBO", "MOCO")
ASSINIE ("ISSIGNI")
GRAND LAHU ("CAP LAHOU")
ALLADA ("(A)RADA(S)")
SÃO TOMÉ ("S.TOMA")
ELMINA ("MINE" "CROMANTINE")
ZAIRE ("CONGO")
ANGOLA ("ANGOLLE")
1824
1835
GUADELOUPE
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
1826
ST.LUCIA
1700
ST.VINCENT
1700
GRENADA
BARBADOS
1832
TRINIDAD
VENEZUELA

Labat[1] also gives references to the origins of the slaves in the French Caribbean, and particularly in Martinique.[2] These references can be correlated to present day references to West Africa with some degree of certainty: (see above)

PAST NAMES	PRESENT NAMES
Juda en Guinée	Dahomey[3] (now called Bénin)
S. Toma	São Tome
Cap-Verd	Cape Verde (Senegal) Cape Verde Islands
Arda	Dahomey[4] (now called Bénin)
Aradas	Arda[5] in Dahomey
Congo	Congo
Mine	Mina; Elmina (Ghana)
Sénégal	Sénégal
Angolle	Angola
Issigni	Assini (Ghana)[6]
Benin	Benin (city)
Guynée, Guinée, Guinea[7]	Upper Guinea Coast, i.e. Senegambia and/or Western Africa in general (see below)

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722.
2. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, ch.7.
3. Fage, J. D. 1958:27.
4. Wilson, D. A. 1972:22.
5. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, 135: "d'Arda et de Juda. Nous appelons Aradas les Negres qui viennent de cette Cote,..."
6. Tooley, R. V. 1969: plate 43.
7. The English variant was found in documents related to St. Lucia's periods of British domination. See, for example, the Registry of Plantation slaves for St. Lucia, 1815, P.R.O., document no.T71, piece no.379.

See map on p.382.

Despite this wide range of origins of the French Caribbean slaves, certain origins were probably more frequent than others due to the geographical position of the two main French forts around which the French centred their slave trade activities, namely, "Les Compagnies de Guinée et de Sénégal". These two forts, via which about two thousand[1] slaves were exported by 1698 to the French Caribbean (according to Labat's estimate), would have facilitated the exportation of the Africans within the catchment area[1] of their forts and "Comptoirs" (trading stations):

> "... celle de Sénégal à les siens a la riviere[sic.] de Sénégal, de Gambie et aux environs, et celle de Guinée à les siens à Benin, Juda, Arda et autres lieux de cette côte."[2] (1698)

Even the different skills of Africans from the Senegambia, as compared to Africans from Dahomey (Bénin) and elsewhere, appear under two of the main categories of the French Caribbean slaves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Africans exported via the Guinée (Dahomey, Benin) trading station company are described as follows:

> "Les Negres ... sont les meilleurs pour le travail de terre et autres gros ouvrages." (1698)

Africans so described were likely to have become field slaves ('field-niggers'/esclaves de terre) in the Caribbean, in contrast to Africans exported via the Senegal (Senegal and Gambia) trading station who were described as being more suited to the work of house slaves ('house-niggers'/esclaves de maison):

> "... ceux du Cap-Verd, et du Senegal, ne sont pas si forts, mais ils sont plus propres pour le service d'une maison et pour apprendre des métiers..."[3] (1698)

The prior disappointment of some French settlers with Senegambian slaves (see above) evidently changed to that of appreciation of their

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1. This catchment area at times extended far inland, into Manding (the Mandinka trade empire), for example, in the case of the Senegambian "comptoir". See Curtin, P. D. 1969:103-104.
2. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 115.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.VII, p.116.

skills. Although such opinions about the slaves are obviously based on the particular prejudices of the observer, they may not be unrelated to a number of social factors, e.g. the rewarding of the earlier Senegambian slaves, by making them house slaves, and the use of new slaves not yet schooled in the ways of slave-society as field slaves.

These prejudices are also suggestive of the pattern of slave imports into the French Caribbean including Martinique and St. Lucia (by 1698): from the following areas in West Africa (modern names are given), and in the suggested chronological order:

(i) Senegal/Gambia
(ii) Angola
(iii) Dahomey (Bénin)

The main ethno-linguistic groups from these areas, and therefore the most likely to have been brought from these areas into Martinique and St. Lucia (by 1698), are as follows:

AREA	MAIN ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS
(i) Senegal/Gambia	Wolof, Mandinka [1]
(ii) Angola	Kongo[2] and Umbundu
(iii) Dahomey (Bénin)	Ewe/Fõn etc.

The choice of the above as the main African ethno-linguistic groups in seventeenth century Martinique and St. Lucia is also based on the perpetuation of items from these languages, e.g. from Umbundu in synchronic Patwa.[3]

Patwa oral literature also provides some supportive evidence for this suggested chronological outline of the importation of Africans in St. Lucia:

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1. Both also discussed in pt.I, ch.1 and pt.II, ch.1.
2. Kongo peoples are likely to have been few in number during the seventeenth century in contrast to their higher representation in the French Caribbean during the eighteenth century. See Curtin, P. D. 1969:170.
3. See pt.III, chs. 5 & 6.

"Older Negroes in the rural population in St. Lucia recognise themselves as being either negre Guinee [Patwa nɛg Jine]or negre Congo[Patwa nɛg Kɔngo]"[1]

The term nɛg Jine is more widespread. This would suggest that Africans imported via the "Compagnie de Guinée" (see above) were either more numerous than the nɛg Kɔngo, (probably exported via the region just south of the Congo mouth), or that the nɛg Jine were imported later than the nɛg Kɔngo. The crucial problem is that Patwa jine, Fr. Guinée and Eng. Guinea, meant different geographical areas at different periods of Western African history:

"'Guinea' has always been an unstable concept. Early in the sixteenth century it referred to the whole western coast of Africa from Senegal to the Orange River. Here[with reference to the Spanish slave trade 1551-1640]it can be taken to include the whole east-west coast from around Cape Mount or the Sierra Leone River to the Bight of Benin".[2]

However, Labat is quite specific about the geographical dimensions of Guinée i.e. as separate from both Cape Verd on the Upper Guinea coast, and the rest of the Western coast of Africa, as being centred around Juda in Dahomey (now Bénin) as well as in ethno-linguistic terms:

"... la Côte de Guinée et de toute cette partie d'Afrique, qui est depuis le Cap-Verd, jusqu'a celui de Bonne-Esperance...[1698]... de Guinée à les siens à Benin, Juda, Arda et autres lieux de cette côte.

... La plus étenduë de toutes ces Langues ... est celle qui se parle au Royaume d'Arda et de Juda. Nous appelons Aradas les Negres qui viennent de cette Côte, et j'ay vû que tous ceux des environs de ce païs à soixante ou quatre-vingt lieuës à l'Est à l'Ouest, entendoient ou parloient[sic.]la Langue ..."[3]

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1. Simmons, H. F. C. in Braithwaite, E. (ed.) 1963:45.
2. Curtin, P. D. 1969:101 & 104.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 115 & 135.

Although "et autres lieux de cette cote" (above) is suggestive of an "unstable" use of the term 'Guinée" by Labat, the focus on the Ewe/Fõn and Twi/Fante ethnolinguistic groups in Martinique during the same period is probably not unrelated to the greater exportation of the above ethnolinguistic groups who were then described as "Guinee" Africans (Patwa nɛg Jine).[1] The term Jine/Guinée is unlikely to have referred to the Upper Guinea Coast which was then described as "Cap Vert" (above). On the basis of the above evidence it is suggested that the nɛg Jine were imported into Martinique and Saint Lucia both in larger numbers than the nɛg Kongo, and at a later date. The fact that a general shift occurred in the importation of slaves into the Americas from the Upper Guinea Coast during the early sixteenth century, to Angola during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries[2], does not affect the argument, for although greater numbers of 'Kongo' slaves were exported to the French Caribbean during the seventeenth century the Martiniquan and the St. Lucian planters did not want them in 1698, after having tried them in 1654.[3]

Although Curtin gives historical reasons for the early high exportation of Senegambian slaves of Wolof origin and of Angolan slaves, he indicates that:

> "The high numbers drawn from present-day Guinea-Bissau ... require an explanation that is not yet available."[4]

It is suggested here that Mandinka expansion in Casamance, coupled with Balanta aggression, provide an explanation for the high numbers of prisoners of war thus made available to the Atlantic slave trade.[5]

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1. This itself may have been the result of a wish by Martinique planters to import more slaves for work in the fields (esclaves de terre) after their wish for esclaves de maison had been satisfied by the earlier importation of Senegambian slaves. See p. 384 Note also Curtin, P. D. 1969:182. Cf. the use of the term Guinea to refer to Africa by the descendents of Twi/Fante speakers in Jamaica: Dalby, D. 1971.
2. Curtin, P. D. 1969:108-109.
3. See p. 380.
4. Ibid: pp.102-103.
5. See pt.I, ch.1, pp. 60 & 61; 66 & 67.

Labat refers to Wolof, Manding, Kongo, Ewe/Fon and other African ethnic groups in Martinique, mainly in terms of their cultural practices, e.g.:

> "Ceux du Cap-Verd et de Gambie ont encore des danses particulieres." (1698)

Senegambian Wolof and Manding were mainly distinguished, however, in being Muslims amongst non-Muslim slaves, as well as by their non acceptance of Christianity:

> "Presque tous les Negres sont Idolâtres. Il n'y a que ceux des environs du Cap Verd, dont quelques sont Mahometans ... ils n'embrassent jamais la Religion Chrétienne."[1] (1698)

The presence of the Mandinka hunter's lute bolong[2] in seventeenth century Martinique is suggestive of a distinctive Mandinka presence:

> "Ils joüent presque tous d'une espece de guitarre, qui est faite d'une moitié de callebasse couverte d'un cuir raclé en forme de parchemin, avec un manche assez long. Ils n'y mettent que quatre cordes de soye ou de pitte, ou de boyaux d'oiseaux sechez, ... les cordes sont élévees d'un bon pouce[3] au dessus de la peau qui couvre la callebasse, par le moyen d'un chevalet. Ils en joüent en pincant et en battant ...."[4] (1698)

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, 158 & 136.
2. The Mandinka term for a small harp-lute, very much like the kora, both of which are Manding instruments. The bɔlɔng, unlike the kora, is a non-caste instrument and is therefore likely to be mastered by more people from Manding societies (including those of Casamance) than the Kora, which is the instrument of the musician caste (jeli). See booklet issued in connection with the 1972 conference on Manding (Focus on an African Civilisation), S.O.A.S., 1972 : 26-27.
3. Note that if this instrument was a guitar ~~that~~ the strings would not be raised at least ~~three inches, i.e.~~ "un bon pouce" above the resonating chamber.
4. Labat, J. B. 1722 vol.IV, 159.

In Martinique Kongo slaves were similarly distinguishable by their dances, at least according to Labat:

> "Les Negres de Congo ont une danse ... Les danseurs hommes et femmes se mettent en rond ..."[1] (1698)

It is the religious beliefs of the Ewe/Fõn which differentiated them as one of definite ancestors of the St. Lucian slaves; the vudu (Vodun)[2] worship of the Dahomeans in which consultation with a snake-god[3] takes place was referred to by Labat in connection with the Ewe/Fon in Martinique:

> "... a Juda dans le tems que ces Peuples faisoient la grande Fête pour consulter le serpant."[4] (1698)

Indeed, the importance of Ewe/Fõn as widely used language(s) of inter-ethnic communication in the kingdoms of "Arda" and "Juda" during the same period may well have aided the perpetuation of this/these language(s) within the French Caribbean context:

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722 vol.IV, 158.
   Note that this style of dancing in a circle is possibly one of the ancestors of a present-day Martiniquan dance where participants stand clapping in a circle while two of them enter into the circle, each hopping and holding the other by one hand only (usually the right). Each 'dancer' tries to throw the other over while 'hopping' together to the beat of accompanying drums. The one who falls or makes use of both feet joins the circle of clapping onlookers and a new competitor leaves the circle to 'hop' with the victor. This dance is unknown in St. Lucia.
2. Cf Patwa vudu - 'magic' in Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):8.
3. See Herskovits, M. J. & Herskovits, F. S. 1964:56-59.
   The Herskovits' remark that the snake God Aido Hwedo: "stands also for the personification of all the unknown gods who preceded those with whom Dahomean tradition begins." This would suggest that vudu and other African practices, which survived in the Caribbean, were often older, well established African practices rather than recent cultural acquisitions which could have been abandoned by the Africans with greater psychological ease.
4. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, 121.

"Cette multiplicité d'Etats differens [sic.] produit une grande diversité de langages ... La plus éntenduë de toutes ces langages ... est celle qui se parle au Royaume d'Arda et de Juda."[1] (1698)

It is therefore likely that Ewe/Fon was of some importance in the development of Patwa.[2] In fact, Labat's description of this language could well be a description of Patwa, or any other African/creole language, by a non-linguist:

"Les verbes n'ont que trois tems[sic.], le present, le passé et le futur. Les noms ne se declient point."[3] (1698)

Cf.Patwa, in which the neutral (unmarked), past te and future ka/kai tense/aspects are of crucial importance to the verbal system, while Patwa nouns also do not decline (i.e. make use of any morphological inflections).[4]

The presence of Akan slaves, probably exported via the slave fort at Elmina, is also referred to:

"Les Negres de la côte de la Mine yi sont fort sujets; ils se desesperent, se pendent, se coupent la gorge ..."[5] (1694)

Language evidence also seems to suggest an African presence established earlier than approximately 1694. In Martinique, for example, Labat makes reference to creole French in 1698 as well as his observation on its origins:

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, 135.
2. This bears out the remarks of Comhaire Sylvian on the Ewe syntatic structure of Haitian creole; Comhaire Sylvian, S. 1936:178. Note also the comment of Harold F. C. Simmons on St. Lucian folktales: "It is significant that some of the stories are similar to a recent publication by Melville and Frances Herskovits A Dahomean Narrative ... They speak of a creator, gods and spirits, tigers, lions, elephants, abductions, vast hordes of precious gems and metals." Simmons, H. F. C. in Brathwaite, E. (ed.) 1963:49.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, 136.
4. See pt.III, ch.2, p.429.
5. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.I, 446.

"Toi, tenir esprit, ... mais toi, bête, pour petits hiches-là [sic.]..."[1] (1698)

"Lorsqu'ils viennent un peu âgez dans le Païs ils n'apprennent jamais bien le François, et n'ont qu'un baragouïn de plus plaisant et le plus naturel du monde ..."[2] (1698)

Given that by about 1767 Martiniquan slaves were, in the main, Creoles, i.e. born in Martinique[3] (and by Labat's criteria should at least have been established creole French speakers), it seems likely that the creole French quoted by Labat in 1698 owes at least its grammatical origins to slaves imported earlier than 1698[4], i.e. Senegambian slaves (see above).

However it is possibly in becoming maroons (Fr. marronage) that both the Martiniquan and St. Lucian slaves ~~have~~ ensured their ~~most~~ common ancestry. 'Marronage' to Saint Lucia by Martiniquan slaves between 1826 and 1834[5] was probably preceded by earlier 'marronage' in St. Lucia alone by the St. Lucian slaves, and by 'marronage' in Martinique alone by Martiniquan slaves, e.g.:

"... souvent à s'enfuïr [sic.] dans les bois et à se rendre marons ..."[6] (1698)

Marronage inside Martinique also involved slaves who remained on the plantation, who at times aided the maroon slaves (Patwa nɛg mawɔ̃) "negro maroon":

"Quand quelqu'un de leurs amis est maron, ils le retirent et le cachent dans leurs cases ..."

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722 vol.IV, 168.
2. Labat, J. B. 1722 vol.IV, 169.
3. Houdaille, J., Massio, G. and Debien, G. 1963:227.
4. That is unless we assume that creole French was being formed at about the same time that Labat refers to it. Note also Labat's reference to Martinique creole in 1695, used by a slave woman to a priest: "toi pamli" - 'You are her/his father'. [lit. "you(sing.) father her/him"]
   Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.II, 124.
5. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):4 & 1979(b):2-7.
6. Labat, J. B. 1722, vol.IV, 151.

'Marronage' in Martinique was a well-organised affair necessitating camouflage of buildings where the maroons hid:

> "Ils en ferment l'entrée d'une maniere[sic.]si juste, et la couverent de leur bagage si naturellement, qu'il semble qu'il y a très long-temps[sic.]qu'on n'a pas approché de cet endroit-là[sic.]."[1] (1698)

'Marronage', both in Saint Lucia and in Martinique, may well have been the inspiration of earlier Senegambian slaves in Saint Lucia, for although St. Lucia had been inhabited by the French since 1640, the French settlers had been harrassed by the frequent Carib attacks resulting in the deaths of their governors:

> "... sieur de la Riviere[killed by the Caribs at the end of 1654 and]
> sieur Hacquet ... tué par les mêmes sauvages en 1656."[2]

Added to these were the frequent attacks of the British, for example, in 1657.[3] Any early slaves imported into the colony could well have taken advantage of these problems which took so much of the attention of their masters and used the occasion as an opportunity to become maroons.

In Martinique, on the other hand, as 'marronage' was also feasible not only for the same reasons, but also due to the abundance of animal and vegetable foods in the woods of Martinique:

> "Il est de ces Negres Marons qui demeurent les années entieres dans les bois et dans les montagnes qui sont au milieu de l'Isle ... ils trouvent abondamment de quoi vivre ... dans les bois d'ignames et de choux caraibes sauvages ni de choux palmistes. Ils pêchent à la main dans les rivieres, ils prennent de gros lézards, des crabes et des toulourons tant qu'ils veulent."[4]

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1. Labat, J. B. 1722 vol.IV, 173.
2. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, 452.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.IV, ch.19.
4. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol.I, 133.
   The possibility of Afro-Carib convergence during 'marronage' in language is examined in pt.III, ch.4.

Martiniquan maroons may well have been escaped "esclaves de terre" and consquently mainly of Ewe/Fõn origin (see above):

> "Il est possible même que les domestiques et compagnons d'artisans que décrivent les marons soient en grande nombre d'ancien esclaves de terre." [1] (his underlining)

In fact the tradition of Ewe/Fon 'field work' even up to 1767 is suggested in the following extract from the slave list of

> "... la sucrerie de l'Anse-à-l'Ane auprès des Trois-Ilets appartenait aux Rochouart in[Martinique]...

NO.	NOM	NATION	EMPLOI	AGE
15	Hector	Arada	de terre	45-
16	Pierrot	Mine	-	48-
17	Nicolas	Arada	-	48- "

None of the Creole (i.e. Africans born in the Caribbean) majority at the same "sucrerie" were similarly employed in 'field-work':

"	1	Jean-Baptiste	Creole	25 ans
	2	Modeste	Creole	20-
	3	Noel	-	38-
	4	Gillot	-	37- " [2]

Should this tradition of Ewe/Fõn 'field work' have lasted up to the period of high 'marronage' into St. Lucia by Martiniquan slaves i.e. between 1826 and 1834,[3] the possible importance of Ewe/Fõn as well as Mandinka,[4] influences upon St. Lucian Patwa, is suggested.

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1. Debien, G. 1967:544.
2. Houdaille, J., Massio, R. & Debien, G. 1963:226-227.
3. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):4 & 1979(b).
4. e.g. in Dalphinis, M. 1979(a):8. See also pt.III, ch. 6.

However, as suggested by historical linguistic theory, it is often the first language or languages encountered by a given group[1] which are of predominant influence upon later language development. Earlier Mandinka-influenced Patwa is therefore more likely to have loaned lexical items such as vudu (<Ewe/Fõn vodũ)[2] rather than to have altered its basically Mandinka influenced grammatical structure to suit the historically later Ewe/Fõn and other language influences.

Martiniquan maroons of mulatto origins, possibly more familiar with French than the other slaves, may have reinforced French influences in Patwa. Before 1674, Martiniquan mulattos were by status of birth, and on reaching 24 years of age, automatically free, but, by royal decree, in 1674: they were then to be considered unfree and enslaved:

> "Declaration de la Romaine ... les Mulâtres provenans d'une mere [sic.] esclave soient aussi esclaves."[3] (1695)

It seems likely that such a disillusioned section of Martiniquan society would have extended the marronage the authorities feared they would undertake in Martinique as a result of this change in the law, to as far as St. Lucia:

> "... qu'ils aillent marons, on peut ... les traite commes les esclaves noirs, c'est-à-dire qu'on leur coupe les oreilles la seconde fois qu'on les met en prison pour marronage ..." [4] (1695)

Although the available Saint Lucian sources[5] for 1788-1790 are not very indicative of ethnic origins of Martiniquan maroons in St. Lucia, they underline the beginning of the Martinico-Saint Lucian maroon route which became established in later years:[6]

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1. ~~This also holds in the case of individuals, as it is the first language(s) encountered by children which is/are adopted by them as their mother tongue(s).~~ See Chomsky, N. 1965:27-37.
2. See p. 389, fn. 2.
3. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol. II, 133.
4. Labat, J. B. 1722:vol. II, 134-135
5. See bibliography pp. 579-598.
6. Described in Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b).

" Nom	Nation	Age	Signalement
Lagodiere			appartenant ci-devant à M Bergevin, négociant au Lametin, Martinique. Maroon depuis 6 ans. Ses allures sont aux environs de ce quartier. Aujourd'hui a M. Tanaïs, négociant au Fort-Royal, qui donnera 3 moèdes.
Jeannette	créole	25 ans	du Prêcheur, de la Martinique, 4p. 8p. Marron depuis le 18 Mars. A Mme Abadie de Saint-Pierre, rue Sainte-Marthe, no 166 ..."[1]

Such 'marronage' was possibly not without its St. Lucian helpers:

> "Les Negres sont fort habiles à conduire ces petits bâtimens-la; ils traversent même souvent à deux, de Sainte-Lucie à la Martinique."[2]

Although the development of this Martinique-St. Lucia maroon (1826-1834) route has been previously described[3], one of the main causes of 'marronage' into St. Lucia by Martiniquan slaves during this period was not indicated, namely, the French Revolution and the slave uprising it brought in its wake. Poor whites, soldiers and African slaves became united under the banner of "la déclaration des droits de l'homme ..."[4]

They ruined, killed and chased away a number of the planters:

> "... le bruit de l'insurrection des soldats se repandit dans les campagnes ... le funestre exemple de l'insurrection des soldats avoient produit un grand derangement parmi les esclaves. Ils etoient en insurrection dans plusieurs quartiers ... Trente mille esclaves eussent suivi l'armée des

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1. Gazette de Sainte Lucie (1788-1790), for 4th May 1790.

   See Delafosse, M. & Debien, G. 1965:324-328.
2. Chardon, D. M. A. 1779:30.
3. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b).
4. Mémoire de M de Damas, Gouverneur de la Martinique sur les Troubles de Cette Colonie, 1791:16 (see also pp.10 & 2.)

See p.593 of the bibliography.

colons sans qu'on eut pu l'empecher, et rien
n'eut pu resister à la violence de ce torrent."

In St. Lucia the ideals of the French Revolution of 1789 were welcomed and the island and its main towns/quarters were renamed in the image of the revolution:

"Nous bénissons la revolution, nous admirons la constitution qu'elle nous a donnée nous la regardons comme le plus bel ouvrage qui soit jamais sorti de la main des hommes, nous jurons tous de vivre, de combattre et de mourir pour la défendre."[1]

"St. Lucie = St. Lucie La Fidèle (because St. Lucia welcomed the Revolution)
Castries = Ville et Quartier de la Félicité
Anse-La-Raye = Ville et Quartier de l'Égalité....
Vieux-Fort = Ville et Quartier de la Loi....
Gros-Islet = Ville et Quartier de la Revolution...."

Although the British took St. Lucia in 1794, so entrenched was the revolutionary message, especially amongst the slaves, that in ~~1875~~ 1795 the British were driven out by invading French forces and St. Lucian revolutionaries, probably including maroons (neg mawɔ̃.) The St. Lucian 'Reign of Terror' began thus:

"Estates were pillaged. White planters were murdered. Several towns and villages were ransacked and burnt down ... a guillotine was erected at Soufrière."

By 1796, however, British invasion brought this period to a close, although after the establishment of the ideas of the French Revolution. Indeed, so entrenched had these ideas become that even after the official surrender of the French forces:

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1. "Addresse des Planteurs et Citoyens de l'Isle Sainte-Lucie à M de Damas, Gouverneur et à l'Assemblée Coloniale de la Martinique", 1791:2. See p. 593 of the bibliography.

"... insurgent negroes had taken themselves off to the hills where they formed 'L'Armée Française dans les bois'."[1]

This guerilla army, including nèg mawó, was effective and did not surrender till 1797 after having, amongst other things:

"... destroyed by fire and sword seven-eighths of the estates, eight out of 11 parishes; they slaughtered, after raping the women, more than 85 families of all colours ..."[2]

In Martinique the insurrection was also quelled and the planters counted their casualties:

"... dévastées ... la colonie est ruinée pour long-tems; les planteurs ont épuisé toutes leurs ressources [sic.] dans cette longue lutte."[3]

The casualties of the slaves themselves were reflected in the repressive measures which followed for those who had participated in this and subsequent slave revolts. Deportation utilised the trade route already established between Martinique and Dakar as past French political and economic centres in the Caribbean and West Africa respectively[4].

Reports of particularly rebellious Martiniquan slaves being shipped back to Senegal and Goree, during the years 1824-25, reinforce the importance of this route for French slave-trading to the Caribbean:

"... des individus de couleur libres qui ont été jugés par le Conseil Spécial de Gouvernement, soit comme prévenus de machination et de complots, tendant à la révolte, soit comme perturbateurs dangereux, dont la déportation a été reconnu

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1. Gachet, C. 1795:66-74.
2. According to a letter from the St. Lucian planters in Paris to the "Citoyens Consuls" dated 6th. March 1800; "Archives du Ministere des Colonies", Reg. 49 Guadeloupe, folio 110-114, 1796, and the research notes and documents of C. Gachet at the Archives of the Catholic Church, Castries, St. Lucia.
3. "Memoire de M de Damas, Gouverneur de la Martinique sur les Troubles de Cette Colonie", 1791:12-13.
4. See p. 380 and the map on p. 382

indispensable, pour le maintien de l'orde dans la Colonie ..."[1]

Some of them were deported to France, for example, number 4 on the list:

"Hilaire Laborde ... Signalé aussi comme l'un des chefs du complot ..."[2]

The majority were however deported to Senegal or Goree:

"Dans l'application provisoire qui a été faite de cette ordonnance aux îles de la Martinique et de Guadeloupe ... en ce qui concerne le lieu où les esclaves doivent être transférés, c'est le Sénégal qui a été désigné pour recevoir les esclaves des antilles qu'il servat reconnu nécessaire d'éloigner de ces colonies."[3]

Martiniquan maroon influxes into Saint Lucia in 1826 were also due to repressive measures, including deportation to Senegal, Goree and France,[4] undertaken by Martiniquan planters, in the face of well organised revolts on the part of the Martiniquan slaves.

An analysis of some of the remarks ("renseignements"[4]), on 44 deported leaders of slave revolts in Martinique, suggests previous contact with revolutionary ideas from St. Domingo (Dominican Republic)[5], for example:

"Hilaire Laborde ... avait été à St. Domingue, d'ou il a apporté les plus mauvais principaux."[6]

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1. Deportees de la Martinique 1824-1825; National Archives, Dakar, document no. K3, piece no.2, p.1.
2. Ibid. Of a list of Martiniquans so deported, five of them (i.e. nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 & 6 on this list) were deported to France, the rest were sent to Senegal or Goree.
3. Document no. K3, piece no.10, which includes a letter from the Navy and Colonial Minister, Paris, 1826.
4. ~~Ibid.~~ Idem.
5. And, indirectly, the Haitian revolution (1791-1803). See James, C. L. R. 1963 for an excellent analysis of this revolution.
6. Document no. K3, piece no.10. No.4 on this document, deported in 1823.

"Frederic Montannies due Montrez ... avait été ... à St. Dominigue."[1]

"Edward Nouille ... a été à St. Domingue, d'ou il a rapporte des principes dangereux pour la Colonie."[2]

As well as being a part of a general revolutionary movement in the French-held Caribbean islands, such a movement in Martinique must have involved the vast majority of the slaves, given the fact that the 44 deported were all leaders of revolts and feared for their activism and organisational ability among the other slaves, e.g.:

"Pierre Monthieux ... homme dangereux ... d'un charactère plein d'audace, capable d'oudir un complot et de mette à exécution."[3]

"Elie Noëlmons ... lié avec les agitateurs d'une grande arrogance."[4]

It is interesting to note that those most feared for such influential organisational ability had first been deported to France[5] prior to deportation to Senegal and Goree, e.g. numbers 1, 2 and 3 of those deported:

"[No.1:] ... le plus influense de la clane des gens de couleur de S. Pierre ... arrivé de France ..."[6]

"[No.2:] ... ayant reuni chez lui tous ceux qui dans ces dernières événments ont été designés comme les chefs des agitateurs ..."

"[No.3:] ... Arrivé aussi de France ... c'est après son retour ici que les conciliabules ont repris une grande activité."[7]

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1. Ibid. No.7 on this document and deported in 1823.
2. Ibid. No.9 of this document, deported in 1823.
3. Ibid. No.30 of this document, deported in 1824.
4. Ibid. No.32 of this document, deported in 1824.
5. This prior deportation to France may well have been for more intensive interrogation. Note that the first leader of the Haitian revolution, Toussaint l'Ouverture, when captured, was deported to France by Napoleon.
6. Document no. K3, piece no.10.
7. Idem.

It was, however, the maroon links of these slave revolts in Martinique itself which precipitated the influx of maroons into Saint Lucia, in order to escape the repressive measures of the Martiniquan planters, e.g.:

> "Borry Jean Baptiste ... s'est tenu caché pendant deux ans parcequ'il avait tué un homme en duel."[1]

Although the latter's marronage could be interpreted purely in terms of evading a charge of murder,[2] that of "Edward Nouille"[3] can only be interpreted in terms of the maroon links of the Martiniquan slave revolts:

> "Six mois de detention pour soupcon d'enlèvement de nègres marrons..."[3]

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1. Ibid. No.38 on this list, deported in 1824.
2. It is unlikely that Borry Jean Baptiste would have been deported purely on a murder charge .

3. Document no.K3, piece no.10, no.9 on the list.
   Note also the very pertinent remarks of Bebel-Gisler, D. 1976:65-66, who indicates how the term neg mawɜ̃ became synonymous with 'bad person', 'bandit' and other negative associations in Martiniquan creole, i.e. because of the very anti-French and anti-planter activities of the past maroons and the pro-French ideology of those who ~~would like~~ wished to see such achievements discredited.

The anti-European sentiments of many of these slave-leaders were evident, e.g.:

> "Perdez Jean Joseph du Berne ... a été condammé ... pour injure envers les blancs."[1]
>
> "Pierre Monthieux ... Indolent enemi jurée des blancs."[2]
>
> "Elie Noëlmons ... Dangereux par sa mauvaise tete ses mauvaises despositions envers les blancs ..."

Such sentiments may have been responded to by repressive measures more severe than deportation and prompted their marronage to Saint Lucia.

If the 'crimes' of sexual relations with white women were indeed true, and not part of planters' fear and fantasy, it is probable that so severe a punishment as deportation for such sexual crimes may have had wider psychological dimensions outside those of law enforcement alone, e.g.:

> "Jean Charles ... a cohabité avec sa maitresse blanche."[3]
>
> "Remy du Buchicher ... cohabité avec une fille blanche, dont il a plusieurs enfans, mécontent des lois[sur]... la distinctions des couleurs ..."[4]

In the face of repression by planters ~~repression~~, and possibly of revenge for slave ~~their~~ revolts, marronage to Saint Lucia[5] would have been the most feasible strategy.

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1. Document no. K3, piece no.10, no.8 on the document, deported in 1823.
2. Ibid, no.30. Note also no.38 "... caractère arrogant surtout avec les blancs ...", deported in 1824; no.35 "... plein de haine pour les blancs .....", deported in 1824.
3. Ibid; no.22 on the document, deported in 1824.
4. Ibid; no.23 on the document.
5. Note also a later reference to Martiniquan marronage to Saint Lucia in 1834 in Bebel-Gisler, D. 1976:49-50 "Fuite de nombreux esclaves vers les îles de Saint-Vincent et de Sainte-Lucie." This suggests that repression and revolt in Martinique may have extended over a longer period.

The Senegambian origin of a number of French Caribbean slaves between 1818-30 is also indicated by the origins of slaves found in vessels seized off the Senegambian coast for slave-trading, and forced to abandon their contents in St. Louis (Senegal), e.g.:

> "Aujourd'huis[sic.]Vingt huit Avril Mil huit cent dix huit ... nous sommes - transportés dans les magasins de Capitaine Canon ... pour y dressés au Etat nominatif des noirs Destins a former le chargement du Brik Le Postillon, où nous avons reconnu qu'il Existait de Quatre Vingt-Un Noirs ... lieux d'ou ils sont..[:]
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | du pâys Brakna/Bracna | : | 4 |
> | Segou | : | 1 |
> | Cayor | : | 11 |
> | Yoloff | : | 5 |
> | Fouta | : | 2 |
> | Suie | : | 1 |
> | Saloum | : | 10 |
> | Soulavialon | : | 2 |
> | Baoul | : | 5 |
> | Bahoul | : | 5 |
> | Craza | : | 10 |
> | Cazo | : | 1 |
> | Boudon/Baudon | : | 2 |
> | Gambie | : | 2 |
> | Mandrin(g) | : | 3 |
> | Cuie | : | 2 |
> | Ceres | : | 1 |
> | Bambara | : | 6 |
> | Wal(l) | : | 2 ..... " [1] (St. Louis 1818) |

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1. Tante de Noris Saises de Navires 1818-1830, National Archives, Dakar, document no. K2, piece no.9, p.1.

From the total list[1] for 28th April 1818, the following list of the main Senegambian ethnic groups represented, with the modern names, was abstracted:

MODERN NAME	NAME IN TEXT	
Bambara	Bambara	: 18
Manding/Mandinka	Manding	: 12
Wolof	Yoloff	: 14
Cayor	Cayor	: 22
Saloum	Saloum	: 25
Oussui (Dyola)	Cuie/Suie/Ciue	: 8
Serer/Sin	Sine/Ceres/Carer/Ce'rer	: 7
Futa Jallon (Pulaar)	fouta/fouta guiaiondu/ foula Dialon/fouta	: 9
	Total	: 115

If this sample was in any way typical, Wolof, e.g. from Cayor and Saloum, featured highly in the Atlantic Slave Trade to the French Caribbean, including Martinique and St. Lucia, during that period.

Of the ships so seized for slave trading, two had sailed from Martinique and another from Guadeloupe, where the Senegambian connection was still profitable:

> "... la Rodeur et la Marie de la Martinique."[2] (1819)
>
> "La Marie de la Martinique ayant à son port à cette époque cent-six esclaves."[3]
>
> "La Contravention imputé a l'Elisa[de la]... Guadeloupe."[4]
>
> "... a la pointe a pitre, isle de la Guadeloupe, du 31 Mar[sic.]1818, le M. Charles Ramey et Damblet ont vendu pour compte Dupr. Berberand du Senegal[sic.] un petit negrillon pour le prix de 1350."[5]

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1. Ibid, document no. K2, piece no.10, pp. 1-3 & piece 11, pp.1-3.
2. Ibid, piece no.46, p.1.
3. Ibid, piece no.26, p.1.
4. Ibid, piece no.46, p.4.
5. Tribunal de Première Instance du Département de la Seine, document no. K2, piece no.61.

The St. Lucian part of this connection is also evident: a passport issued to "Mr. Verdet (Jean Joseph) ... destiné pour Ste. Lucie ..."[1], was issued in St. Louis in 1825.

The origins of the St. Lucian plantation slaves[2] for this period (1815) similarly reflect the pattern of slave importation into Martinique: namely, Senegambians followed by Angolan and other slaves.[3] However, the presence of slaves from Dahomey (Bénin) is not as prominent as it was in Martinique of 1698[4] and the presence of slaves reflecting areas of British political influence in West Africa is evident, e.g. Igbo and 'Moko'[5] slaves from south-eastern Nigeria.

These origins indicate that, given the higher age group of most of the Senegambian slaves, they ~~(the latter)~~ were imported earlier than all the other slaves represented on the St. Lucian plantations of 1815. Of these Senegambian slaves, the majority are Mandinka.[6]

This distribution according to ethnic group/region and age group further indicates that the importation of Africans in St. Lucia was in accordance with the outline of slave importation suggested for both Martinique and St. Lucia (above) and that ~~further, with British occupation of St. Lucia from 1813 onwards~~ prior to 1815, slaves had been increasingly ~~were~~ imported, ~~after 1813~~, from regions of British political dominance in Africa instead of from corresponding French areas. This is reflected in the lower ages of many St. Lucian slaves of south Eastern Nigerian origin.

The link with Martinique, as a slave-supplier, was still continued, as suggested by the fact that most of the plantation slaves from elsewhere in the Caribbean were from Martinique, although nearby St. Vincent, then also under British domination, was also becoming a competitive Caribbean slave-supplier.[7]

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1. Déportées de la Martinique, document no. K3, piece no.9.
2. See p. 385.
3. This pattern of importation, see p p.382ff, has been adopted, in association with the remarks of Curtin, P. D. 1969:101-102; 105; 112; 123; 155; 184-188; 254-256 & 261 in the sub-grouping of the various African ethnolinguistic groups in the tables below.
4. And if, as suggested on p.384 they were more prominent amongst the maroon esclaves de terre, they are likely to have become more numerous in St. Lucia after 1826.
5. Curtin, P. D. 1969:188.
6. See pp.405ff.
7. See p. 408.

Origins of the St. Lucian Plantation Slaves 1815[1]

ETHNIC GROUP/ REGION OF ORIGIN	SLAVES BY AGE				
	<21	22>	42>	60>	AGE UNKNOWN
1) Africa (Known Ethnic Groups/ Regions):					
Senegambia:					
Cape Verde (River)	4	4	1		
Senegal		1	1	5	1
Mandinka	7	39	64	46	
Bambara		1	2	3	
Jenna		1			
Susu ("soso(s)")[2]			9	2	
Pulaar ("Voula", "Poulard(e)", "Fuller", "Boular")	2	15	6	3	
Sub-total:	13	61	83	59	1
Angola:					
Angola	1	7	3	1	
Mayumba ("Mayombr")		2			
Congo	51	186	79	20	1
Mondongue		1		1	
Sub-total:	52	196	82	22	1
Dahomey:					
Arada ("Rada", "Aiada")		12	8	4	
Ado		2	3		
Sub-total:	0	14	11	4	

1. According to the Registry of Plantation Slaves for St. Lucia in 1815 (P.R.O. document no. T71, piece no.379) and counted by the researcher.
2. Modern names are given for the various ethnolinguistic groups and regions. Where the name(s) in the actual document are different they are put in quotation marks and bracketed (as above). The sub-headings Senegambia:, Angola: etc. are my own.

ETHNIC GROUP/ REGION OF ORIGIN	SLAVES BY AGE				
	<21	22>	42>	60>	AGE UNKNOWN
Akan and Hinterland:					
Gold Coast	3	18	6	2	
Ivory Coast		12	7	3	
Cap Lahou ("Caplaor", "Caplaou")	17	82	71	30	
Akan ("Mine", "Cromantyne")	2	47	16	17	
Chamba ("Camba", "Camamba", "Guiamba", "Kiamba(s)", "Tiemba")	4	10	11		
Sub-total:	26	169	111	52	
Eastern Nigeria:					
Igbo	19	296	229	124	1
Aro ("Aoa")	1		1	3	
Moco	9	93	114	38	1
Anang ("Awnan", "Annan")		1	1		
Ibibio ("Biby", "Bibi")	2	17	24	7	
Sub-total:	31	405	359	172	2
Other:					
Temne ("Timine")		1	2		
Hausa		3			
Awora ("Auror")				1	
Lala ("Lalanga")		1			
Gobir ("Gobil")			1		

ETHNIC GROUP/ REGION OF ORIGIN	SLAVES BY AGE				
	<21	22>	42>	60>	AGE UNKNOWN
2) Africa (Unknown Ethnic Groups/ Regions): [1]					
Africa ("Afrique Seplentrionale")	25	369	145	83	
Guinée/Guinea	5	31	17	15	
Cote d'Abane			1		
Calvere	1	7	2	1	
Cote Ferme	1				
Canouan	25	14	2	9	
Temelin			1	1	
Zinbou				1	
Yamba				1	
Yambo				1	
Chimiden		1			
Memi			1		
Ana			2		
Hagra				1	
Juissi				1	1
Domouge			1		
Doteemba	1				
Pangel		1			
Bamba		1			
Luissy				2	
Doncor			3		
Annara			1		

1. I.e. according to Curtin, P. D. 1969.

ETHNIC GROUP/ REGION OF ORIGIN	SLAVES BY AGE				
	<21	22>	42>	60>	AGE UNKNOWN
3) Neighbouring Caribbean Islands:					
Martinique	27	60	40	30	2
Guadeloupe	2	10	4	2	
Marie Galante ("Boinoux Marie Galante")	1	4	3		
St. Barthelemy	11	6	1		
Dominica	1	6	4		
Grenada		16	40	20	
Union Island ("L'Union")	1	4			
Trinidad ("Trinité Espagnole")	3	4			
Tobago	1				
St. Vincent	17	22	42	40	
Barbados	1	9	9	2	
Antiqua	1	3	2	1	
Surinam		1			
St. Martin	1				
St. Thomas		1			
St. Christopher		1			
St. Croix		1			
Monserrat		2			
4) Other ethnic Groups/Regions:					
Portuguese				1	
North America		1			
GRAND TOTAL:	3186				

As the total slave population for St. Lucia 1815 was ~~12190,~~ approx. 12000[1] 8814 slaves were unspecified as to ethnic group/region. 3186 slaves is however a representative sample.

1. Blackwell to Bathurst, Aug. 10th 1825, P.R.O. document no. C.O.253, piece no.19.

The General Index to Personal Slaves[1] for St. Lucia, 1815, in contrast to the Register of Plantation Slaves (see above) gives no information as to the ethnic group(s)/region(s) of origin of the house slaves (esclaves de maison) although giving interesting details about their masters, e.g. that one C. Delphine was owned by a J. B. Floissac.[2] The General Index to Personal Slaves for 1819 does, however, contain such information.[3]

The origins of the personal slaves of 1819 reflect those of the plantation slaves of 1815 with the exception of the Arada who are not represented among the personal slaves, possibly due to their traditional employment as field slaves (see above). The sub-totals according to nearby geographical regions, age and related ethno-linguistic groups, suggest that most of the personal slaves are of the younger age groups, possibly related to their role as personal slaves, and that Martinique remained an important supplier of slaves. The unavailability of other population figures for 1819 makes any contrast with the total population impossible although the relatively few personal slaves represented in the data itself would suggest that the list[4] does not constitute as representative a sample as does the list of plantation slaves for 1815.

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1. P.R.O. document no. T71, piece no.377.
2. P.R.O. document no. T71, piece no.377, folio 183.
3. Summarised on pp. 410 & 411.
4. I.e. on pp. 410 & 411.

Origins of the St. Lucian Personal Slaves 1819[1]

ETHNIC GROUP/ REGION OF ORIGIN	SLAVES BY AGE				
	<21	22>	42>	60>	AGE UNKNOWN
1) Africa (Known Ethnic Groups/ Regions):					
Cape Verd		3			
Mandinka ("Mandingo", "Mandingue")		3 1	1 1		
Sub-total:	0	7	2		
Congo ("Congrisse")		27	3		
Sub-total:	0	27	3		
Gold Coast		2			
Cap Lahou ("Caplaou")	1	1 4	1 3	1	
Akan ("Mine", "Cromante", "Clamantine")		5			
Sub-total:	1	12	4	1	
Igbo		9	4	4	1
Moco		3	11		
Sub-total:	0	12	15	4	1

1. General Index to Personal Slaves, St. Lucia 1819, P.R.O. document no. T71, piece no.380.

ETHNIC GROUP/ REGION OF ORIGIN	SLAVES BY AGE			
	<21	22>	42>	60>
2) Africa (Unknown Ethnic Groups Regions):				
Africa	7	36	10	4
Guinée/Guinea		6	3	1
Windward Coast		3		
Calvain	1			
Bambonca			1	
Canawan	2	4		
3)Neighbouring Caribbean Islands:				
Martinique	7	20	10	2
Guadeloupe	2	4		
Marie Galante	7	1	1	1
Grenade ("la Grenade")	2	1	1	
Cariacou			1	
Dominica	4	6	1	
St. Vincent	5		1	1
St. Kitts		2	1	
Antiqua		3		
Barbados	1	2	2	
Bermuda	1			
St. Martin		1		

The 'official' ending of ~~the Atlantic Slave Trade~~ slavery and post-slave apprenticeship in 1840 was greeted in St. Lucia with mixed feelings. At least one former slave greeted it ironically:

> "... au nom de la Reine, qu'on leur donna la liberté. A cette nouvelle inattendue ils demeurèrent stupéfiants, ébahis, ne sachant que faire! Pas save disent - il; si Reine ça'la qu'a badine[Fr. badiner-'to joke', 'to mock'], Béquets,[< Igbo bece[1]- 'European'] li pas badiné nègres [sic]?"[2]

(The freed slave's comment in Patwa meaning: 'I do not know ... if this Queen can mock Whites, will she not mock Blacks, by telling them they are free?')

The planters whose profits depended upon the institution of slavery could not afford to be so philosophical, and began to import Liberated Africans into St. Lucia so that by 1850, at least 1100 had already arrived:

> "It appears ... an additional body of 568 Africans have arrived on this Island making the whole number despatched thither upwards of 1100 ... enclosure from the Lt. Governor of St. Lucia reporting the number of Liberated Africans required in that Island."[3]

The use of Liberated African labour was popular, for in 1850 the ships "Tropic" and "Tuskar" arrived in St. Lucia with the following cargo:

March:	Tropic	186	Liberated Africans
July:	Tuskar	568	Liberated Africans[4]
	Total :	754	

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1. See pt.III, ch. 5,p. 510.
2. Letter to Poussielgne - Rusand, Paris, from Mme Eugène, St. Lucia, 1841. Archives of the Catholic Church, Castries, St. Lucia.
3. P.R.O. document no. CO253, piece no.103.
4. P.R.O. document no. CO253, piece no.367 & document no. CO253, piece no.103, pp.15-32.

If this rate of importation was kept up for any period of time it is likely to have resulted in some English creole influences upon Patwa by Krio-speaking Liberated Africans, although, given a total population (both ex-slave and free) of 23,688 in 1850, their influences are likely to have been restricted, even allowing for the presence of a further 362 Liberated in the same year from an unnamed vessel.[1]

Although 1840 can be taken as an 'official' cut-off point for the importation of African slaves in to St. Lucia, as in the case of Gambia,[2] this 'official' cut-off point had little to do with the reality of an institution which was, in many individual cases, too far developed to change too quickly. For example, judging by the "Medical Journal" of the "Tuskar" (which left Sierra Leone in February 1850 and arrived in St. Lucia in May 1850 via St. Helena), the death rate amongst the Liberated Africans was, in the case of those who had been recently freed from a slave-ship, not totally unsimilar to that during the 'official' slave-trade:[3]

> "... while the remainder about 470, who were taken in the Rattler and Water Witch, and had only been about twenty days under Superintendence had thirty-six deaths about 8 per cent ... [sic]"

Whatever their travel discomforts, however, presumably the Liberated Africans and the planters, were initially pleased with the labour-contract:

> "... out of 355 [of an initial 362] who were alive at the end of their first year's contract, 303 remained in the service of their former employers ..."[4]

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1. P.R.O. document no. CO253, piece no.102.
2. See pt.II, ch.1, p.220.
3. I.e. of 10 per thousand per year to 40 per thousand per year; see Curtin, P. D. 1969:30.
4. P.R.O. document no. CO253, piece no.103, p.31.

Good labour relations came to an end, however, with the impossibility of gaining substantial profits[1] by the employers, some of whom had forseen the economic slump:

> "... The Sugar Planter in this colony has no prospect in view of improving his conditions by bringing into the colony free labourers ..."[2]

Although the importation of Liberated Africans as apprenticed labourers at a profitable rate,[3] was, in the past, seen as a reasonable economic alternative, ~~the~~ some Liberated Africans, once apprenticed, learned St. Lucian habits and became <u>nɛg mawɔ̃</u>:

> "... an apprentice is only rated at twenty pounds sterling each. An Ordinance preventing and punishing persons harbouring and employing <u>runaway</u> Apprenticed Labourers [<u>sic</u>.]..."[4] (my underlining)

Although a number of St. Lucian <u>nɛg mawɔ̃</u> were (re)exported to Sierra Leone[5] for adopting 'marronage', ~~those~~ other Liberated Africans, ~~in so doing,~~ had ceased to be tied to an 'ex'-slave economy: they had 'liberated' themselves and become St. Lucians.

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1. See Williams, E. 1964 for an analysis of the economic motivations for the ending of slavery in the Caribbean.
2. P.R.O. <u>Journals of the Legislative Council</u>, St. Lucia, 1835-1839:90.
3. A different interpretation from the less-informed analysis in Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):18.
4. P.R.O. <u>Journals of the Legislative Council</u>, St. Lucia 1835-1839:90.
5. See map on p. 382.

GENS DE COULEUR LIBRES (FREE COLOUREDS)

With increased interbreeding between masters and slaves in Saint Lucia (and elsewhere) the term Gens de Couleur - 'Free Coloured' was used to describe the resulting mulattoes. Between 1799 and 1833, for example, the St. Lucian Free Coloured population increased from 8.6% of the population, i.e.

$$\frac{1{,}364 \text{ (total Free Coloured)}}{15{,}950 \text{ (total population)}}$$

to 20% of the population, i.e.

$$\frac{2{,}797 \text{ (total Free Coloured)}}{13{,}856 \text{ (total population.)}}$$ [1]

This increase may not be unrelated to the increase in illegitimate births during this period in at least one quartier - 'quarter' (cf. Eng. 'county') of St. Lucia, i.e. Vieux Fort:

1811-1823 : "33 Baptemes Legitimes
19 Baptemes Naturels [i.e. illegitimate]
1826-1836 : 24 Baptemes Legitimes
128 Baptemes Naturels " [2]

According to French law before 1724, mulattoes (Patwa milat) were automatically free, on reaching the age of 24, by virtue of their part-European parentage. After 1724, however, the law was changed and all mulattoes lost this former freedom due to birthright.[3]

Despite this earlier change in French law, and the subsequent British take-over of St. Lucia in 1813, the French/Latin tradition of mission civilizatrice - 'civilizing mission', in which cultural/genetic assimilation was one means of attaining freedom automatically at birth may well have remained, e.g.:

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1. Gasper, B. 1979: table 1.
P.R.O. document no.253, piece nos.2, 7 & 19; document no.258, piece nos.24, 27, 28 & 29.
2. Vieux-Fort Parish Registers, 1811-1836:126. Archives of the Catholic Church, Castries, St. Lucia.
3. See p.394.

> "... Curé de cette Paroisse de Vieux-Fort ... avoir baptisé libre l'enfant nome Luis ... fils nature de Celimine ..."[1] (1833)

This tradition may have remained legally observed in St. Lucia despite earlier changes in Martinique and other French-held territories in 1724 (see above):

> "Toute femme de couleur libre presenta dans le mois de Sa naissance Son enfant au commissaire du quartier en présence de deux temoins qui attesteront la maternité et Sur la présentation de la Parente de Liberté de la mère ... le commissaire incria dans le régistre la naissance de l'enfant ... son âge, sa qualité de libre ..."[2] (1811)

Given such a distinction between freedom and slavery in direct proportion to French/European blood, colour was related to social status. The most privileged stratum included the quadroon (three quarters French/European blood) and the mixed-blood (sang mêlé) (seven eighths French/European blood).[3]

This 'Free Coloured' community included also individuals with less or no French/European blood who had bought their freedom or been manumitted by their masters.[4] The Free Coloured were mainly concentrated in the urban areas of Castries and Soufrière and, although themselves likely descendants of house slaves (see below), they owned in 1831 one sixth of all the slaves in the island.[5]

Economically and socially they formed a powerful group. In 1823 they formed the majority of militia designed to hunt maroons (nɛg mawɔ̃)[6] and to counter potential slave revolts, a militia composed of four white and eight free coloured companies.[7] In 1831:

> "... in the town and port of Castries they [the Free Coloureds] own more than one half of the rental of the town, and full half of the registered shipping in number and value."[8]

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1. Vieux-Fort Parish Registers, 1811-1836:85 (see also pp.11, 12 & 107.)
2. Ibid, p.1.
3. See Mayot, E. 1971:60 for the various distinctions 'below' that of quadroon. These French terms have no equivalents in synchronic Patwa. See also Fanon, F. 1952.
4. Gasper, B. 1979:2.
5. Jeremie, J. 1831:51; Gasper, B. 1979:8.
6. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b).
7. P.R.O. document no.253, piece no.17; Gasper, B. 1979:9.
8. Jeremie, J. 1831:50-51.

Despite these zealous attempts by the Free Coloureds to become French/European in social standing as well as being so at least partially in appearance, they were never accepted as social equals by the ruling French/Europeans who continued to enforce legislation (of French origin) restricting the rights of the Free Coloureds.[1]

In 1824, however, when the Free Coloured population outnumbered the French/Europeans by about 3:1 (i.e. 3,659 Free Coloureds: 1,194 French/Europeans),[3] and their economic power was established, they petitioned the St. Lucian Governor, J. M. Mainwaring, on January 15th 1824, asking for a removal of the past French legislation which restricted their rights as "gens de couleur libre" (my underlining).

Two of the Free Coloured leaders were of non-St. Lucian origin i.e. Patterson, a Grenadian and Johnson from Antigua.[4]

The free-coloured petition was successful and in 1829 there was a repeal of:

> "... all laws and all Edicts and Ordinances having the force and effect of Law at any time heretofore made or promulgated ... whereby free persons of African birth or descent are subjected to any disabilities or restrictions to which other free persons ... are not subject."[5]

Although like other 'race-relations' acts, the above was observed by few and disregarded by many,[6] it may well explain the greater use of English instead of Patwa in Castries, where the mulattoes may well have been grateful to the English-speaking authorities for their increased liberty from earlier French laws.[7]

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1. P.R.O. document no. CO253, piece no.20; Gasper, B. 1979:1, 11.
2. Ibid. See also Gasper, B. 1979:3.
3. Ibid. See also Gasper, B. 1979:5. As Free Coloureds also represented 20% of the population in 1833 (see above) these figures imply a large slave majority in 1824 and 1833.
4. This is suggestive of the concentration of both mulatto and immigrant groups in and around the capital, Castries. This mulatto strain is evident in the present more European-coloured skin of most St. Lucians of Castries origin. Note also the later concentration of Barbadians in Castries. See p.419. Cf the similar concentration of immigrant Aku in and around Banjul, capital of Gambia. See pt.II, ch.1, pp.218 ff.
5. P.R.O. document, no.253, piece no.20; Gasper, B. 1979:16.
6. In 1831, for example, a number of Free Coloured again sent a petition to the British Governor complaining of continuing discrimination against them. See P.R.O. document no.264, piece no.7 & Gasper, B. 1969:20.
7. It may further explain some of the traditional (and complementary) social divisions in St. Lucian society:

   African versus French/European

   nɛg maw5 - ('maroon(s)') versus milat - ('mulattoe(s)')

   hotɛ - 'rural' ('hilly') versus vil - 'urban', 'town' (coastal lowlands)

   Lawoz - 'Rose Society' versus Magwit - 'Margaret Society' (cf also Shanti Roaz versus Kanti Roaz in Jamaica)

   All of these social divisions are discussed in pt.III, ch.4 & ch.6.

BARBADIANS

In the same way that French political activity in the Caribbean was centred in Martinique, that of the British was established in Barbados (described up to recent times as 'Little England'). St. Lucia, on the other hand, has traditionally been a zone of transition between the Francophone and Anglophone Windward Islands, as well as the arena for cultural/political competition between French interests channelled via Martinique and British interests channelled via Barbados.

The early British/Barbadian influences in St. Lucia were intermittent and ineffective as far as the establishment of firm cultural and political links were concerned. These were instead established with Martinique/France. In 1663 one thousand Barbadians (white) invaded St. Lucia but most of them died of disease and Island Carib attacks. In 1666 a force led by the governor of Barbados chased away the French only to be chased off themselves by the French in 1667. In 1722 another attack on St. Lucia by the English/Barbadians was repulsed by the French with reinforcements from Martinique.[1]

From the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, however, despite the 'neutrality' of St. Lucia, its intermittent periods of British control, due either to wars or to treaties, the French and their culture remained dominant in St. Lucia until 1813, when St. Lucia became and remained British until independence in 1979. Even after the island became 'officially' British, however, French cultural influence, including the French language, remained dominant in St. Lucia till at least 1832.[2]

British political and educational infrastructure became established with the presence of British governors and the influx of teachers from the Anglophone Caribbean, many of whom were from Barbados[3]. The brief of the latter may be interpreted as the establishment of English in a Patwa speaking population:

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1. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b), and LePage, R. B. 1977.
2. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b) & 1979(b).
3. Le Page, R. B. 1977:127.

> "Teachers have no easy task to perform when they have to deal with children who usually think and speak in 'patois' ..."[1] (1915)

Immigration from Barbados increased during this period and was centred around Castries harbour, which had become a centre for the handling of cargo from Barbados.[2] In 1901, for example, there were 2616 Barbadians resident in St. Lucia whose total population was then 50,000.[3]

It is, however, not in the educational or 'dockland' sphere that such Barbadian influences tended to encourage the use of Barbadian/English creole in St. Lucia: St. Lucian teachers, after all, often constituted the majority of the teaching staff of lower grades, while teachers from other Caribbean islands, including Barbados, featured more prominently amongst the head teachers, e.g. in 1904 when out of 43 head teachers, 4 were from Barbados, 9 from St. Vincent[4] and 10 from Antigua.

Many Barbadians in St. Lucia ~~also~~ only remained for ~~only~~ a short period, e.g. in 1920, when 2,369 Barbadians arrived in St. Lucia but 1,928 returned[5] in the same year, thus leaving an additional 441 Barbadians in a total St. Lucian population of 54,152.[6]

The greatest source of Barbadian/English creole influences are likely to have been from Barbadians who remained in St. Lucia as labourers, criminals and policemen, and whose occupations resulted in a much closer contact with Patwa speakers than that of Barbadian head teachers and educationalists, whose hostility[7] to Patwa could not have endeared them to the St. Lucian Patwa-speaking majority. In 1905, for example, 123 out of 381 prisoners sentenced were described as labourers from Barbados:

> "... a large proportion of the offenders come from this extraneous portion of the community ... natives of Barbados supplied 32 per cent ..."

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1. B.M. Annual Administrative Reports on the Colony of St. Lucia 1915-16:10.
2. B.M. Annual Administrative Reports on the Colony of St. Lucia 1915-16:52-53.
   Le Page, R. B. 1977:112 & 127.
3. Le Page, R. B., personal communication 1978.
4. B.M. Annual Administrative Reports on the Colony of St. Lucia 1904:42, 79, 80 &109.
5. Presumably due to lack of employment opportunities in St. Lucia (see above.)
6. B.M. Annual Administration reports of the Colony of St. Lucia 1920:17. See also pp.54 & 60.
7. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):19-20 & Dalphinis, M. 1979(b).

In the same year many Barbadians also became policemen:

> "The natives[i.e. St. Lucians]never came forward and the[Police]Force has to be recruited from men from other islands who are usually new-comers to the Colony, from Barbadoes in the majority of instances - seeking work and finding nothing else to do,[the Barbadian immigrants]fell back on the Police service as a last resort."[1]

It is likely that the cumulative effect of what was nevertheless a substantial Barbadian minority situated mainly in the Castries area would have aided the development of English/Barbadian creole in Castries as the language(s) of the descendents of the Free Coloureds. and immigrants from other Anglophone islands, including Barbados, who, under British rule and the increasing prestige of English as an international language, had become the modern social elite of St. Lucia. Their use of English/Barbadian creole marked not only a feeling of difference from the St. Lucian rural majority but of social superiority to Patwa speakers. Their language influences remained for a long time limited to Castries as a consequence of their feeling of social exclusiveness. This is, for example, reflected by the fact that even up to 1911, 64% of the population of the island (i.e. 17,690 of a total population of 48,637) were Patwa monolinguals.[2]

The many East Indian Hindi speakers brought to St. Lucia as indentured labourers,[3] by contrast, never developed such a feeling of social exclusiveness. They were of rural residence, due to their initial indenture on the plantations, and consequently became Patwa speakers who merged totally with St. Lucians of mainly African ancestry.

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1. B.M. Annual Administration reports of the Colony of St. Lucia 1905:107.
2. B.M. Report of the Inspector of Schools on the Education Department for the Year 1911:98-99, in the Annual Administration Reports for the same year.
3. In 1911, for example, there were over 2,000 such East Indians in St. Lucia. See B.M. Report of the Inspector of Schools on the Education Department for the Year 1911:98, in the annual administration reports for the same year.
   The language and other influences of the St. Lucian East Indians is not analysed in this study. The analysis of such influences would necessitate a separate research document.

PART III

CHAPTER 2: A SYNCHRONIC OUTLINE OF St.LUCIAN PATWA

INTRODUCTION

This outline is based on my corpus.Carrington has written extensively on Patwa morphology and syntax[1] from a purely descriptive viewpoint. This outline underlines a number of creole/African language features in Patwa. Where my conclusions differ from Carrington's they are stated below.

PHONOLOGY

Consonants:

	BILABIAL	LABIO DENTAL	DENTAL & ALVEOLAR	ALVEOLO PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVE	p b		t d	c j	k g	
NASAL	m		n		ng	
LATERAL (non-fricative)			l			
ROLLED					(r)[2]	
FRICATIVE		f v	s z	sh zh		
SEMI-VOWELS	w			y		h

1.Carrington, L.D. 1967. See also Dalphinis, M. 1977(a).
2.See pp. 422 - 427.

Notes on Consonants:

(a) Rolled

r [ɣ] is in free variation with w (see below), and has the allophones [ɣ^{w}] ~[R]. r is restricted mainly to the speech of older rural speakers e.g. ruzh [ɣuj] ~ [ɣ^{w}uj] ~ [Ruj] 'red', and is used word-initially (above), e.g. kuri - 'oven', and as the second element in consonant clusters, word-medially, e.g. kraze - 'to smash', 'to be smashed'. ~~krobish - 'crayfish(es)'.~~ Word-medial usage of r was slightly more frequent. For example, in responses to the supplementary questionnaire[1] 20/54 (37%) Patwa speakers used r (alone or ~ w) word-initially in contrast to 15/54 (28%) speakers who made a similar use of r word-medially (see below.)

(b) Nasals

Unlike Kriul and Krio, nasals in Patwa[2] are not hormorganic in word-final position. Patwa nasals can be used both word-initially and word-finally e.g. mwɛ̃ - 1st. sing., kwɛm - 'cream', nwɛ - 'black', kan - 'sugar cane', nga - 1st. sing. Prog. and Hab., lang - 'tongue'. As suggested above nasals feature prominently in Patwa 1st. sing. forms (see below.)

(c) Fricatives

With the exception of c and j , fricatives cannot occur word-finally[3] and are mainly used in word-initial position e.g.:

cɛ - 'courage', 'heart' and jɛ - 'many'.

1.See also pp.424ff for w ~ r alternation in the speech of 54 Patwa speakers. p.234

2.See pt.I, ch.2, p.88 and pt.II, ch.2, respectively.

3.See Carrington 1967: 58.

(d) Free variants

w ~ r both word-initially and word-medially e.g. wuzh- ruzh- 'red', kuwi ~ kuri - 'to run'. Neither w nor r occur word-finally. w is the more commonly used variant.

> Carrington describes w ~ r alternation as follows: "Labialisation of this consonant [i.e. r]is a prominent feature of St.Lucian creole, to such an extent that more often than not[r^w] resembles back semi-vowel /w/. The allophone [r] seems to be limited to older rural dwellers while the form[r^w],articulated with various degrees of labialisation, is more widespread[1]".

In subsequent correspondence Carrington however indicates that w is the most commonly used alternant[2].

In order to test both his view and my own a supplementary questionnaire[3] was devised to analyse w ~ r alternation (word-initially and word-medially.)The resultant alternation[4] in the speech of fifty-four speakers suggest:

(i) that w is the most widespread phoneme (both word-initially and word-medially),

(ii) r is more common in the speech of older speakers of rural residence and is especially prominent in the speech of those ~~of~~ having dominant French ancestry and/or ~~had~~ having resided in a French/French-Creole - speaking country.

1.Carrington, L.D. 1967:53.
2.Carrington, L.D. personal correspondence Dec. 1977.
3.In the collection of Patwa oral data a supplementary questionnaire was also used in order to analyse w ~ r in Patwa (see below): speakers were asked to translate a reading passage and word list from English into Patwa or, if they were monolinguals, to repeat the Patwa version of the reading passage and word list after the researcher. The supplementary questionnaire also contained a set of 'control questions' in which speakers were asked whether and when they would use a Patwa item in which w ~ r . Patwa speakers (especially monolinguals) were examined in this way to determine whether their use of w ~ r , in response to the reading passage and word list, was indeed representative of their speech.
4.See pp. 424-426.

w ~ r Alternation in the Speech of Fifty-Four Patwa Speakers

SPEAKER NUMBER	WORD-INITIAL	WORD-MEDIAL
P 1	w	w
P 2	w	w
P 3	w	w
P 4	w	w
P 5	w	w
P 6	w	w
P 7	w	w
P 8	w ~ r	w
P (9)	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 10	r	w
P 11	w	w
P 12	w	w
P 13	w	w
P 14	w	w
P 15	w	w
P 16	w	w
P 17	w	w
P 18	w	w
P 19	w	w
P 20	w	w
P 21	w	w ~ r
P 22	r	w ~ r
P 23	w ~ r	w

(continued)

SPEAKER NUMBER	WORD-INITIAL	WORD-MEDIAL
P 24	w	w
P 25	w	w
P 26	w	w
P 27	r	r
P 28	r	w
P 29	w	r
P 30	w	w
P (31)	r	r
P (32)	r	w
P (33)	w	r
P 34	w	w
P 35 (i)		
P (36) (i)		
P 37	w	w
P 38	w	w
P 39	w	w
P (40)	w	w
P 41	w	w
P (42)	w ~ r	r
P (43)	w ~ r	w
P (44)	w	w
P 45	w ~ r	w
P (46)	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 47	w ~ r	w

(continued)

(i) Note that the following speakers were not interviewed in terms of w ~ r: P35, P(36), P50, P(57), P58, P60 & P61.

SPEAKER NUMBER	WORD-INITIAL	WORD-MEDIAL
P 48	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 49	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 50 (i)		
P 51	w	w ~ r
P 52	w	w
P 53	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 54	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 55	w	w
P (56)	w ~ r	w
P (57) (i)		
P 58 (i)		
P (59)	w ~ r	w ~ r
P 60 (i)		
P 61 (i)		

Of the fifty-four speakers analysed 30/54 (56%) used w only, both word-initially and (my emphasis) medially, 7/54 (13%) similarly used w ~ r, while w ~ r, either word-initially or (my emphasis) medially in the speech of 17/54 (31%). Of the latter speakers (i.e.: P8,P9,P21,P22,P23,P42, P43,P45,P46,P47,P48,P49,P51,P53,P54,P56 and P59) 11 are 42> (i.e.,P8,P9,P22,P42,P46,P48,P49,P51,P53,P56 and P59)and 9 are of rural residence (i.e., P42,P43,P45,P46,P47,P51, P53,P56,P59)[1] thus indicating that 'age' rather than 'residence' is the more significant of these two social categories.

Given that r is of French origin[2] and w of possible West African origin it is likely that this past French influence will be more prominent in the speech of older speakers regardless of urban or rural residence. It seems probable however that the greater decreolization of Patwa in urban as opposed to rural areas[3] is not unrelated to a greater use of r as a conservative Patwa phoneme in relatively less decreolized rural Patwa. Although not conclusively suggested in the results of the investigation of w ~ r alternation (above), ethnicity was also a related factor in w ~ r; the 22/54 (41%) speakers making any use of r, either word-initially or medially, included the only 3 who were of evident French descent (indexed by lighter skin colour, i.e. in the case of P6, P8 and P61, and/or by speaker self-report, i.e. in the case of P61).[4]

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1. See pt.III, ch.3, pp.455ff for a list of Patwa speakers and their social categories.
2. Note for example Fr. rouge ⟶ Pat. wuj - 'red' and Fr. gras ⟶ Pat. gwa - 'fat'.
3. See pt.III, ch.3, pp.455 & 456.
4. See pp.640, 641 & 652 of the appendix.
   This was also confirmed by general observation of other Patwa speakers outside the period of fieldwork in St.Lucia during April 1979.

Vowels:

Oral:

FRONT i, e, ɛ, a

BACK u, o, ɔ

Carrington[1] suggests the presence of [ɑ] "low back /à/" and suggests that "/pa/ 'not'" can thus be differentiated from "/pà/ 'through'. However, [ɑ] is not evident in my corpus[2] or idiolect.

Nasal:

FRONT ɛ̃ ã

BACK ɔ̃

e.g.: fɛ - 'to make', fɛ̃ - 'to be hungry'
ba - 'to give', bã - 'bench'
tɔ - 'fault', tɔ̃ - 'tuna fish'

Notes on Vowels:

(a) Vowel length

As in Kriul and Krio vowel length is phonemic as a marker of emphasis, e.g.:

lamɛ̃ nu gwãã̃ - 'Our hands are very large'
"hand we large"
Emph.

1.Carrington, L.D. 1967:38-39.
2.Consult oral data : reels PATWA 1-14.

(b) Stress and vowel length

Stress can be combined with vowel lengthening used as a marker of emphasis, e.g.:

tɛt	li	gwáã̀, tonally gwáà
"head	(s)he	big"
		Emph.

-'His/Her head is very big'

Like Kriul, and unlike Krio, Patwa makes relatively little use of such emphatic elongation of vowel and instead makes a greater use of emphatic repetition .

MORPHOLOGY

Nouns:

Uninflected except in the plural where decreolizing English influences are at times evident, e.g.:

livz	la	- 'The books' (see below.)
"book	pl.	the"

Notes on Nouns:

(a) Definite article - l(a ~ ã)

The definite article follows the noun and its alternation can be generally summarised as follows:

C + la, e.g.: lãk la - 'the ink'
"ink the"

V + a, e.g.: lɔ a - 'the gold'
"gold the"

Ṽ + ã, e.g.: gasɔ̃ ã - 'the boy'
"boy the"

(b) Plurality

In the plural nouns are preceded by the pl. prefix se, e.g.:

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
liv la "book the	- 'the book'	se liv la "pl. book the"	- 'the books'
nɔm la "man the"	- 'the man'	se nɔm la "pl. man the"	- 'the men'

The English s ~ z pl. suffix is at times used, particularly by school-children, both simultaneously with and instead of Patwa se - pl., e.g.:

se shatz la and shatz la[1] ,
"pl. cat pl. the" "cat pl. the"

both meaning - 'the cats'.

(c) Possession

The 'possessor' noun is placed after the 'possessed' noun, without a genitive link, to mark possession, e.g.:

liv Magwit - 'Margaret's book'
"book Margaret"

lamɛ nɔm la - 'The man's hand'
"hand man the"

Pronouns:

Subject

	1	2	3
SINGULAR[2]	mwɛ̃ ~ ng-	u	i ~ li
PLURAL	nu	zɔt	yo

---

1. Cf. Krio s ~ z ... (dɛm) e.g.: di katz dɛm ~ di katz
"the cat pl.pl." "the cat pl."
'the cats'. See pt.II, ch.2, pp.236&237.
2. For alternation of 1st person mwɛ̃ ~ ng- see p.439ff. For 3rd person, i ~ li alternation freely in the speech of most speakers, i being the most commonly used form, see p.431 .
li may reflect Island Carib influences; see pt.III, ch.4, p.483 .

e.g.: mwɛ̃ ka mazhe
"I Prog. eat"

nga mazhe both meaning 'I am eating'
"I+Prog. eat"

i li ka mazhe = 'He/She is eating'
"(s)he Prog. eat"

Notes on Subject Pronouns:

(a) Different forms for the 2nd.sing.and 2nd.pl.(Feature 11):

Like the other creoles and many African languages Patwa has a different form for the 2nd.sing. and 2nd.pl., e.g.:

u ka mazhe = 'You are eating'
"you(sing.) Prog. eat"

yo ka mazhe = 'They are eating'
"they Prog. eat"

(b) Non-differentiation of the pronoun with respect to gender in the 3rd.sing. (Feature 12):

Like the other creoles and many African languages, Patwa does not differentiate the 3rd.sing. on the basis of gender e.g.

i ka dɔmi = 'He/She is sleeping'
"(s)he Prog. sleep"

Possessive Pronouns:

They have the same form as the subject pronoun except in the 1st.sing. where mwɛ̃ alone is used, and in the 3rd.sing. where li alone is used, e.g.:

kamawad mwɛ̃ = 'my friend'
"friend me"

budɛ̃ mwɛ̃ = 'my belly'
"belly me"

buwik li - 'his/her donkey'
"donkey him/her"

Possession is indicated by placing the possessive pronoun after the 'possessed' noun or by the juxtaposition of the 'possessed' noun before the 'possessor' noun.

Object

These are of the same form as the subject pronoun, with the exception of subject pronoun ng- : mwɛ object pronoun. They can be used either as direct or indirect object (below).

Disjunctive

They have the same form as the possessive pronouns and are frequently used after the stabiliser se and the deictic mi <u[1] - 'behold', 'see', e.g.:

se u - 'It is you'
"Stab. you (sing.)

mi li - 'Look it is him/her'
"see it is (s)he"

Adjectives:

Attributive:

Attributive adjectives precede the noun, e.g.:

ã bɛl tifi - 'a beautiful girl'
"a beautiful girl"

Predicative:

Predicative adjectives can follow a subject pronoun or a noun used as a subject, e.g.:

i bɛl - 'He/She is handsome/beautiful'
"(s)he beautiful/handsome"

nɔm la kuyɔ̃ - 'The man is stupid'
"man the stupid"

---

1. See p. 516 .

Verbs:

Verbs, like verbal nouns (not separately described), nouns and adjectives, are ~~uninflected~~ uninflected, except for a small category of intensitive and negative verbs having the prefixed syllable dé— and de— respectively (see below.) Verbs may be preceded by a series of verbal markers (below.)

Notes on Verbs:

(a) Imperative

The imperative is formed by the use of the verb stem only, e.g.:

vini! - 'come'!
ale! - 'go'!
kushe! - 'sleep'!

The verb stem may be preceded by the imperative verb ai[1] - 'go (and)....' , e.g.:

ai ale bɔ kai li - 'Go to his/her home'!
"go(Imp.) go by house (s)he"

The verb stem may also be preceded by the ~~3rd.~~ 1st. pl. imperative pronoun anu <Fr. allons nous and Cf. Bambara an - "you(pl.)"[2] - 'let us (go)', e.g.:

anu (ai) dãse - 'Let us (go and)dance'!
"let us (Imp.) (go Imp.) dance"

(b) Intensitive[3]

A small sub-class of intensitive verbs can be formed by the prefixing of dé-(emphatic stress) to the verb stem, e.g.:

---

1. Cf. Mnka. ali - Imp. See pt.III, ch.5, p.499 .
2. Idem.
3. Possibly reflecting African language influences. See pt.III, ch.7, pp.564-566 .

VERB STEM			INTENSITIVE	
mɔde	- 'to bite'	-	démɔde	- 'to bite to bits'
kwaze	- 'to smash'	-	dékwaze	- 'to destroy totally'
pale	- 'to speak'	-	dépale	- 'to talk a lot/too much'
viwe	- 'to return'	-	déviwe	- 'to go to and fro'.

(c) Negative

A small class of negative verbs are similarly formed by the prefixing of de-(unstressed) to the 'positive' verb stem, e.g.:

POSITIVE			NEGATIVE	
pan	- 'to look'	-	depan	- 'to unlook'
mawe	- 'to tie'	-	demawe	- 'to untie'
kluwe	- 'to nail'	-	dekluwe	- 'to un-nail'

Adverbs:

Adverbs may be used to indicate time, manner, place, quality, location, etc.

Notes on Adverbs:

(a) Time

acwɛlma - 'now', ~~zhǰ~~ɔdi - 'today', dɛmɛ - 'tommorow', ~~zhǰ~~uavazyɛ - 'day before yesterday', a... - 'at...time'

pyɛs tã - 'any time' etc.....
"any time"

(b) Manner

byɛ̃ - 'well', 'properly', mal - 'badly', e.g.:

i pale byɛ̃ - 'He/She spoke well'
"(s)he speak well"

(c) Place

isi - 'here' and la - 'there', e.g.:

i	ale	la	-	'He/She went (over) there'
"(s)he	go	there"		

Prepositions:

Prepositions in Patwa may be used to indicate location position, etc.

Notes on Prepositions:

(a) Location - e.g. na ~ ã

e.g.:	i	na(~ã)	kai	la	-	'He/She/It is in the house'
	"(s)he/it	Loc. Prep.	house	the		

(b) Position - e.g. ãba na(~ã)

e.g.:	i	ãba	kai	la	-	'He/She/It is under the house'[1]
	"(s)he/it	under	house	the"		

1. Traditionally houses in St. Lucia are erected on wooden stilts or on four concrete blocks.

Reduplication:

All Patwa nouns, adjectives and verbs can be reduplicated to indicate emphasis, e.g.:

zanino	- 'animal	zanino-zanino	- 'many animals'
vit	- 'quickly'	vit-vit	- 'very quickly'
kuwi	- 'to run'	kuwi-kuwi	- 'to run on and on'

SYNTAX[1]

Basic Clause Type:

The basic clause type in Patwa (excluding adverbs/adverbial phrases) can be summarised as follows:

SUBJECT	VERBAL MARKERS				VERB STEM	(OBJECT)
	(RELATIVE)	(NEGATIVE)	(TENSE)	(ASPECT)		

Notes on Constituent Items:

(a) Subject

Nouns and subject pronouns, may both be used as subjects, e.g.:

nɔm lɑ̃ mazhe pul lɑ̃
"man the eat chicken the"

- 'The man eats/ate the chicken'

i kuwi
"(s)he run"

- 'He/She runs/ran'

---

1. I.e. the basic clause type including the verbal piece.

(b) Relative marker)

The relative marker may follow any item(s) in subject position to form a relative clause, e.g.:

nɔm la ki kuwi - 'The man who ran'
"man the Rel. run

(c) Verbal markers

Negative

The negative is formed in all cases, except a number of 1st sing. verbal markers (see below), by the placement of the negative marker pa before the negativized item, e.g.:

i vini
"(s)he come"
- 'He/She comes/came'

i pa vini
"(s)he Neg. come"
- 'He/She did/does not come'

yo ho
"they tall"
- 'They are tall'

yo pa ho
"they Neg. tall"
- 'They are not tall'

(See below for the incompletive, a Patwa negative aspect marker.)

Tense markers

Like the aspect markers (below) all Patwa tense markers are pre-verbal.

Past: te, e.g.:

i te ale
"(s)he Past go"
- 'He/She went'

Future (non-imminent): kai, e.g.:

i kai vini
"(s)he Fut. (Non-Im.) come"
- 'He/She will come'

Aspect markers

Completive: zha ~ za, e.g.:

nu zha ale
"we Complet. go"
- 'We have gone'

i za vini
"(s)he Complet. come"
- 'He/She has come'

Incompletive: pɔkɔ, e.g.:

nu pɔkɔ mazhe
"we Incomplet. eat"
- 'We have not yet eaten'

Neutral: ∅ (zero), e.g.:

i vini
"(s)he come"
- 'He/She comes/came'

yo leve acwɛlma mɛm
"they wake now even"
- 'They wake/woke at this very moment'

Progressive: ka, e.g.:

yo ka kuwi
"they Prog. run"
- 'They are running'

Habitual: ka, e.g.:

zɔt ka dɔmi ici
"you (pl.) Hab. sleep here"
- 'You (habitually) sleep here'

Future imminent: ka, e.g.:

i ka kuwi
"(s)he Fut. (Im.) run"
- 'He/She is running'

In addition to the above tense/aspect markers (used after all the personal pronouns including mwɛ̃ - 1st sing.) the following positive and negative 1st sing. tense/aspect markers are also used as free variants, i.e.:

TENSE	POSITIVE		
Past:	(no alternation)		
Future (non-imminent):	ngai	~	mwɛ̃ kai
	"I Fut. (Non Im.)"		"I Fut. (Non Im.)"
	NEGATIVE		
Past:	ma te	~	mwɛ̃ pa te
	"I Neg. Past"		"I Neg. Past"
Future (non-imminent):	maai	~ ma kai	~ mwɛ̃ pa kai
	"I Neg.Fut.(Non-Im.)"	"I Neg.Fut.(Non-Im.)"	"I Neg.Fut.(Non-Im.)"

e.g.: mwɛ̃ pa te vini
"I Neg. Past come"

ma te vini - both meaning - 'I did not come'
"I Neg. Past come"

ngai vini - 'I will come'
"I Fut. (Non-Im.) come"

ma kai vini - 'I will not come'
"I Neg. Fut. (Non-Im.) come"

ASPECT	POSITIVE		
Incompletive:	(no alternation)		
Neutral:	(no alternation)		
Progressive:	nga	~	mwɛ̃ ka
	"I Prog."		"I Prog."
Habitual:	nga	~	mwɛ̃ ka
	"I Hab."		"I Hab."
Future (imminent):	nga	~	mwɛ̃ ka
	"I Fut. (Im.)"		"I Fut. (Im.)"

	NEGATIVE[1]		
Incompletive:	mɔkɔ	~	mwɛ̃ pɔkɔ
	"I Incomplet."		"I Incomplet."
Neutral:	ma		
	"I Neg. Neut."		
Progressive:	maa	~ ma ka	~ mwɛ̃ pa ka
	"I Neg. Prog."	"I Neg. Prog."	"I Neg. Prog."
Habitual:	maa	~ ma ka	~ mw pa ka
	"I Neg. Hab."	"I Neg. Hab."	"I Neg. Hab."
Future (imminent):	maa	~ ma ka	~ mwɛ̃ pa ka
	"I Neg. Fut.(Im.)"	"I Neg. Fut.(Im.)"	"I Neg. Fut.(Im.)"

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1. See pt.III, ch.5, p. 503 for African influences on these 1st sing. tense/aspect markers.

e.g.: mɔkɔ vini - 'I have not yet come'
"I Incomplet. come"

ma vini - 'I do not/did not come'
"I Neg. Neut. come

nga vini - 'I am coming'
"I Prog. come"

maa vini
"I Neg. Prog. come"

ma ka vini - both meaning - 'I am not coming'
"I Neg. Prog. come"

nga dɔmi isi - 'I (habitually) sleep here'
"I Hab. sleep here"

maa dɔmi isi
"I Neg. Hab. sleep here"

ma ka dɔmi isi - both meaning - 'I do not (habitually) sleep here'
"I Neg. Hab. sleep here"

nga vini - 'I will come'
"I Fut.(Im.) come"

maa vini
"I Neg. Fut.(Im.) come"

ma ka vini - both meaning - 'I will not come'
"I Neg. Fut.(Im.) come"

(d) Verbal markers in combination

Past completive: te zha ~ za, e.g.:

yo	te	a	mazhe
"they	Past	Complet.	eat"
-'They	had		eaten'

Past incompletive: pɔkɔ te, e.g.:

yo	pɔkɔ	te	mazhe
"they	Incomplet.	Past	eat"
-'They	had not	yet	eaten'

Past progressive: te ka, e.g.:

u	te	ka	pale	ɛk	madam	la
"you(sing.)	Past	Prog.	speak	with	woman	the"
-' You	were	speaking	to	the	woman'	

Past habitual: ~~te ka~~ (ditto), e.g.:

nu	te	ka	wete	ã[1]	hɔtɛ
"we	Past	Hab.	stay	Loc.Prep.	countryside"
-' We	used to	reside	(habitually)	in	the countryside'

Past future (imminent): ~~te ka~~ (ditto), e.g.:

nu	te	ka	vini	isi
"we	Past	Fut.(Im.)	come	here"
-'We	were	coming		here'

Conditional: te kai, e.g.:

mwɛ̃	te	kai	vini	wɛ	zɔt
"I	Past	Fut.(Non-Im.)	come	see	you (pl.)"
-'I	would	have	come	to	see you'

The following negative 1st.sing. verbal markers alone can be combined:

Past incompletive: mɔkɔ te, e.g.:

mɔkɔ	te	mazhe
"I Incomplet.	Past	eat"
-'I had not	yet	eaten'

1.na ~ ã -Loc.Prep.; see p.435 . Cf. Kriul na - Loc.Prep.and Krio na - Loc.Prep.
See pt.I, ch.2, p. 97 and pt.II, ch.2, p.244fn1 respectively.

Negative past progressive: ma te ka, e.g.:

ma te ka pale
"I Neg. Past Prog. speak"
- 'I had not been speaking'

Negative past habitual: (ditto), e.g.:

ma te ka wete isi
"I Neg. Past Hab. stay here"

Negative past future imminent: (ditto), e.g.:

ma te ka vini isi
"I Neg. Past Fut.(Im.) come here"
- 'I had not been coming here'

Negative conditional: ma te kai, e.g.:

ma te kai vini
"I Neg. Past Fut. (Non-Im.) come"
- 'I would not have come'

(e) Objects

Direct object

Any noun or object pronoun (above) can be used as a direct object, e.g.:

i kase ã batɔ̃
"(s)he break a stick"
- 'He/She broke a stick'

nu ashte yo
"we buy them"
- 'We buy/bought them'

Indirect object

After a dual object verb e.g. ashte - 'to buy', a noun or pronoun direct object, may be preceded by a noun or pronoun indirect object, e.g.:

yo ashte i ã cilɔt
"they buy him/her a trousers"
- 'They bought him a pair of trousers'

In addition to the outline of the basic clause type above, the following grammatical features are also discussed:

1) Use of a Specifier,
2) The Realisation of Emphasis (Features 3 - 6),
3) Use of Grammatical 'tell', 'say' (Feature 9), and
4) Catenation (Feature 7).

1) Specifier - ki[1]:

e.g.: li ki nɔm la ki te mazheshat la
"he Specif. man the Rel. Past eat cat the"
- 'He was the man who ate the cat'

yo ki se kai la ki mwẽ te ba u
"they Specif. pl. house the Rel. I Past give you"
- 'They are the houses (which) I give you'

---

1. Cf. ki - relative marker (above.)

Focaliser sɛl ~ yɔn:[1]

The focaliser sɛl ~ yɔn (< Fr. un- 'one') is placed after the focalised item, e.g.:

li	yɔn	ki	te	vini
"(s)he	Focal.	Rel.	Past	come"
-'He/She	alone	came'		

yo	sɛl	kuwi	vini	isi
"they	Focal.	run	come	here"
-'They	alone	ran	here'	

Unlike ~~in~~ Kriul and Krio, no relexifying influences are evident in the form of the focaliser but, like Kriul and Krio, some alternation exists between the use of the focalising items (sɛl ~ yɔn in Patwa) as focalisers as well as adverbs.

e.g.:

i	te	vini	~~i~~	yɔn
"(s)he	Past	come	~~(s)he~~	alone (Adv.)"
-'He/She	came	alone'		

yo	kuwi	vini	isi	sɛl
"they	run	come	here	alone (Adv.)"
-'They	ran	here	alone'	

2) Emphasis (Features 3 - 6)[2]:

Emphasis is marked by the following syntactic devices:

(a) Front-focalisation

The emphasised item is placed at the beginning (or 'front') of the sentence or phrase and may be preceded by the stabiliser se[3] e.g.:

(se)	la(zh)a	nu	te	vle
"(Stab.)	money	we	Past	want"
-'It	was	money	we	wanted'

---

1. Cf. Kriul - sɔng ~ rɛk - Focal. and Krio wan ~ nomɔ ~ rɛk - Focal. See pt.I, ch.2, p. 105 and pt.II, ch.2, p. 255 respectively.
2. See pp. 445-447 .
3. See p. 447 .

The emphasised item can be further focalised by the placement of the focaliser sɛl ~ yɔn after the emphasised item (Feature 3), e.g.:

(se)	lajã	sɛl	nu	te	vle
"(Stab.)	money	Focal.	we	Past	want"
-'It was	money	alone	we	wanted'	

(b) Emphatic repetition

The emphasised item(s) is/are repeated, e.g.:

yo	te	maje,	yo	te	maje
"they	Past	eat	they	Past	eat"
-'They	ate	and	ate'		

Cf.

yo	te	maje
"they	Past	eat"
-'They	ate'	

(c) Topicalisation

The emphasised item may be topicalised by a following items e.g.:

liv	la	mwɛ̃	ba	u	i	wuj
"book	the	I	give	you (sing.)	it	red"
-'The	book	I	give/gave	you	is	red'

In the sentence above, for example, the emphasised item: liv la - 'the book' is topicalised by the following "book the" pronoun and predicative adjective: 'i wuj' - 'it is red' " it red"

(d) Ideophones

As in most creole and African languages, ideophones may be used to indicate emphasis, e.g.:

i	tɔ̃be	blo
"it	fall	Id."
-'It	fell down	crash! '

(e) Stabilisers -se(te)

As in Krio the stabiliser can be used to mark emphasis, often in conjuction with the disjunctive pronouns, e.g.:

mun ki te kɔnɛt listwa se(te) li Matyuwɛ̃ Dalfinis
"person Rel.Past know story Stab.(Past)he Maturien Dalphinis"
-'He Maturien Dalphinis was a person who(really)knew stories'

(f) Emphatic marker -nɔ̃[1] ~~<Fr. non[1] - 'no'~~

The emphatic marker, as in both Kriul and Krio, follows the emphasised item(s), e.g.:

i bat yo nɔ̃
"(s)he beat them Emph."
-'He/She (really) beat them!'

Emphasis is also realised morphologically by reduplication[2] and is realised phonologically by emphatic elongation of vowel (below.)

(g) Emphatic elongation of vowel (Feature 5)

Elongation of a vowel combined with heightened pitch occurs in the emphasised item, e.g.:

yo kuyɔ̃ɔ̃
"they stupid"
Emph.
-'They are extremely stupid',

Cf. yo kuyɔ̃
"they stupid"
-'They are stupid'

1.Cf.Kriul nã, Sierra Leone Krio na~nɔ emphatic markers, ~~and emphatic 'tag' - questions in African languages meaning 'is it not so', e.g.:~~
~~Hausa ba haka ba~~
~~"Neg. thus Neg."~~ - ~~'Is this not so'~~

2.See p. 436.

3) Grammatical 'say' and 'for' i.e. di...kɔ̃ ha/pu, wɛ di (Feature 9):

As in Kriul and Krio, grammatical 'say', Patwa di kɔ̃ ha , used mainly by older and/or rural "say like this/thus" speakers, is a feature of reported speech, e.g.:

yo di mwɛ̃ kɔ̃ ha, vini
"they tell me like this come"
-'They told me to come'

di kɔ̃ ha is typically followed by a pause, indicated by a comma in the example above. Cf. Fr. dire - 'to tell', 'to say' which is not followed by a similar pause, e.g.:

Ils m'ont dit de venir - 'They told me to ~~sit~~ come (down.)'
"they me told to ~~sit~~ come"

Like Kriul and Krio grammatical 'say' (i.e. kuma and se respectively), Patwa kɔ̃ ha can be preceded by a verb other than 'to say' i.e. di , e.g.:

Kriul ɔca kuma
"see say"

Krio si se
"see say"

Patwa wɛ di , all meaning - 'to see'
"see say"

Unlike Kriul kuma and Krio se, however, di kɔ̃ ha rarely occurs in Patwa; di pu is the more widely used free variant of di kɔ̃ ha, e.g.:

i di u pu ale lakai
"(s)he tell you(sing.) for go home"
-'He/She told you(sing.) to go home'

Unlike di kɔ̃ ha, di pu is not followed by a pause.

In the same way that Krio tɛl...se ~ tɛl....fɔ , Kriul fala...kuma ~ fala...pa ~ po due to relexifying influences from Portuguese and English *por/for* respectively, so also Patwa (di...kɔ̃) ha may have undergone relexifying influences from French (dire) pour ⟶ Patwa (di)...pu. Indeed the lack of a pausal break after each of the above relexified variants is possibly not unrelated to additional European phonological influences upon all three creoles.

4) Catenation (Feature 7):

Verbal catenation can occur, as also in most creole and African languages, e.g.:

i	pwã	balye	bat	nu
"(s)he	take/took	broom	beat	us"
-'He/She	took	the broom	and beat	us'

RELEXIFICATION ⟶ ENGLISH

Due to political separation from France ~~in~~ and its historical loss of contact with African languages, St.Lucian Patwa has been out of touch with its French and African lexical sources and is at present increasingly incorporating English lexical items into its structural mould, e.g.:

~~ENGLISH~~		~~PATWA~~	
hapi	<Eng.happy	,cf.P. kɔ̃tã	<Fr.content - 'to be happy'
shɔt la	<Eng.shirt	,cf.P. shimiz la	<Fr.la chemise -
"shirt the"		"shirt the"	'the shirt'
bɔi la	<Eng.boy	,cf.P. gasɔ̃ ã	<Fr.le garçon -
"boy the"		"boy the"	'the boy'

Relexification is however greatest in the incorporation of English connectives[1], e.g.:

so <Eng.so ,cf.P. epi <Fr.(et) puis -'(and)','then'

an(d) <Eng.and ,cf.P. ɛk <Wol.ak[2]/Fr.avec-'and','with'

ntil <Eng.until ,cf.P.zhis <Fr.jusqu'à - 'until'

as in:so yo te vini an yo te asiz ɔntil ɔswɛ

"so they Past come and they Past sit until night"

-'So they came and sat down until night',

Cf. the ~~relatively~~ non-relexified Patwa equivalent:

epi yo te vini ɛk yo te asiz zhis ɔswɛ -Ditto.

"so they Past come and they Past sit until night"

This relexified Patwa is different from, although convergent with, Barbadian influenced English creole in Saint Lucia.The latter has its origins in the earlier predominance of English creole-speaking mulattoes of Antiguan and Barbadian origin in and around Castries, reinforced by later Barbadian immigrants engaged in coaling and dock work in Castries harbour.[3]

Some relexification in Patwa may have resulted from such early English/creole influences, reflected in a number of phonologically well assimilated English/English creole loans in Patwa, e.g.:

gal <Eng.girl , cf. P.jal - ditto.

bai <Eng.boy , cf. P. tibwai -'(little)boy'

"(little) boy"

1.Lieberman, D. 1974:136.
2.See pt.III, ch.5, p.498 .
3.See pt.III, ch.1, pp.418-420.

In present-day Patwa, however[1], the international use of English coupled with that of English/English creole in larger and politically more influential CARICOM[2] states of which St.Lucia is a member, e.g. Jamaica and Trinidad, has converged with such past influences (above) and resulting in a higher relexification of Patwa ⟶ English especially in and around Castries[3]. Such relexification is reflected in the increasing use of phonologically unassimilated English alternants to Patwa items e.g.:

liv <Eng.live[liiv] ,cf. $_{\rho}$viv
wək <Eng.work[wək] ,cf. $_{\rho}$twavai
gal <Eng.girl[gəl] ,cf. $_{1\rho}$jal ~ tifi ~ 'girl'
"little girl"

bɔi <Eng.creole bwai<Eng.boy[bɔi], cf. $_{1\rho}$gasɔ̃ ~ tibwai ~'boy'
"little boy"

With loss of the original Patwa items, this relexified variety of Patwa typifies the speech of the majority of Patwa speakers, many of whom have not undergone secondary education (of the 61 Patwa recorded, only 10/61 (16%) had received education above the primary level). Partly as a consequence of this non-participation of the majority in an English-based education system, the inclusion of English items is not unrelated to a desire to 'embellish' Patwa with items from a prestigious English, especially by 'uneducated' speakers having little or no command of English[4]. This relexified Patwa can be further exemplified thus:

bɔs la te kɔm ɛk nu tek li pu ai Vye - Fɔ
"bus the Past come and we take it to go Vieux-Fort"
-'The bus come and we took it to go to Vieux-Fort'

---

1. As exemplified by my corpus.
2. See pt.III, ch.3, p.470.
3. See pt.III, ch.3, for a sociolinguistic analysis of Patwa, relexified Patwa and English in St.Lucia.
4. Ibid.; pp.466 ff.

Coupled with this relexification is the decreolization[1] of a number of Patwa/creole grammatical features, e.g.:

1) ka <Mnka. ka-Prog./Hab. Markers ⟶ dɔz <Eng.does - Hab. Marker (only),

2) Uninflected Patwa Verbs ⟶ + in(g) Inflected Verb <Eng. + ing - Prog., and

3) Use of Patwa Subject Pronouns ⟶ Use of Eng./Eng.Creole Subject Pronouns.

The above can be exemplified as follows:

1) ka ⟶ dɔz (<Eng. 'does'):

i ka ale
"(s)he Prog. go"
-'He/She is going'

i ka ale ã bitasyɔ̃
"(s)he Hab. go Loc.Prep. plantation"

cf. i dɔz go to di kɔntri,
"(s)he Hab. go to the country"

both meaning -'He/She (habitually) goes to the farm/countryside'

2) Uninflected Patwa Verbs + -in(g) ⟶ Inflected Verb <Eng. + ing - Prog.:

nu ka maʒ/ʒe ,
"we Prog. eat"

cf. nu iting , both meaning - 'We are eating'
"we eat Prog."

1.Both defined on pp. 48&49 .

3) Patwa Subject Pronouns ⟶ Eng./Eng. Creole Subject Pronouns:

1st. sing. mwɛ ~ ng̀ ⟶ Eng./Eng. creole ai e.g.:

mwɛ̃	vini
"I	come"

cf. ai kɔm, both meaning - 'I come/came'

ai	kɔm
"I	come"

2nd. sing. u ⟶ Eng./Eng. creole yu e.g.:

u	vini
"you	come"

cf. yu vini, both also meaning -'You come/came'.

"you (sing.)come"

~~As suggested in the examples above, these decreolized forms are usually accompanied by relexified items <English, thus suggesting that, generally, relexification precedes and enhances decreolization.[1]~~

~~1.Cf.Kriul in which some relexification from recent French items is not accompanied by decreolization in contrast with Krio and Patwa in which past and (reinforcing) present English influences are also contributing to relative decreolization in Krio and Patwa.~~
~~See p. .~~

PART III

CHAPTER 3: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF ST. LUCIAN PATWA

INTRODUCTION

An area of major overlap between the social categories for the Patwa speakers interviewed is that the few speakers of middle and high prestige are mostly of urban origin.[1]

The social categories are those used for all three creoles with the exception of the category rural/urban which, due to the importance attributed to it in previous studies,[2] is used in reference to St. Lucian society alone.[3] The category 'ethnic group' proved irrelevant to the speech of most of the Patwa speakers interviewed. For example, the speech of P 11, an Indian (Kuli)[4] (C.N: 5620 - 5867), and of P 61, of part-Carib ethnic origins (C.N: 6644 - 6796), is not different[5] from that of the majority of Patwa speakers of mainly African origins (Kɛɔl ~ Kwɛɔl) or the minority of Patwa speakers having mainly European origins (Mulat ~ Milat). For example, the Patwa of P 44, P 45 and P 6, all mulat, was not different from that of other mainly African descended speakers (nɛg Jinɛ/hɛg Kongo) e.g. P 1 and P 39. The one exception to the irrelevance of 'ethnic group' was P 48, an Indian who also spoke 'Hindi'. Differences in attitudes to Patwa across ethnic boundaries were found to be more significant.[6]

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1. See tables on p. 455 and p.456. See also p. 457
2. Alleyne, M. 1961: 2; Carrington, L.D. 1967: 25 & 26; Deterville, V. 1970: 31, Dalphinis, M. 1977(b): 16 & Le Page, R.B. 1977: 113.
3. See pp. 45 & 46.
4. The term is used to refer to St. Lucians whose ancestors were from the Indian sub-continent. Cf. the Patwa ethnic term Kuli- 'Indian' used in contrast to Kɛɔl - Kwɛɔl- 'Creole', 'a St. Lucian of African or part African ancestry'. See Dalphinis, M. 1977(a): 1, fn.2, and Dalphinis, M. 1977(b): 18 - 19.
5. Except in the case of w r. See pp. 423 - 427.
6. See pp. 466 ff.

PATWA

Table of Patwa Speakers and Social Categories

Speaker number*	Sex	Age group	Prest-ige	Rural (R) or Urban (u)	Speaker number	Sex	Age group	Prest-ige	Rural (R) or Urban (u)
P 1	F	<21	Low	U	P 17	F	<21	Low	U
P 2	M	42>	Low	U	P 18	M	<21	Low	U
P 3	M	22>	Low	U	P 19	M	22>	Mid.	U
P 4	F	42>	Low	U	P 20	F	<21	Low	U
P 5	M	22>	Low	U	P 21	M	22>	Mid.	U
P 6	M	42>	Low	U	P 22	F	42>	Low	U
P 7	F	22>	Low	U	P 23	F	22>	Low	U
P 8	M	42>	Mid.	U	P 24	F	42>	Low	U
P(9)	F	42>	Low	U	P 25	M	22>	Low	U
P 10	F	42>	Low	U	P 26	F	22>	Mid.	U
P 11	F	42>	Low	U	P 27	M	42>	Low	R
P 12	M	22>	Low	U	P 28	F	42>	Low	R
P 13	F	<21	Mid.	U	P 29	F	42>	Low	U
P 14	M	22>	Low	U	P 30	M	42>	Low	U
P 15	M	22>	High	U	P(31)	M	42>	Low	R
P 16	M	<21	Mid.	U	P(32)	F	42>	Low	R

(continued)

* - First language Patwa speakers are underlined; Patwa monolinguals are also bracketed.

PATWA

Speaker number	Sex	Age group	Prest -ige	Rural (R) or Urban (U)
P(33)	M	22>	Low	R
P 34	F	22>	Low	R
P 35	M	42>	Low	R
P(36)	F	42>	Low	R
P 37	F	22>	Low	R
P 38	F	42>	Low	R
P 39	M	42>	Low	R
P(40)	F	42>	Low	R
P 41	M	22>	Low	R
P(42)	F	42>	Low	R
P(43)	M	22>	Low	R
P(44)	M	42>	Low	R
P 45	F	< 21	Mid.	R
P(46)	M	42>	Mid.	R
P 47	M	< 21	Mid.	R

Speaker number	Sex	Age group	Prest -ige	Rural (R) or Urban (U)
P 48	M	42>	Low	U
P 49	F	42>	Low	U
P 50	F	42>	Low	R
P 51	F	42>	Low	R
P 52	M	22>	Low	R
P 53	M	42>	Low	R
P 54	M	< 21	Low	U
P 55	F	22>	Low	U
P(56)	F	42>	Low	R
P(57)	F	42>	Low	R
P 58	F	42>	Low	R
P(59)	F	42>	Low	R
P 60	M	22>	Low	R
P 61	M	42>	Low	R

PATWA

Interrelationships Between the Social Categories for the 47 Patwa Speakers Interviewed in Both Formal and Informal Speech.

		< 21	22>+42>
Sex	Male	4	11	9
	Female	5	6	12

		Low	Mid.	High
	Male	18	5	1
	Female	20	3	0

		Rural	Urban
	Male	9	15
	Female	8	15

		Low	Mid.	High
Age	<21	5	4	0
	22>	13	3	1
	42>	20	1	0

		Rural	Urban
	<21	2	7
	22>	5	12
	42>	10	11

		Rural	Urban
Prestige	Low	15	23
	Mid.	2	6
	High	0	1

PATWA

Interrelationships Between the Social Categories for all Patwa Speakers Interviewed (i)

		< 21	22> 42 <	42 >
Sex	Male	4	13	13
	Female	5	6	20

	Low	Mid.	High
Male	23	6	1
Female	23	3	0

	Rural	Urban
Male	14	16
Female	15	16

Age	Low	Mid.	High
< 21	5	4	0
22 >	15	3	1
42 >	31	2	0

	Rural	Urban
< 21	2	7
22 >	7	12
42 >	20	13

Prestige	Rural	Urban
Low	26	25
Mid.	3	6
High	0	1

(i)- I.e a total of 61 speakers of whom 47 were interviewed in both formal and informal speech and ~~61~~ 14 in informal speech only. See p. 457 for the inter-relationships between the social categories for the 47 speakers interviewed in both speech styles.

FORMAL SPEECH

Of the eleven creole features described in Patwa the following showed alternation in their use/non-use in the exemplifying sentences[1] in formal speech alone[2]:

1 - Front-Focalisation.
2 - Use of a Plural Affix (Prefix)[3].

The same procedures adopted in the previous sociolinguistic chapters[4] were used and these features were contrasted with the set of social categories. The following showed significant sociolinguistic interactions[5]:

1) - Front-focalisation in Terms of Sex,
2) - Front-focalisation in Terms of Prestige,
3) - Front-focalisation in Terms of Residence,
4) - Plural affix in Terms of Residence.

1) Front-Focalisation in Terms of Sex:

As suggested in the table[6] female speakers decreolize more than male speakers. 13/24 (i.e. 54%) male speakers scored below -3 (representing half of the total score) while 18/23 (i.e. 78%) female speakers scored below -3. This ~~general~~ tendency of female speakers to 'decreolize' most towards the prestige norm in ~~all~~ other societies[7] is also evident amongst female Patwa speakers.

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1. See pp. 601-610 of the appendix.
2. The figures available for informal speech were ~~unuseable~~ unsuitable for sociolinguistic analysis. See p. 34 of the introduction and pp. 683 & 684 of the appendix.
3. See p. 464-466.
4. Pt. I , ch. 3, pt. II, ch. 3.
5. I.e. resulting in differences between the resultant sociolinguistic groups of 20% and above.
6. On p. 460.
7. See pt. II, ch. 3, pp. 274-276.

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY SEX	
0	Male	Female
- 1.		
- 2.	2,5,6,8,54	11,17
- 3.	52 3,15,16,19,39	23,26,34
- 4.	53,61 27,30,35,41 12,14,18,21,25	45,49,50,51,55 22,28,29,37,38 1,7,10,13,20
- 5.	47	4,24,58
- 6.	60	
	54% at below -3	78% at below -3

2) Front-Focalisation in Terms of Social Prestige:

Although underrepresentation[1] of 'high' and 'mid' speakers has to be borne in mind in the use of the category 'social prestige' in St. Lucia, decreolization is of this feature higher in the speech of the recorded speakers of 'low' social prestige than in that of the 'middle' prestige speakers or of the single speaker of 'high' prestige. 27/38 (i.e 71%) of 'low' speakers scored below -3 while 4/8 (i.e. 50%) of 'middle' and 0/1 (i.e 0%) 'high' speakers scored below -3 (representing 50% of the negative decreolized score).[2]

Again, like urban speakers[3] 'low' prestige speakers were not as comfortable in their use of Patwa in the bilingual/'formal' setting as were 'middle' and 'high' prestige speakers. 'Low' prestige speakers, in contrast to 'high' and 'mid', therefore made less use of this Patwa/Creole feature as reflected in their negative (decreolized) score.

3) Front-Focalisation in Terms of Residence:

Rural speakers displayed a greater degree of hyper - correction,[4] resulting in a lower use of this creole feature. 14/17 (i.e 82%) rural speakers scored below -3 (representing half of the negative score) while 17/30 (i.e. 57%) urban speakers scored below -3.

It is likely that urban speakers, being more familiar with the bilingual use of Patwa and English in the urban situation, were more used to the 'formal' situation which characterised the use of the linguistic section of the questionnaire[5]. Consequently the formal Patwa of urban speakers,

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1. See pp. 457 & 458. Note that the underrepresentation of 'high' prestige Patwa speakers is not unrelated to their absence in St. Lucia. Cf. the similar underrepresentation of Krio speakers of 'low' prestige; see pt. II, ch. 3, p. 264.
2. See table on p. 462.
3. See pp. 463 ff.
4. Defined on p. 49.
5. See pp. 601 - 610

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY PRESTIGE Low	Mid.	High
0			
- 1.			
- 2.	5 17,54,6,11,2	8	
- 3.	23,34,52,3,39	19,16,26	15
- 4.	10,53,61,27 30,35,49,50,51 22,28,29,38, 37,7,41,12,14 18,1,20,25,55	13,21,45	
- 5.	4,58,24	47	
- 6.	60		
	71% at below - 3	50% at below - 3	0% at below -3

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE	SPEAKER NUMBER BY RESIDENCE	
	Rural	Urban
0		
- 1		
- 2		54, 2,5,6,8,11,17
- 3	34,52,39	26 3,15,16,19,23
- 4	53,61,27,35, 44,28,38,45, 50,51,37	30,29,49,55,10 13,20,22,25,7, 12,14,18,21,1
- 5	47,58	4,24
- 6	60	
	82% at below - 3	57% at below - 3

not being as marked by hypercorrection towards English as that of rural speakers, was characterised by a higher use of this Patwa/creole feature.[1]

The rural milieu is the primary domain of Patwa. For example, of the 14 monolingual Patwa speakers interviewed in informal speech only one (P 9) was urban in residence while only one of the ten second language Patwa speakers (P 52) was of rural residence.[2]

The use of English, the language of external prestige in St. Lucia, is connected with the urban setting. The use of Patwa by rural speakers in a situation where English is simultaneously used[3] is marked by a lack of familiarity with this context and the wish to use as 'correct' a Patwa as possible, i.e. a Patwa with a reduction of its non-English grammatical features. Such a 'correction' of Patwa results in the suppression of Patwa/creole features.[4] These general tendencies were also reflected in an analysis of the total negative (decreolized) score[5] for both front-focalisation and plural affix in terms of residence: 10/16 (i.e. 63%) rural speakers scored below -10 (representing half of the total negative score) while 13/30 (i.e. 43%) urban scored below -10.

4) Plural Affix in Terms of Residence:

Of all the selected social categories, only residence resulted in any significant sociolinguistic correlation[6] with the use of plural affix. 7/28 (i.e. 25%) of urban speakers scored below -7[7] (indicating half of the negative score), but 8/17 (i.e. 47%) of rural speakers scored below -7[8].

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1. See table on p. 462.
2. See table on p. 463.
3. As in response to the linguistic section of the questionnaire. See pp. 13 - 15.
4. See pp. 466 ff. for some of the historical/social dimensions of such a suppression of Patwa/creole features.
5. See pp. 40 & 41 and pp. 680 - 682 of the appendix.
6. I.e. resulting in differences of 20% and more between the resultant sociolinguistic groups. See pp. 39 & 40.
7. As only one score occurred between -1 to -4, -7 was taken as representing half of the total negative score. See p. 465.
8. See table on p. 465.

Plural Affix (Feature 8) in Formal Speech

NEGATIVE SCORE 0	SPEAKER NUMBERS BY RESIDENCE	
	Rural	Urban
- 1.		26
- 2.		
- 3.		
- 4.		
- 5.	41	54, 6, 11, 24
- 6.	61, 34, 38, 53,	23, 18, 12, 7, 30, 15, 8, 16, 55
- 7.	52, 27, 37, 47	49 25, 29 21, 3, 10, 14, 22
- 8.	51, 58, 39, 45	13, 5, 20
- 9.	60, 28, 35	19, 1, 2, 4
-10.	50	
	47% below - 7	25% below - 7

This would suggest the high sensitivity of urban/rural social differences in St.Lucia given ~~this social category's~~ similar meaningful interaction with front-focalisation[1]. ~~and with the total negative/decreolized score (see above.)~~

As in the other combinations between the social categories and the two varying features, second-language speakers decreolized less than first-language Patwa speakers. In the analysis of plural affix and residence for example, none of the nine[2] second language Patwa speakers scored below -7[3], thus suggesting the greater familiarity of such speakers with the use of Patwa in a formal bilingual context with English[4].

SOCIOLINGUISTIC OVERVIEW

As indicated by the general lack of variation in the selected grammatical features[5], Patwa is not in ~~the~~ a major process of decreolization[6]. It is instead undergoing a process of relexification[7] in which the lexicon of a second European language (English) is replacing French lexicon in the Patwa structural mould[7] e.g.:

Patwa: gasɔ̃ ã ka maje pima
"boy the Hab. eat pepper"
-'The boy eats pepper'

---

1. Described on pp.459-463.
2. Note that there are ten second language speakers but only nine were analysed for plural affix. See pp.662-665 of the appendix.
3. See table on p.465 .
4. See pp.468 ff.
5. See pp.16-21 & pp.680 ff of the appendix.
6. Cf. Gambian Krio in which six of the selected grammatical features showed alternation ~~in their use/non-use in the selected sentences~~ suggestive of decreolization. See pt.II, ch.3.
7. Defined on p. 48 and described for Patwa in pt.III, ch.2.

Relexified Patwa: bɔi la ka maje pima ,
"boy the Hab. eat pepper"

bɔi la ka it pɛpə ,
"boy the Hab. eat pepper"

or bɔi la dɔz it pɛpə ,
"boy the Hab. eat pepper"

all also meaning 'The boy eats pepper'.

Although such relexification was not subjected to a formal sociolinguistic analysis, as were the selected grammatical features, some general sociolinguistic tendencies were nevertheless evident in the data for both formal and informal speech:

(i) younger speakers, e.g. P 17 and P 18 (<21) (C.N: 7898- 8104, 8180-8619) relexified more than older speakers e.g. P 6 and P 8 (42>) (C.N:3209-3456, 4078- 4412).

(ii) urban speakers, e.g. P 12 and P 19 (C.N: relexified more than rural speakers, e.g. P 47 and P 25 (C.N: 9617-9993, 1602-1784).

(iii) speakers of 'middle' (and 'high') prestige, e.g. P 13 and P 45 (speakers of 'middle prestige') (C.N:6412-6721, 8953-9221) relexified less than 'low' prestige speakers, e.g. P 3 and P 5 (C.N: 1378-1699, 2828-3093).

Rural/urban differences often had a greater influence upon relexification than did differences in social prestige, e.g. P 45, a rural speaker of middle prestige, relexified less than P 13, also of middle prestige, but of urban residence.

This relexified Patwa is different from, though convergent with, Barbadian /English Creole[1]; cf. the following Barbadian/English Creole sentence with the relexified Patwa variants above:

di bɔi iting pɛpə
"the boy eat Hab. pepper"
-'The boy eats pepper'

---

1. Described in pt.III, ch.2.

Some writers have referred to both as being the same[1]. Midgett by contrast writes about the:

> ..."formation and increasing usage of a colloquial style of English, having certain grammatical correlations with Patois, which is in many cases its functional equivalent"[2].

Midgett nevertheless denies the presence of English creole in St.Lucia[3]. Le Page, however, does differentiate between a St.Lucian (English) creole of Barbadian origian and a Patwa-influenced English within a process he describes as "re-creolization" ⟶ English in St.Lucia[4]. Patwa and relexified Patwa alone are given special attention here[5].

The results of the contrast between the varying grammatical features and the selected social categories indicate the importance of the rural/urban differences in the use of Patwa[6]. These rural/urban differences are themselves partly the result of a history within which Castries, the urban centre and political capital, also became, during the nineteenth century, the traditional centre of English as spoken by a small English élite and a larger 'middle' social group of Free Coloureds ("Gens de Couleur") i.e. mulattoes and freed African slaves who owed many of their social advantages to Britain[7]. The leaders of the Free Coloureds were themselves immigrants from neighbouring islands including English/English creole-speaking Antigua[8]. The English creole of some of these Free Coloureds was expanded by later Barbadian immigrants during the twentieth century[9].

1.Carrington, L.D. 1969; Leiberman, D. 1974.
2.Midgett, D. 1970:166.
3.Ibid.; p.165.
4.Le Page, R.B. 1977.
5.Barbadian/English creole is discussed in pt.III, ch.1, p.420. "Relexification" ⟶ English and the implication of a non-pidgin stage is discussed on p.572.
6.See pp.461ff.
7.See pt.III, ch.1, p.417.
8.Gaspar, B. 1979: 12.
9.Cf.Le Page, R.B.1977:115 who also suggests that this creole was Barbadian-influenced.See pt.III,ch.1, p.420.

This has led to the following approximate order of distribution in the oral use of Patwa, relexified Patwa and English on a scale of the domains below:

LANGUAGE	DOMAIN
English	Formal education, international communication, government and commerce, urban.
Relexified Patwa	Urban. (Rural)
Patwa	Rural. (Urban)

As suggested above and elsewhere, this rural/urban linguistic division is both historically and genetically important and can be summarised thus:

Patwa/English
rural (hɔtɛ)/urban (vil)[1]
'African' maroon (nɛg mawɔ̃)/mulatto or 'European' (mulat or bece)[2]

Both Carrington and Midgett[3] indicate the alternating use made of Patwa and English ~~and Patwa~~ by Patwa bilinguals as markers of familiarity/non-familiarity and/or solidarity/non-solidarity between the speakers. This alternating use of Patwa and English as well as relexified Patwa can also be analysed[4] in terms of their respective internal and external prestige[5] when used by speakers of different social ~~prestige~~ groups amongst themselves:

INTERNAL PRESTIGE (INFORMAL SPEECH)	EXTERNAL PRESTIGE (FORMAL SPEECH)
HIGH PRESTIGE SPEAKERS Patwa	English
MID PRESTIGE SPEAKERS Patwa/Relexified Patwa	English
LOW PRESTIGE SPEAKERS Patwa	Relexified Patwa

1. Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):16. The rural dimension is given a political analysis by Romalis, R. 1975: 228.
2. See pt. III, ch. 5, p. 510 .
3. Carrington, L.D. 1967:19-31. Midgett, D. 1970.
4. These conclusions are based on observation of Patwa/English speakers during fieldwork in April 1979 and on analysis of my own communicative competence as a native speaker of Patwa.
5. See p. 49 for a definition of prestige, external prestige and internal prestige.

As suggested above, the domains of Patwa and English are exclusive (i.e. in informal and formal speech respectively), but ~~that~~ relexified Patwa can have prestige in both domains of speech, depending on the speaker's social prestige. Relexified Patwa in fact occupies a 'middle' social status in that it is viewed by speakers of 'low' social prestige as a 'better' Patwa and is used by them in formal situations. By contrast, it was only used in informal situations by 'middle' status speakers, who were aware that it was not a 'better' Patwa, but who used it in informal speech in contrast with the English they use in formal speech.

This formal/informal division in attitudes reflects dual trends in St.Lucian culture. Leiberman[1], for example, using the matched-guise[2] technique, indicated that while Patwa speakers would rate Patwa as inferior to English in answer to a direct question as to their relative status, they would rate someone speaking Patwa in more positive terms, e.g. of trustworthiness, friendship etc., than when the same person spoke English.

This duality of attitudes is partly the result of dual historical influences. Similar to Ziguinchor Kriul-speakers[3], St.Lucian Patwa-speakers are now in contact with a language and culture which did not have a formative role in the development of their own creole. Their dual language attitudes reflect both the increased influences of English as an international language reinforced by the regional influences of a mainly creole English-speaking CARICOM[4], in contrast with a wish to cling to familiar St.Lucian traditional values, of which Patwa is a symbol.

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1. Leiberman, D. 1974.
2. Lambert, W.E. 1967 in Pride, J.B. and Holmes, J. 1972: 336-349.
3. See pt.I, ch.1, p. 84 .
4. I.e. Caribbean Community, of which St.Lucia is a member.

Such an analysis of the various domains of Patwa, relexified Patwa and English, and their respective physical, genetic and social distribution, would suggest a closer correlation between ethnic origins and language, especially in the light of other research:

> "St.Lucia has roughly four colour distinctions for classifying people: white (European and/or creole), red, brown and black. The prestige associated with these terms ranks from high to low respectively. ...There are relatively few European whites, creole whites, or red skins in Soufrière, although they are found in higher proportion in Castries"[1].

As previously indicated, however, ethnic differences were not found to be important in the use/non-use of the selected grammatical features by the Patwa speakers recorded[2].

Where the Patwa speakers interviewed by the researcher were of Barbadian descent, and did not fully identify with St.Lucian values, a limited and/or passive competence in Patwa was evident e.g. in the case of P 26 (C.N: 1830-2250). Where speakers were of African/St.Lucian descent but wanted to assimilate as closely as possible with European culture, the use of Patwa was suppressed despite some level of competence in the latter by the speaker[3]. Most Patwa speakers, who are now bilingual in English[4], share this attitude to varying degrees dependent upon their self-identification with various aspects of European culture. Urban and 'middle' prestige speakers more familiar with European culture used Patwa with greater confidence in formal speech than did rural and 'low' prestige speakers[5]. The reverse is true in informal speech where Patwa

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1. Leiberman, D. 1974:34-35.
2. See p.454. This past direct correlation between decreolization and 'de-negrification' was however definitely an important one in past St.Lucian society, in which the use of French and then later English by the Free Coloureds would probably have been preferred to Patwa as a means of obtaining the upward social mobility they hoped to gain, by becoming assimilated into French and then British culture in St.Lucia. See pt.III, ch.1, pp.445-447.
3. Such speakers refused to be interviewed in Patwa and said that they did not speak Patwa.
4. In contrast to previous years when most St.Lucians were monolingual Patwa speakers. See Carrington, L.D. 1967: 17.
5. See p. 461.

monolinguals, rural and 'low' prestige speakers made ~~a~~ more confident and competent use of Patwa oral literature than did urban Patwa speakers[1].

Some attempts are, however, being made to encourage a positive attitude to the use of Patwa ~~both~~ by Radio St. Lucia, which now broadcasts the news and a number of agricultural and cultural programmes in Patwa[2]. The Folk Research Centre (St.Lucia), directed by Fr.Patrick Anthony, has ~~however~~ been foremost in popularising Patwa as a vehicle of "folk-culture in St.Lucia" through a series of Radio programmes and its publication "Research Notes". The Folk Research Centre is also attempting, through its field-workers, to teach Patwa monolinguals to write in both Patwa and English.

This new wave of enthusiasm towards the use of Patwa over the radio is, however, resulting in the use of a specialised Patwa in many of the broadcasts. This is as a result of the use of French items taken from French dictionaries by broadcasters from Castries[3] whose knowledge of Patwa lexicon was at times relatively limited[4], and the need to make use of specialised vocabulary to describe items and events formerly outside the traditional domain of Patwa, e.g. world nuclear disarmament.

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1. See p. 464 .
2. E.g. the weekly programme "Vwa Sɛ̃t Lisi" - 'Voice of St. Lucia' on which the researcher gave a talk on Patwa and in Patwa in April 1979.
3. The radio station is in the Castries area where most of the broadcasters also live.
4. Given the greater use of English and relexified Patwa in the urban centre.

PART III

CHAPTER 4: ISLAND CARIB INFLUENCES IN ST. LUCIAN PATWA

As previously indicated (see pt.III, ch.1, pp.360-378) the Carib invaders of the Lesser Antilles, including St. Lucia, killed the male Carib inhabitants and took over their women. This resulted, from at least 1654[1] in a language dichotomy between Arawak spoken by females and Carib spoken by males.

The offspring of these two ethnolinguistic groups, spoke a language comprising of Arawak grammatical structure with Carib lexical items. This language and its speakers has been described as Island Carib.[2]

With the extermination of the Island Carib by European invaders, the Island Carib merged with maroons (nɛg mawɔ̃) in the Lesser Antilles including St. Lucia and St. Vincent.[3] The ethnolinguistic group resulting from this mixture have been described as the Black Carib.[4] The exportation of the Black Carib from St. Vincent to Belize (British Honduras) in 1797[5] resulted in the spread of Black Carib to Central America. The language of these transported 'Black Carib' has been described as Central American Island Carib.[6]

Arawak and Carib are still spoken in South America, particularly e.g. in Guyana and Surinam.[7]

The above terms for the Amerindian ethnolinguistic groups are adopted throughout this chapter in the manner outlined.

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1. See pt.III, ch.1, p. 365 .
2. Taylor, D.M. 1951:53.
3. See pt.III, ch.1, pp.372-374.
4. Ibid.; p. 372 .
5. Ibid.; p. 374, fn.2 .
6. See Taylor, D.M. 1977:45.
7. Described, respectively, in Edwards, W. 1978 and Hoff, B. J. 1968. Note that a version of this chapter describing the Amerindian languages mentioned in more detail is available. The influences of the latter on Patwa have however been highlighted in this version.

ISLAND CARIB CALQUES, CONVERGENCES AND LOANS IN PATWA

Calques and Convergences:

There are no calques and few convergences of definite Island Carib origin in Patwa.

Lexical Loans:

aguti - (Latin dasyprocta aguti) 'a rabbit-like animal hunted with the aid of dogs and also eaten'.
This is a putative Island Carib loan.
Cf. Island Carib:
"PIcouli [sic.], Agouti. Les sauvages font la chasse à l'Agouti avec autant d'avidité que les Français au lievre:" (Dictionnaire Caraibe-Français.)" "Agouti, liévre [sic.] du pays, pícouli". (Dictionnaire Français-Caraibe.)[1]
Note also Guaraní (an important Amerindian language) Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary (1952:20.)
Alleyne refers to "...aguti..."[2] as a Carib item in Patwa.
The item was in seventeenth century French according to Du Tertre and Chaudron, who also refer to implied similarities with rabbits:
"L'acouty, que quelques-uns ont voulu assez mal à propos faire passer pour le Lappin des Indes ....". "....agoutis; il est de la taille d'un levreau moyen ...."[3]
The item was also in nineteenth century French,[4] and is still present in modern French[5] and English (see above).

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1. Breton, R. 1665: 430 & 13 respectively.
2. Alleyne, M. 1961:2 fn. 2.
3. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654:340 and Chaudron, D. M. A. 1779: 38 respectively.
4. Littre, E. 1873: 80.
5. Robert, P. 1967: 33.

Du Tertre refers to the teeth of aguti being used in Carib ceremonies:

"... s'esgratignant la peau avec des dents d'Acouty" (my underlining),

and to aguti bones used in invoking 'magical' revenge upon opponents:

"Ils se seruent de ces os parlans pour ensorcer tous ceux contre lesquels ils ont conceu quelque rancune: ...."[1].

butu - 'a club', 'wooden', e.g.:

yo ba li de kut butu -

"they give him/her some blow club"

'They clubbed him/her'

i ni butu pat -

"he/she have club foot"

'He/She has an artificial wooden leg',

is a putative loan of Island Carib

"boútou, iboútoulou, massuës des Sauvages, elle leur servent d'espèe [sic.], et .... l'aura bien grosse, et bien grande ....".

"L'en ay pourtant veu un qui en ayant esté frappé n'en mourut pas ..."[2] (Dictionnaire Caraibe-Français.)

Du Tertre also comments:

"... de boutous (qui est une façon de massuë faite de bresil ou de bois verd, ou de quelqu'autre bois massif pesant comme plomb) .... Quoy que ce boutou ne soit pas trop en main, il n'y a boeuf qui'il ne terrasse d'un seul coup". ".... ils leurs donnent d'un coup de Boutou (qui est une espece de massuë, et leur arme ordinaire)".[3]

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1. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 406 & 409 respectively. See also pp. 340 & 341.
2. Breton, R. 1665: 94 & 95 respectively.
3. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 445 & 421 respectively.

A deceased grand uncle of mine with an artificial leg was in fact nicknamed Ãdwe butu pat -
"Andrew club foot"
'Andrew with the artificial leg'.

cɛ̃bwa ~ kɛ̃bwa - 'magic', 'sorcery', 'a spell':
"le maniment du magique est désigné par le terme général de tchembwa".[1]
A French origin is suggested by Verin who also relates the item to Patwa cebe ~ cɛ̃be - 'hold', 'seize':
"... peut-être en relation avec le mot tchember (prendre, attraper) qui viendrait lui-même de tiens bien, ..."
Verin also points to a potential Carib origin:
"mais aussi peut-être, du caraibe acamboué (R.P. Breton)",
as well as indicating the Martiniquan counterpart of this item:
"En Martinique, on emploie le mot quinbois".[2]
It seems likely, however, that "tchembwa" cɛ̃bwa ~ kɛ̃bwa has a different source[3] from cɛ̃be. The latter is a putative loan of Island Carib "'chaboui', seize, take, lay, hold on ...."[4], or a convergence between Island Carib 'chaboui' and French 'tiens bien' or 'tiens bon'.

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1. Verin, P. 1959: 360. Note that the item is not in Mauritian Creole; Baker, P. personal communication, 1980.
2. Ibid.; p. 360, fn.12.
3. Breton, R. 1665: 134. See also fn. 4 below and p.477, fn./
4. Taylor, D. M. 1951: 52, who points to Breton as his source. See Breton, R. 1665: 115. "Chaboüibae, nachaboüiroyénli, prendle [sic.], ie le prend. Cháboüinía lábouli náboüa, ie l'ay pris, empoigné par le poing". (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François.) "prendle, erébae," ... (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe, p.309.) Some association did,however, exist between "chaboüibae" and "acámbouée" according to the following references in Breton, 1665: "sorciere, ebénnêtou ..." (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe, p.367); "Ebénnêtou, voyez, chebéneboui". (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François, p.191.); "chebéneboüitiatina, elle m'a ensorcelé" (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François, p.131.) Such association may well be due to a concept of 'seizing' being a part of the Island Carib image of sorcery.

cɛ̃bwa was also perpetuated in the men's language of the St. Vincent Island Carib[1].

In synchronic Patwa the concept of cɛ̃bwa may include the idea of being seized (cɛ̃be) by an evil spirit. However, as cɛ̃bwa may have other dimensions e.g. ritual cursing, the use of herbs, etc., it is not as closely associated with the item cebe as Verin's comments suggest.

kanawi - 'large earthenware pot'. The item is a putative loan from Island Carib:

"Canari aurait la même origine que canot (kanoa) ... tous deux seraient dérivés d'une racine caraibe qui signifie qui contient"[2] (his underlining.)

Breton gives the seventeenth century meaning of this Island Carib item as:

"canálli, grands Vaisseaux de terre dans lesquels les Sauvages font leur vins."[3]

... "canaris pour d'autres usages chamácou, taólouÿ, roúara, iáligali.v.la page 107 de la première partie".[4]

As seen above, the item also referred to earthenware in general. Its presence amongst the French (italicised) items in the French-Carib Dictionary suggests its probable adoption into Caribbean French in the seventeenth century, at least by Breton.

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1951: 103.
Note also Taylor, D. M. 1951: 103 who gives acámbouée" as the source of the following items in the language of the Black Carib of Saint Vincent: "whence áhambue or ágambue of the Black Carib", which are also related to sorcery: "áhambue ... - 'to call down .... spirit helpers on the part of'" a sorcerer (Taylor, D. M. 1951: 112.)
2. Verin, P. 1959: 356, fn.15, who also adds: "Dans le créole actuel canari [his underlining] signifie à la fois un object de forme arrondie et toute poterie en général". This is still the case in synchronic Patwa: kanawi - 'earthenware', e.g.: yo pa ni kanawi - 'They have no earthenware', (lit. "they Neg. have pots/earthenware".) Note however, that Taylor, D. M. 1951: 56 gives guriára as the Black Carib item meaning dugout. This indicates that the item did not have as general a meaning as Verin's footnote suggests, at least in the Black Carib language of Saint Vincent. Further, Breton, R. 1665: 60 (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe) does not indicate that "canálli" also refers to "canot": "canot, oucounnihueri f. coulialla a ouloubali".
Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 439, gives the following reference to "Canoüa": "Les plus grands sont ceux que nous appellons Pirogues et en Sauvage Canoüa; et les plus petits nous les appellons Canots, et eux Couliala".
3. Breton, R. 1665: 107. (Dictionnaire Caraibe-Français.)
4. Ibid.; p.59. (Dictionnaire Français-Caraibe, 1665.)

The Island Carib source of this item is also underlined by the presence of a separate Island Carib item referring to the Island Carib implement and its equivalent in Dominican creole French:

"The canari, or earthenware, and no longer made locally, is the same name given to the 'fait-tout', or 'buck pot' of the Creoles"[1].

The item is also present in Senegalese French, also in reference to large earthenware pots and owes its origin to the Atlantic Slave Trade: ....

"terme très répandu aux Antilles et même en Afrique occidentale où il dut être importé naguère par la voie du commerce triangulaire ...."[2].

R. Mauny also alludes to the Island Carib source of "canari" as well as to its Slave Trade diffusion:

"Canari a donc franchi l'Atlantique entre 1728 et 1757, sans doute avec les négriers qui faisaient sans cesse le trajet Europe-Afrique- Amérique".[3]

kanawi originate from the Canaries area of St. Lucia[4] where 'red'-skinned St. Lucians of Carib descent specialised in making them and other earthenware implements from the local reddish coloured clay.[5]

kayal - 'a stork-like bird, frequenting marshland areas in Saint Lucia'; this is a putative loan of Island Carib "cayali - 'bird'", according to Taylor.[6]

kayɛ - 'submerged rock(s)', 'bay comprising the latter' <cayo "écueil, d'un mot arawak ..."[7]

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1938: 140. Note that kanawi made in Saint Lucia was being exported to neighbouring islands, probably including Dominica, in 1959; see Verin, P. 1959: 346.
2. Verin, P. 1959: 356.
3. Mauny, R. 1949: 65.
4. See pt.III, ch.1, p. 376 .
5. According to St. Lucian oral tradition, heard by myself, then aged 10 years, in Vieux-Fort, St. Lucia. See also Dalphinis, M. 1977(b):1.
6. Taylor, D. M. 1938: 156, who includes the item in a list headed "Birds, insects". Breton, R. 1665, however, gives no references to this item. The item is not in modern French, according to Robert's dictionary, and was not present in nineteenth century French according to Littré.
7. Larousse, 1975: 277.

mabuya - 'a grey coloured lizard'.

Breton refers to mabuya as a type of lizard:

" ... autre appellé maboya, qui a un cris effroyeble, acacámoulou" (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe.)[1]

"acacámoulou, lezard appellé maboya, des autres, brochet de terre". (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François.)[2]

Du Tertre also gives a description which exemplifies the use of "Maboüyas" to refer to anything which the Island Carib found fearful:

"... il fit mettre le feu à son Canon, qui fit un si estrange carnage de ces Sauvages, que ces pauvres gens croyans [sic.] que tous les Maboyas de la France estoient sortis de la gueulle de ce Canon pour les destruire ...."[3]
(my underlining.)

maniku - 'a mongoose-like animal hunted, usually with the aid of dogs; though not having the long ears of a rabbit, and having a slightly longer body. It tastes similar to rabbit. It is usually brown in colour and long-tailed'. This is a putative loan from Island Carib according to Alleyne.[4]

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1. Breton, R. 1665: 221.
2. Ibid.; p.8.
3. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 72.
4. See Alleyne, M. 1961: 2, fn.2, who refers to these and other Carib language survivals in Patwa: " .... manicou (animals); cacao, caimite (trees) .... moipre - snake".
Breton, R. 1665: 333, gives the following references: "Manicou, Renard, i'en ay veu un qui venoit de terre ferme, et fut presenté á Monseigneur le Cardinal de Richelieu, il estoit petit et longuet, et avait une trasse noire qui faisoit quatre ou cinq tours autour de son museau & se terminoit aux oreilles". "renard, manícou. aoüàle et mabíritou en sont encores deux autres especes". Breton, R. 1665 (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe, p.336.)
A zoological term for the item was not available in the Encyclopedia Britannica.
No references were found in Breton, 1665 (both vols.) for "cacao" and "caimite". No references were found for "moipre" - 'snake' in the Dictionnaire Caraibe-François, while the reference to serpents in general in the Dictionnaire Francois-Caraibe (p.360) did not include "moipre": "serpent, héhue, les especes de serpents venimeux, sont ahàoüa, alàtalloüata, ioulía, ioulíati, et màcao, les autres qui ne sont pas venimeuses, oüanàche, ouallaoucoule, touboulouero".

ruku - 'a red dye used in decorating the body during carnival and other local masked ceremonies'[1]. "roucou - 'plant from which red dye is extracted', used by Caribs as war paint"[2], Breton gives the following references to the item "roucou":

"bichet, roucou. Les Caraibes plantent cét [sic.] arbre proche leur cases ... cabichati nibichet, (disent-ils) il produit son fruict [sic.] par touffe, il est semblable au noyau de pesche, [sic.] mais il n'est pas dur, ils le font bouillir en l'eau, puis l'eau estant tiede, ils le frottent entre leur mains dans l'eau, la peinture tombe au fond et fait comme un pain de cire, ils mestent de la poussiere de charbon de sandal avec (parce que son éclat trop vif offenseroit la veuë) puis l'ayant détrempé avec l'huille, ils s'en rougissent souvent, et c'est leur chemise blanche: cette peinture ferme les pores, empesche que l'eau de la mer ne fige sur leur corps, fait fuir les maringoins et fait mourir les chiques"[3].

"rocou, peinture, emátabi, cochéhúe, f. bichet,.... il a du rocou, kicouchehuéréti, Kolocámbouleti, f. Kàbicheti"[4].

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1. E.g. papa jab - 'a ceremony in which men disguised as "father devil" devils run around the town causing mischief'. See Crowley, D. J. 1957.
2. Alleyne, M. 1961: 2 fn.2.
3. Breton, R. 1665: 79 (Dictionaire Caraibe-François.)
4. Breton, R. 1665: 347 (Dictionaire François-Caraibe.) Du Tertre, J. B. 1650: 399, also refers to this item: ".... et se frotter de roucou ...." Littré, E. 1873: 1742, gives the following reference: ".... cette matière colorante est employée pour teindre en jaune ou en jaune orangé la soie et quelques produits. On dit aussi roucou". The item is in modern French according to Harrap, 1962, but is not mentioned in Robert 1967.

According to Breton's subscript f., (i.e. 'female language') next to the item "bichet", "roucou" is the Carib equivalent of an Arawakan term.

titak - 'a little bit' is a putative loan of Island Carib "titaka, a little bit"[1].

tululu - 'a red coloured beach crab living on the landward side of the beach'. The item is a putative loan of Carib "Tourourou". Breton makes the following references to "Tourourou":

> "tourelourou, petite crabe rouge, itoúrourou" (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe)[2];"petite crabe de jardin, itoúrourou" (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe)[3].

Du Tertre, describes them as:

> ".... les Tourlourous (qui sont certains petits cancres) ...."[4] .... "Il y en a encoire deux autres sortes; sçavoir, [sic.] les Crables [sic.] blanches et les Tourlourous ...."[5]

Chardon adds:

> "Le Tourlouroux ressemble à la crabe, à l'exception qui'il est plus petit et que son écaille est rougeâtre"[6].

Littré described them as follows:

> "Jeune soldat d'infanterie ... Nom vulgaire, aux Antilles, des espèces du genre gécarcin (décapodes) .... ou crabe de terre ... dit tourlourou par les matelots, qui le comparaient au fantassin de l'armée de terre"[7].

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1938: 157, who also points to "... such Dominican creole patois expressions as 'tictac' .... "
   See also pt.III, ch.7, pp. 558 ff .
   Breton, R. gives no references to his item (1665).
2. Breton, R. 1665: 384. (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe.)
3. Ibid.; p.94. (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe.)
4. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 360.
5. Ibid.; p.376.
6. Chardon, D. M. A. 1779: 48.
7. Littré, E. 1873: 2275.

The nautical connection of the Atlantic Slave Trade and therefore of some Patwa lexical items could only have facilitated the entry of this 'sailor's metaphor' into French via Patwa e.g.:

"TOUTLOUTOU [sic.] .... 1834; probabl. [sic.] emploi fig. de tourlourou crabe rouge, 1686; mot antillais, à cause de la couleur de l'uniforme ...."[1]

zagaya — <Fr. les + agaya - 'beach crab living closer to the seaward side of the beach, and usually hiding its white-coloured body by burying itself beneath the sand'. Is a putative loan of Island Carib "agaya"[2] - 'crab'.

zandoli — <Fr. les + anoli - 'lizard' is a putative Island Carib loan (see also above.)

Breton makes the following references to:

"Anoli": "Auoli v laizard"[3] (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe), "Autre laizard gros comme un baston, et long presque d'une coudée il est gris, anáoli"[4].

Du Tertre gives the following description:

"Les Anolis .... Ils portent un pied ou pied et demy de longueur ... Ils ont le ventre de couleur de gris cendré, et le dos tanné tirant sur le roux, et tout rayé de bleu ... Ils sont tousiours dans la terre ...."[5] (my underlining.)

"Anoli" may have passed into Caribbean French in the seventeenth century. The item was in nineteenth century French according to Littré:

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1. Robert, P. 1967: 1804.
2. Taylor, D. M. 1938: 156. No references were found to "agaya" in either volume of Breton's dictionary.
3. Breton, R. 1665: 20.
4. Ibid.; p.221.
5. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 352.

"Terme de Zoologie. Genre de reptiles qui rassemblent au lézard, et qu'on trouve aux Antilles (anolis bullaris [latin]"[1].

The item does not appear to be in modern French.[2]

Grammatical Convergence:

Such convergences are partly due to the effect of the trans-Atlantic speech community established during the slave-trade, which influenced pidgins and creoles in both the Old and New World (see kanawi above).

ka - Hab. and Prog. marker. Cf. Island Carib "bouca"[3] Cf. also ka - a marker of the "present"[4] in modern Guyanese Arawak (Lokono). Note the convergence of Mnka. ka - Hab. and Prog. marker.

li - 'he/she' (3rd sing.) Cf. Island Carib l 3rd sing. (mas.)[5] Cf. the convergent influences of Fr. lui - 'he'.

m - a marker of the negative in the Patwa 1st sing.[6] only, e.g.:

ma vini	-	'I did not come'
"I Neg. Past come"		
maa vini	-	'I do not usually come'
"I Neg. Hab. come"		

m is a putative loan from Arawak/Island Carib, where m is also a negative marker, e.g.:

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1. Littré, E. 1873: 152.
2. Robert, 1967.
3. See Breton, R. 1667: 27 & 40.
4. Edwards, W. 1978: 16.
5. See Breton, R. 1667: 27.
6. See pt.III, ch.2, pp.439 ff.

"ma'niçiku tibu': false, lying thou art (m, negative; a'niçi, heart; tibu, thou hast)"[1].

POSITIVE: ... "niboyeiri, medecin, prestre des sauvages, ..."

NEGATIVE: ... "Manboyéiriti, il n'est point boyé, medecin"[2]

POSITIVE: ... "Kanicoüátibou, tu fais mal ..."

NEGATIVE: ... "Manicoüátiba, ne fais pas de mal"[3].

Note the possible converging effects with Mnka. mang - perfective (past/present), e.g.:

(n) man naa - 'I have not come'
"(I) Neg. come"

ma, maa - 1st sing. negative past progressive/habitual markers respectively, <Mnka. mang 1st sing. negative marker[4] also. These alternants[5] may have been influenced by Island Carib m - negative marker.

African language influences may have also affected Island Carib in the use of a plural marker of the same form as the 3rd pl. pronoun. The latter is a feature common to many African languages.[6]

In Island Carib singular nouns ending in i had plural forms ending in em:

"Les substantifs terminez en i, pour la pluspart un pluriel en em", e.g.:

"oüekélli, homme; oüekêliem, hommes; .... nibiri, mon cadet, nibiriem, mes cadets".[7]

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1938:155. See also Dalphinis, M. 1979(a): 8.
2. Breton, R. 1665: 83 (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François).
3. Ibid.; p.40 (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François).
4. See pt.III, ch.4, p.503 .
5. See pt.III, ch.2, p. 440.
6. See pt.II, ch.6, pp. 349&350 .
7. Breton, R. 1667:11.

Possibly due to the influences of African languages, modern Central American Island Carib (the language of the deported Black Carib) also developed this feature:

> "Some but not all nouns referring to animate beings take a pluralizing suffix which occurs in the same variants as does the personal suffix of third plural ... [e.g.]: iráhoią 'children', from iráho 'child' .... [i.e. ią - pl. suffix/3rd pl. pronoun] ... a nouns grammatical gender is marked only by third singular pronominal reference to it, as masculine or feminine in another word ...."[1]

The development of this feature may, however, be due to wider grammatical similarities between African and Amerindian languages in the trans-Atlantic speech community. Cf. modern Surinam Carib nouns are also pluralised by a plural suffix related to the semantic category of the noun - kong ~ gong ~ sang .... e.g. wooto - 'fish', wootokong - 'fishes'[2]. Carib nouns similarly, are themselves unmarked for gender.

These grammatical similarities are also reflected in the use of separate tense aspect markers for the future imminent and future non-imminent in Kriul, Krio, Patwa and African languages[3] as well as in Island Carib.

In the latter, the future imminent is indicated by the suffixation of the marker ba to the verb. The form of the verb used in association with this marker is derived from the present indicative form of the verb, by the deletion of the characteristic yem or em suffix of the present indicative verb: e.g.:

> "naramêtoyem" ⟶ "naramêtouba"; "ie cacheray"[4];
> "áiem" ⟶ "nouba, ou nóba, ie diray [sic.] "[5].

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1. Taylor, D. M. 1977: 59. See also p.45.
   Note that in Taylor's writings on Island Carib ... "ą ... which indicates the nasalised counterpart of the oral vowel" ... (Taylor, D. M. 1951: 12.)
2. Hoff, B. J. 1968: 228, whose exemplification has been modified by use of the I.A.I. orthography. See p. 51 .
3. See pt.I, ch.6, pp.188ff , pt.II, ch.6, pp.354ff and pt.III, ch.7, pp.566ff.
4. Breton, R. 1667: 41 & 54.
5. Ibid.; p.27-28.

Breton, however, also makes reference to what may be described as a future non-imminent form of the above verb, which is also derived from a present indicative form of the verb, i.e.: "naramêtàcayem" ⟶ "naramêtàcaba" .... "semble plustot signifier ie vais cacher, que ie cacheray".[1]

Archaisms of Island Carib Origin:

A number of items of putative Island Carib origin are rarely used except in the speech of older Patwa speakers:

"cali" - "Filet monté sur un cercle de bois d'environ un mètre de diamètre"[2].
Verin suggests that the item is of a definitely Island Carib, rather than of a French origin:
"Contrairement à une idée fréquemment répandue, le mot ne vient pas du français calut, mais d'un mot caraibe attesté par BRETON [sic.] "[3].
This item is not commonly used in modern Patwa and was not known to the Patwa speakers intcrviewed.[4]

lebice - "an instrument used in making cassave flour"[5].

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1. Breton, R. 1667: 41.
2. Verin, P. 1959: 356, fn.17. I am assuming that this and other items grouped by Verin with definitely non-Island Carib Patwa items, e.g. "betché", "bèkè", meaning 'white person', were in Patwa in 1959 and of course not from a separate St. Lucian Island Carib language at so late a date.
Verin, P. 1959: 530; see also pt.III, ch. 5,p. 510 where the African language origins of bece - 'White person', are described.
3. Ibid. See also Breton, R. 1665:105 (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François), "cali, filets, rests"; & p.174 (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe), "filets, truble, cáli".
4. By the researcher during a field-trip in April 1979.
5. Verin, P. 1959: 355. [lebiʃe] is a likely phonetic representation of "lébiché" as given by Verin, writing in 1959 about the language of the Saint Lucian Island Carib (in the La Pointe area of Saint Lucia.) See sketch map on p. 362 .

According to Verin the Island Carib pronounciation of the item was [lebiʃet], but:

"Le t final du mot n'est plus aujourd'hui prononcé en créole saint-lucien: lébiché"[1].

Although Breton[2] gives no references to this item in either volume of his dictionary, Du Tertre gives the following information:

"... de Hibichets (qui est une espece de crible pour passer leur farine.)"[3]

The item is an archaism in modern Patwa and refers to vegetable matter growing on the sea-bed. Because of its many perforations, it was used as a strainer, e.g. in the sifting of manioc pulp to make cassava flour. The modern metal strainer has superseded this implement in all but a few rural homes.

cɛ - 'heart' is a putative loan of Arawakan (/Island Carib) "a'niçi, heart"[4]; e.g.

"na'içi (F) - my heart"[5]. Note also possible convergent influences with variants of Fr. coeur - 'heart'

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1. Verin, P. 1959: 355, fn.14. Note that items so underlined were in italics in the original.
2. See also Taylor, D. M. 1951:56, who gives hibise, - 'sifters' in the language of the Black Carib of Saint Vincent. Note also hébichet referred to in Taylor, D. M. 1938:155, as one of the "many words of current Creole patois which appear to be of native origin", i.e. originating from the language(s) of the Island Carib.
3. Du Tertre, J. B. 1654: 422.
4. Verin, P. 1959: 155.
5. Ibid.; p.154. In Taylor's orthography ..."ç , always soft, is intermediate between the s sound, as in the name of the God Siva; ch as in machine ....." (Taylor, D. M. 1938: 153), while (F) indicates that the item is in the women's language and as such is of Arawakan origin. Breton, R. 1665: 40, gives the following references: "ánichi, coeur, ame. Ce mot mis avec le verbe denote, envie, volonté, desir, comme chinhacaécoüa clee banichi, tu as bien envie de rire ... " (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François). "coeur, courage, ioüànni, f. nanichi" (Dictionnaire Francois-Caraibe, p.76.) As indicated by the symbol "f" this item is of Arawakan origin. Note also Patwa pwa cɛ - 'take courage'; i ni cɛ kãpɛsh - 'He/She has great courage (endurance)' i.e. "He/She has a heart as strong as the 'heart' of a kãpɛsh - hardwood tree" .. Cf. also the following Island Carib phrase "le coeur du bois, taboúli," (Breton, R 1665: 77, Dictionnaire François-Caraibe.)

"piaye"[1] - "mot d'origine amerindienne signifiant sorcier. Il est couramment employé en langue créole [i.e. St. Lucian Patwa] (Cf. R. P. Breton: boyer, même sens.)"[2]. "On emploi celui de piaye quand l'opération a pour but de nuire à autrui ...."[3]

AFRICAN ITEMS IN ISLAND CARIB

A few items of putative African origin were also loaned into Island Carib, probably via Patwa and/or other Caribbean creoles, eg.:

P.mun - person. Cf. Belize (formerly British Honduras) Island Carib mutu - 'person', and Bantu, e.g. Kon.-muntu, meaning - 'person'[4].

P.obya ~ obiya - 'black magic' e.g.:

i mete obya ãlɛ yo - '(S)He put a spell on them'. "(S)He put black magic on them". Cf. Island Carib "abiąra - 'to bewitch, to work sorcery"[5].

Cf. also Twi obia fo - 'a sorcerer'.
"sorcery Personal suffix"

Cf. the earlier Island Carib "acámbouée" (above).

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1. Verin, P. 1959:360.
2. Ibid.; fn.22. I have, however, found no references to either piaye or boyer in either volume of Breton, 1665.
3. Verin, P. 1959:360.
4. Taylor, D. M. 1951:168.
   Breton, R. 1665, makes no reference to mutu.

5. Taylor, D. M. 1951:133. Note that the subscript ˛ = nasalization in Taylor's orthography. See also Taylor, D. M. 1951:103. Breton, R. 1665:4 gives the following references: "Abiénroni, sort, sorcellerie. Abienra: abiénragoüa, ensorceller. Kabiénracátiti, grand sorcier" (Dictionnaire Caraibe-François) "sorcière, ebénnêtou, kihénnêtou," (Dictionnaire François-Caraibe, p.367.) It is also possible that convergence with Twi obiafo - 'a sorcerer' has occurred or that the Patwa item is a direct loan from Twi. Such convergence would be very likely, given the presence of Black Carib in St. Vincent and probably St. Lucia in the eighteenth century. Note also J.C. "OBEAH" [sic.] C.L.P.: 326.

FRENCH DERIVED ITEMS IN ISLAND CARIB AND PATWA

As some Patwa-speaking maroons in St. Lucia and Martinique may well have extended their marronage to St. Vincent from about 1698[1], it is possible that they and not the French were the main contributors of the predominantly French-derived loans present in the language of the St. Vincent Black Carib from 1653 to 1797.

Maroons in St. Lucia and in Martinique, in 1698 and earlier, are most likely to have had closer contacts with the Island Carib population of both islands. It is these maroons who were also the probable intermediaries in the borrowing of Island Carib items into Patwa and Martiniquan creole[2].

The high frequency of French loans in the language of the Black Carib is in fact commented upon by Taylor:

> "French still exceeds all other ... loan words put together, although the Black Carib of Central America have been out of contact with that language for over one hundred and fifty years"[3].

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1. See pt.III, ch.1, pp.371&391ff and Dalphinis, M. 1977(b). Although marronage within Martinique alone and within St. Lucia alone is mentioned in the above reference, it is possible that references to maroon slaves from neighbouring islands joining the St. Vincent Carib, probably refer to maroons from St. Lucia and possibly also from Martinique.
2. Note Taylor, D. M. 1951:50, who points to French creole as the source of some Island Carib items: "Carib carigi, 'grapefruit' and pasai, 'passage' (conveyance as passenger) appear to have had their parent-forms in Creole French chadec sadek and passay passai, which have identical meanings." Note that Breton, R. 1665, makes no references to "chadec" in either volume of his dictionary. The item was not in nineteenth century French according to Littré and is not in modern French according to Larousse's dictionary. Note however "CHARDON [sic.] .... Nom usuel de plusieus plantes feuilles et tiges épineuses ...." Larousse, 1975: 298. See pt.III, ch.1, pp.371-373 and 391-393 . St. Vincent is the closest to St. Lucia; consequently if maroons escaping from Martinique 'ran' to St. Lucia, it is likely that the maroon route also extended to St. Vincent. See pt.III, ch.1, pp.371ff . Labat, J. B. 1700: 166-167, referring to maroons in St. Vincent writes that: "Besides the savages, this island is also inhabited by a great number of fugitive negroes for the most part from Barbados ...". However, as Barbados (Bridgetown) is about 110 miles from St. Vincent (Kingstown) while St. Lucia (Vieux-Fort) is only approximately 29 miles from St. Vincent (Porter Point), it is possible that the maroon influx from St. Lucia may have been underestimated by Labat or that their numbers were not significant in 1700.
3. Taylor, D. M. 1951: 47.

Further, given that maroons in the forested interior of St. Lucia did have some contact with the St. Lucian Island Carib, as the Island Carib loans in Patwa in fact suggest, it is likely that any of them carrying out '<u>marronage</u>' in St. Vincent would already have had the familiarity with Island Carib necessary to their contribution to the many French loans in the Black Carib language of St. Vincent.

PART III

CHAPTER 5: AFRICAN CALQUES, CONVERGENCES AND LOANS[1] IN PATWA

CALQUES

Given the many African languages involved, and the possible effects of convergence amongst them, even without the influence of European languages, it is often difficult to identify calques as being specific to any single African language. Calques, which seem to owe their origin to African languages in general, include the following:

ashte lamɛ̃ - "Buy hand", meaning 'to buy from someone', for example in mwɛ̃ ashte i lamɛ̃ Mɔgan, "I buy it hand Morgan" meaning -'I bought it from Morgan'; this is a putative calque on Hausa, Mandinka and/or other African languages, e.g.: Hausa: Na sayo shi hannun Audu -" I bought it hand of Audu", meaning - 'I bought it from Audu'.

cwe - "to kill", but also having the meaning 'to affect strongly', for example, in the song by Sparrow[2] called Zaina:...zãina fɛ̃ i ãkɔ pu cwe mwɛ̃ - "Zaina do it again to kill me", but meaning, 'Zaina do it again, so much that it really affects/touches me'.

The verb 'to kill' in both Mandinka and Wolof also has the meaning 'to strongly affect'[3].

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1. Defined on p. 50 .
2. A popular Trinidadian Calypsonean, also known as 'The Mighty Sparrow'.
3. Dalby, D. 1972:6. Cf. also Eng. You slay me -'You are having a strong affect on me'. It is possible that the meaning 'to strongly affect' in Modern English 'to slay' and 'to kill' were introduced into English via Black American speech.

go j(i)ye - "fat eye", meaning 'a jealous greedy glance'. This may well be a calque on one, or a number of African languages, for example Igbo "anya uku, literally: big eye but meaning 'covetous, greedy'"[1].

kɔ̃ di - "as say", 'like, as if', for example in

kɔ̃ di i te ka fɛ" ..... -

"as say (s)he Past Prog.do"

'As if he/she was doing'.

This is a putative calque on Mnka. a ko - "it say", meaning 'like, as if', for example, Batango maalaata a ko a be boi la[2] - "silk - cotton tree leaned over to say it would fall", 'The silk-cotton tree leaned over as if it would fall'. Compare also Hausa kamar a ce - "as if one says", meaning 'like, as if', for example, Ya yi kamar a ce zai buga shi - "he did as if to say he would hit him", meaning, 'He made as if he would hit him'.

kuwi vini - "run come", meaning 'to come running', e.g.:

sese i kuwi vini dubut bɔ i -

"sister him/her run come stand side him/her"

'His sister came running to stand next to him'.

Cf. Mnka. boring-boring to naata -"run come", meaning 'to come running', for example:

a baaring muso boring-boring

"his ~~sister~~ sibling female running-running

to naata a toota a daala -

Post-Position came him stand next"

'His sister came running to stand next to him'.

1.Dalby, D. 1972:4, for other examples.
2.Innes, G. 1974:54, l.329.

mama u - "mother your" is the short form of what can be described as the severest insult in most of the languages of Africans both inside and outside Africa. The long form in Patwa is kukun mama u, meaning, 'your mother's vagina'; compare, for example, the Hausa short form of the insult: uwarka -"mother you", which has the same meaning as the Hausa long form:ka ci uwarka -'(You) fuck your mother'. Note the similar insult in Temne ɔkara kamu - "mother your"; in fact, the original Temne word for 'mother'-ɔkara has become so closely linked with this insult, that Temne has borrowed the Susu term for 'mother' - ɔya to indicate the neutral, non-insulting use of the word 'mother'[1]. Compare also the common Afro-American insult 'mother-fucker'[2].

misye ~ misyé - "mister", meaning 'man', is used as a term of address, both to friends and strangers, in the same way that man is used in Black American speech, for example Patwa:

sa ka fɛt misye directly corresponds
"what Prog. do man"
to 'What's happ'nin' man', in Black American speech[2].Cf.for example, Mnka.cɛ , meaning 'man', which is also used as a term of address. Cf.also Wolof nang ga dɛf gɔrgi -"how you do man this", 'How are you?'. Note also the emphatic forms méesyée! and méesyáu!, used to express surprise. Note also the similar exclamatory use of Mnka. cɛ and Wol. gɔrgi.

1.Dalby, D. in conversation, S.O.A.S, 1977.
2.See also Dalby, D. 1972:7 & Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a):10.
3.Dalby, D. 1972:6.

move - Literally 'bad', but with the meaning 'good'[1], 'extrem(ly)', for example, misye u move - "man you bad", meaning, 'Man, you are someone to be admired', 'Man, you are good'.

The use of "negative terms to describe positive extremes in African languages"[2] underlines the above Patwa calque, for example, Hausa: Yana da mugun so gare ta -"he is with wicked love for her", meaning -'He loves her very much'; Yana da mugun kwakwalwa -"he is with evil brain", meaning, -'He is extremely intelligent'. In Igbo also this use of "Negative Expression for Positive Attribute", is a device described by N. Egudu[3], for example, "describing as bad what is naturally good: "O mara ajo mma" - "(s)he is badly beautiful", but meaning, -'He/She is extremely beautiful/handsome'; here "ajo" means literally "bad" and "mma" - "goodness". In (Ki)Yaya, a Bantu language, this phenomenon is also evident, for example, wafwa mukitoko - "(s)he is dead with beauty", i.e. -'She is very beautiful', and wafwa mu ngangu - "(s)he is dead with intelligence", i.e. 'She is extremely intelligent'[4].

Cf. a similar calque in Black American English, e.g. 'I dig you bad', i.e. 'I like/appreciate you very much'.

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1. As well as having the negative meaning 'bad'.
2. See Dalby, D. 1972:4.
3. Egudu, N. 1972:174-185.
4. Cf. however, Eng. (in contrast to French) ~~'I died laughing'~~, 'I need her badly', although this type of construction is much less typical of European than of African languages.

tan - "hear", but having the dual meaning of 'to hear' and 'to understand', for example, as in mwɛ̃ tan li u tan but meaning, "I hear/(understand hear) it you understand" - 'I understand it, you hear (me)'. This semantic range is typical of a number of West African languages, for example Hausa: ji - 'to hear, to understand', as in Ka ji? - 'Do you hear/understand?'; Mnka. men - 'to hear, to understand', for example, n ma a men - 'I did not hear/understand it'; and Guinean Crioulo bi - 'to hear' and 'to understand'[1]. Cf. also Yor. gbọ - meaning 'to hear' and 'to understand'[2].

ti bwɛ̃ ti bwɛ̃ - "little bit, little bit", but meaning, 'hardly, a little, hanging on', for example: mwɛ̃ la ti bwɛ̃ ti bwɛ̃ , meaning - "I here Dim.bit Dim.bit" 'I am all right' in reply to a formal enquiry about one's health. Cf. T/F kakara, kakara, and Hausa kaɗan, kaɗan, which can both be translated as 'small, small'[3]. Note the similarity in the duplication of the same lexical item for emphasis in Patwa, Twi/Fante and Hausa, and the similar use of both kaɗan, (kaɗan) and ti bwɛ̃, (ti bwɛ̃)[4] in non-committal replies to enquiries about one's health, e.g.: Hausa:

Q: -Kana lafiya? -'How are you?'

A: -Kaɗan kaɗan -'I'm just hanging on to life'.

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1. Wilson, W.A.A. 1962:41.
2. See Rowlands, E.C. 1969:265. Cf. also Eng. 'stand' in understand which may have had later a convergent influence upon this item.
3. Note also Nigerian Pidgin smɔl smɔl - 'a little' e.g.: i hɛ Inglish smɔl smɔl - 'He understands English a little', and Krio lilibit lilibit, - 'a little'.
4. P. bwɛ̃ <Fr. brin - "...Petit bout, petite partie de [sic.]..." (Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré, 1927:133), possibly with converging influences from Fɔn "gbẹ̀wi" - 'little', 'small', classed as an item from Hwĩda in Koelle, S.W. 1854:142.

Calques in Oral Literature:

A number of calques are typically found in Patwa oral literature and include:

P. lɛ u wɛ bab kamawad u pwi dife pwã glo wuze sa u[1] - "when you see beard friend your catch fire take water sprinkle yours"; Cf. Hausa: In ka ga gemun danuwanka ya kama wuta, ka shafa wa naka ruwa - "should you see beard of brother your it catches fire, you sprinkle on yours water". The moral in both proverbs is the same, namely: 'If ill-luck befalls someone in a similar position to yours, you should take steps to avoid the same thing happening to you'.

mama glo ~ mama dlo - "Mother Water", a beautiful mermaid in Patwa folklore who entices a man to come into the water with her, but then drowns him by pulling him underwater; compare the similar Ghanaian folktale about "Mammy Water", as alluded to in A.K. Armah's 'Fragments'[2].

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1. Toynbee, M.W. p.33.
2. Armah, A.K. 1974:169.

CONVERGENCES

ba - bai - 'to give' is derived from Old French baillier - baillir - 'to give'[1] with putative convergent influences from Hausa ba - 'to give'. The Patwa alternants possibly reflect this dual derivation.

bug - 'a person', 'fellow', is a likely convergence based on the Mnka. suffix - baga which denotes "person"[2], Fr. bougre and Eng. bugger. Both the English and French items are derived from Old French "bougre, bogre, a heretic". The meaning of both the French and English items was also extended to refer to Bulgarians as: "....the Bulgarians being accused of heresy. The popular detestation of 'heretics' led to the use of Old French bougre; etc., a heretic, in the later sense"[3]. The meaning 'homosexual' was present in both the French and English use of the item, possibly by extension:

> "BOUGRIE ...débauche contre nature [sic.]"[4]
>
> "bugger ...One who commits buggery, a sodomite. In decent use only as a legal term. 1555....." .[5]

By 1719 however, the English item also has the meaning 'fellow', 'chap', 'customer', in English dialectal and American usage .[6]

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1. Larousse, Dictionnaire d'Ancien Français, 1947:50-51.

2. Dalby, D. 1972:3.
3. Godefroy, F. 1880:698.
   The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia [sic.] 1889:711.
4. Godefroy, F. 1880:698.
5. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 1969:231.
6. Murray, J.A.H. 1893:1160.

A similar meaning is given to the item in contemporary French:

"bougre ...Personne, individu...."[1]

It is likely that Mandinka and Bambara speakers on Caribbean and American plantations contributed to the new 'English' meaning of 1719 as well as to the current French and Patwa meanings of the item.

ɛk - 'and' is a putative convergence between Wol. ak 'and' and Fr. avec 'with' - ~~'and'~~.

jã mwɛ̃[2] - "friend my", meaning 'my friend' or 'my companion' is a putative convergence between French gens - 'people', the French personal name Jean and Bambara jɔng (Mnka. jɔngɔ) - 'slave'.

j(i)ye - 'eye(s)' is a putative convergence between T/F njɛ - 'eye' and Fr. yeux - 'eyes'.

kɔ̃ sa ~ kɔ̃ ha - 'thus', e.g. i fɛ i kɔ̃ sa -
"(s)he do it like this (thus)"
' He/She did it like this'
<Fr. comme ça, possibly reflecting also T/F sa ~ saa, also meaning 'thus', e.g.:
"wɔ kã̃ sa so they say"
["they say thus"
"Saá nà eyé, so it is right"[3]
"thus and it be good"]

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1. Dubois, J. et al, 1966:154.
2. The item may well have had connotations of affection when used between slaves; cf. present day 'nigger' e.g.: 'my nigger' used affectionately between Black-Americans. Cf. also J.C. mi bɔi used affectionately between friends and associates without the hostility it did, and still can, evoke when used as an ethnic insult.
See Dalby, D. 1972:7 who comments on the putative convergence between the English personal name 'John' and Bambara jɔng in Black American speech.
3. Christaller, J.G. 1933:415. Cf. also P. di...kɔ̃ ha (feature 9.) See p. 20

Grammatical:

aí + VERB - for example aí fɛ i - 'go and do it', is used to form the Patwa imperative[1] (for both singular and plural persons.) This form seems to be a putative convergence between the French imperative phrase: aller + verb (infinitive), for example: allez marcher - 'go and walk', and the Mnka./Bambara second plural imperative[2] form: ali/aw + VERB, for example: ali/aw naa - 'come!'.

te - The past tense marker is a putative convergence of the Yor.ti - completive marker, e.g.:

"ó ti lo sóòde he went outside"[3]

["he Past go outside"]

with Fr. était (3rd.sing. imperfect), été (past participle), or other forms of être - 'to be'.

1.See pt.III, ch.2, p. 433 .
2.The Mandinka second singular imperative is formed by the use of the verb stem only as in taa - 'go!', or by the use of the verb stem preceded by its object as in a ke - "it do", meaning - 'do it!'.
The first and third persong (pl. and sing.) Mandinka imperative is expressed by the subjunctive.
3.Abraham, R.C. 1958:639.

mɔkɔ ~ pɔkɔ - verbal markers indicating incomplete action or states. mɔkɔ refers to 1st.sing. only[1] e.g.:

mɔkɔ maje -
"I Incomplet.[2] eat"

'I have not eaten yet'

while pɔkɔ can be used with all other personal pronouns e.g.:

yo pɔkɔ vini -
"they Incomplet. come"

'They have not yet come'

Although partly derived from a contracted form of Fr. pas encore - 'not yet' the items indicate putative convergence with Yor. mɔkɔ, the contracted form of emi kò ti -
"I Neg. Complet.
'I have not yet'

yo - 3rd. pl. pronoun was possibly derived from Wol. nyɔm- 3rd. pl., reflecting also Fr. eux- 'they', 'them'.

1.See pt.III, ch.2, p. 438 .
2.I.e. the incompletive aspect.

Extension:

kupe - 'to cut', but also meaning 'to copulate'. Cf. Yor. rɛ, ge both meaning 'to cut' but also meaning 'to copulate'.

zɛb - 'grass' or 'black magic', <Fr. les herbes[1] - 'grasses', Cf. Yor. ewe - 'leaf' or 'black magic'.

1.French les ⟶ Patwa initial z in a number of items e.g. I.Car./ Fr. les anoli ⟶ P. zandoli, see pt.III, ch.4, p. 482 .

LOANS

bɔ̃da - 'anus', 'buttocks', e.g.:
i sukwe bɔ̃da i duvɑ̃ mwɛ̃ - "she shook backside her in front me", - 'She insulted me by shaking her backside at me', cf.Bambara boda - 'anus', which may have been strengthened by Hausa "bodaddar", as in

"tana tafiya bodaddar" -
"she Prog.walk quivering buttocks"

'She is walking with quivering buttocks.

bolɔm - 'an invisible dwarf under the command of a witch-doctor' e.g.:

i voye bolɔm dɛyɛ yo
"(s)he send bolɔm behind them"
'He (made an agreement with a witch-doctor) to send an invisible dwarf after them'

Cf.Bambara "boli[s](fétiches) qui sont généralement des objects consacrés auquels on attribue des pouvoirs surnaturels et qu'il faut constamment arroser de sang et poulets et couvrir de plumes des victimes ainsi sacrifiées"[2];
the[s] is Fr. pl., hence boli + (h)omme.

1.Bazin, H. 1906:78.
See also Abraham, R.C. 1973:108, who also gives bodar ~ bodar ~ bodaddar.
2.N'Diaye, B. 1970:71.

ma, maa, mai - the negative past, progressive/habitual and futuritive markers in the lst.sing. only[1]. These negative markers are putatively derived from the Mandinka general negative marker mang[2] with possible convergent effects from Island Carib m[3] - negative marker for all 'subject pronouns', and the Twi/Fante nasal consonant realised mainly as: ng ~ m - negative marker, also for all subject pronouns e.g.:

T/F: ɔ ng kɔ fye

"(s)he Neg.go home

'He/She did not go gome'

T/F: ɛ m faa bɔkɛd

"we Neg. drop Past bucket"

'We did not drop the bucket'

Cf. also Fr. ne - the first part of the ne...pas negative construction, also used for all subject pronouns in French.

ting ting - 'the begining formulae for Patwa prose narratives'. Cf. Mnka./Dyola taling taling- ditto. Cf. also P.kwik kwak - ditto. Cf.Dyola karɛk karɛk[4] - ditto.

1.See pt.III, ch.2, pp.439ff .
2.Dalphinis, M. 1979 (a): 8.
3.See pt.III, ch.4, pp.483&484. Note also susu m - negative marker, see Houis, M. 1963:117.
4.See pt.III, ch.6, p. 518 . Note also the converging influences of Fr. craquer - ditto.

juk - meaning 'to stab' in Patwa, for example in

i juk mwɛ̃ - 'He/She stabbed/poked me',
"(s)he stab me"

may also be used as a noun, as in

i bai shat la ã juk -
"(s)he give cat the a poke"
'He/She gave the cat a poke/stab'.

This is a putative loan from Fulani jukka, also meaning to stab[1].

cu - 'backside', cf. Wol. cu - 'penis'.

gam - meaning 'style', 'boastfulness', 'showing-off', and 'to pretend' in Patwa, can also be used both as a verb and a noun, e.g.:

i fɛ gam vini -
"(s)he make pretend come"
'He/She pretended to come';

i ni gam -
"(s)he have style"
'He/She has style'

pa pɔte gam bã mwɛ̃ -
"Neg.bring showing-off give me"
'Do not come to me with all your showing-off!'

This is a putative loan from the Hausa verbal noun gama - 'boastfulness', 'showing-off'. Note also gam - ditto in Black American English[2].

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1. The item has a wide distribution in the Creole languages, including Nicaraguan Creole English; see Holm, J. 'A Socio-linguistic History of the Miskito Shore', University College London, seminar paper, 1977. Note also the Krio word cuk cuk - 'thorns', where the reduplication of cuk indicates a common method of intensifying a word's meaning in African languages, in this case the meaning is 'stab', reduplicated to form "stabstab" - 'thorns'. Cf. also Krio cúk - 'to stab', 'to pierce' and Temne cuk - 'to inject'.
2. See also Dalby, D. 1972:6.

jabal - 'prostitute' is a putative loan, with meaning shift from Wol. jabar - 'wife'.

jamɛt - 'loose woman', a putative loan with meaning shift from Wol. jam - 'slave' + Fr. - ette - nominal suffix e.g. fille - 'girl' ⟶ fillette - 'little girl'[1].

kɔntri buki "country clod" - 'country bumpkin', 'clod', 'unsophisticated person'. Cf. Wol. buki - 'hyena'[2].

pup - 'to defecate, of a child', is a putative loan from Wol. pũp[3] - ditto.
Contrast P.shye - 'to defecate, of an adult'.

jãba (Mt.) - 'elephant', Cf.Kon. nzaamba, Pende ndzamba, Umb. onjamba , Nkundo ndamba, and Lwena njamba , all class 9/10 and also meaning 'elephant'[4].

makabu - 'a variety of plantain'. Cf. Li makɛmba - 'plantain'.

1.See Dalphinis, M.1979 (a):8.
2.Note that in Wolof and other West African prose narratives about the hare and the hyena, the hyena is usually cast as the unsophisticated clod who foolishly tries to immitate or to pit his wits against the sophisticated hare, e.g. in Diop, B.1967:144-154, and,as pointed out by the editor of the above book:"The usual foil to the hare is the hyena, on whose insatiable appetites the former plays" Hutchinson,J.A. (ed.), 1967:21, in Diop, B. 1967.
3.The item is also present in U.S.English, and probably entered U.S. English, via Black American speech.
4.Guthrie, M. 1967-1971:244 of vol.3:"C.S. 924 -jàmba 9/10 elephant".

mɔlɔkɔi - 'a lazy person'; cf. Kon. moolo - 'a lazy person' in which m - is a class 1 prefix referring to human beings and the stem - olo - means 'lazy'.[1] Cf. also "mambloyo... (useless, lazy person)" in Palenquero Creole Dialect for which Lewis[2] has also proposed a Kongo origin.

1.Note that mɔlɔkɔi can be divided into the following morphenes mɔlɔ - a meaningless item in Patwa, kɔ -'body', i - 'his,hers, its'. Though the synchronic Patwa word mɔlɔkɔi is never used with the literal meaning "lazy her/his body", it is possible that at some diachronic stage mɔlɔkɔi did have this meaning, which reflects a putative Kongo noun which has probably been compounded with the French noun corps -[kɔ]to form the Patwa noun mɔlɔkɔi. i would then be interpreted as a suffixed possessive pronoun which has been analysed as part of the noun. See pt.III, ch.7 for a description of Patwa Noun + Possessive Marker as putative Africanism.
Another possibility is that the item is derived from mu - loki (Class 1) - 'someone who bewitches' in some Kongo dialects, a variant of Kon. nndoki (Class 9), also with the same meaning.
Note also the Kon. stems dogi ~ loki ~ lɔko, all meaning 'witchcraft', and Mayombe 'ndoki (Class 1) 'someone who bewitches'. Any relationship between 'lazyness' and 'witchcraft' is however very tenuous.

2.Lewis, A.R. 1978:3, S.C.L conference paper 1978.

mun - 'a person', 'someone',e.g.:

ki mun ki kuwi -

"which person Rel. run "

'Who/Which person ran?'

Cf. Common Bantu *muntu[1] - 'person', e.g. Umb. omunu - ditto, and Kon. muntu m./f. sing. - 'person'.

Cf. also Nyankore omuuntu, Ganda omuuntu, Luba - Kasai muuntu, and Zulu umuntu, all class 1/2 masculine singular forms, and also meaning 'person'.

waad - 'clothes' is a putative loan of Kon.[2] - vwat - 'to wear', unless perhaps from Old French "HARDES [sic.] 1539.....habit"[3].

bi - 'piece'.Cf.T/F bi - 'piece', e.g.:

kakra bi - 'a little bit'.

"Dim. bit"

1.See Guthrie, M.1967-1971:121 of vol.4:"C.S 1798 *-ntù from 1/2 person". Reinforcing influences from the stem ntu non-Bantu languages which have had some language influences from one or more Bantu languages e.g.:
Hausa: mutum - 'a person', 'someone'.

2.The potential for Bantu language influences other than Kongo alone is reflected in the Common Bantu (reconstructed form) dwaad - 'to take one's clothes off' and in Kimbundu (another Bantu language) - zuat - 'to wear'.

3.Bloch, O. & Von Wartburg, W. 1964:316.
Godefroy, F. 1880:418 gives no reference to hardes meaning 'clothes', but to "HARDE....troupe des bêtes fauves ou d'oiseaux ...." Cf. also "harden....hardes, hards...Of hards or inferior flax... A shirt he had made of coarse harden [sic.] ...." (The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia [sic.] 1889:2717.). For Patwa w~r, see pt III, ch. 2, pp.422-427.

bo - 'to kiss', 'a kiss'.Cf. T/F "bɔ .... to enter into close contact, to join closely (...strike together)...to agree, be in unison or concord: ɔnè no bɔ ,he is intimate on friendly terms with him; ɔde ne hõ bɔme hõ, he sets his love upon you...."[1]

kãkã - 'a quarrel', e.g.:

yo fɛ kãkã avɛk li -

"they make quarrel with him/her"

'They quarrelled with her'

Cf. T/F "kékã, irritability; fierceness, ferocity; - ɔyè kékã he is wild,unruly intractable, quarrelsome, untameable, irrepressible...."[2]

twɛ̃ - 'trouble', 'quarrel', e.g.:

yo ka shɛshe twɛ̃ ɛk mwɛ̃ -

"they Prog.look for trouble with me"

'They are trying to provoke a quarrel with me'

Cf. T/F twẽ , e.g.:

"twẽ...to withdraw mutually: wɔtwẽẽ woŋ hõ kõe, they fell out with each other and fought" "twẽ ataa (wɔ ...hõ), to struggle, contend (for)...."[3]

1.Christaller, J.G. 1933:24.
2.Ibid.; p.233.
3.Ibid.; p.550.

wawi[1] - 'a game', 'the name of a game'.
Cf. T/F "ware;... ware, a certain native game played with small balls or globules passed into holes of an oblong draught-board or table...."[2].
In St.Lucia the game is played using holes dug into the ground by children and by adults using a wawi bod - 'wawi board' already having the holes chiselled into it. This game is widespread in West Africa.Note also West African English warri (board) - ditto.

wim - 'a cold', 'mucus', is a putative loan based on T/F hwim - 'to blow one's nose'.

ye - 'to be' used in questions only e.g.:

ki ma u ye ? - 'How are you?'
"Rel. how you be"

Cf. T/F ye - 'to be'.

akwa - 'a small cake made with flour, salt, water and saltfish which is then fried'.It is eaten during All Saints Day during which most of the population[3] abstain from eating meat. Note also acra (Mt.)- 'beignet'. Cf. Yor. "àkàrà.... an oily cake made from beans ground and fried...."[4]. Note also S.L.K "akara Bean - flour fritter", also derived from the above Yoruba item by Hancock[5].

1.Note that r ⟶ w in Patwa. See pp.422-427 .

2.Christaller, J.G. 1933:558.
3.Which is mainly Catholic or Catholicised, see Dalphinis, M. 1979 (b).
4.Abraham, R.C. 1958:41.
5.Hancock, I.F. 1971:336.

ni - 'to have(possess)' 'to have to (must)' cf. Yor. ni - 'to have', 'to possess'[1].

pace - 'a lot' e.g.:

jo ni ã pace lazã -

"they have a lot money"

'They have a lot of money'

Cf. Yor. bajɛ - 'a lot'.

P.bece ~ Mt.beke[2] - 'white - man', 'white person', is a putative loan from Igbo bekee[3], which has the same meaning[4].

1.Rowlands, E.C. 1969:269.

2.See Verin, P. 1959:350 who comments on this Patwa form: "Les blancs qui représentant l'aristocracie s'appellent ici des béché: expression qui rappelle celle de béké dont on use à la Martinique".

3.Note also Williamson, K. 1966:132:

"One common folk etymology can be disproved.There is a common word in South-Eastern Nigeria for 'white man': Igbo bekee, Okrika ɓeke - ni - ɓɔ , Degema ɓekẽĩ, etc., which is often said to be derived from the name of Captain Baikie who 'opened up the Rivers' in 1854. But the word occurs in Koelle's IɓanI [an Ijo dialect] list as bighi, where gh is derived from earlier g or k, and the form corresponds exactly to modern ɓii.

As Koelle's informant had been in Freetown for twenty years before Koelle collected his list in 1850, the word is attested well before Baikie's voyage, and had undergone a sound-change to boot. It is thus quite impossible that the common derivation is correct, and that the word is considerably older".

4.Cf. J.C. bakra, with the same meaning and which is a putative loan of Efik mbakara ~ mmakara.

ã hã .... 'ã 'ã - meaning 'yes...no' respectively, compare e.g. Hausa 'a' a - [ʔa ʔ a] , also meaning 'no'[1]. The similar use of $\tilde{V}$ h $\tilde{V}$ and $\tilde{V}\tilde{V}$ is widespread in African languages.

angulu (Mt.) - 'a greedy person', e.g.:

i ka fɛ kɔ̃ angulu manyɛ i ka gade nu maje -

"(s)he Prog.do like greedy way (s)he Prog. look us eat"

'He/She is looking at us eat in the way that greedy people do'.

Cf. Hausa ùngùlú ~ àngùlú - vulture.

dɔmbwe - 'dumplings'. Cf. S.L.K "dumbáy / dombáy"

Dish prepared from boiled, mashed cassava or coco - yam ...."[2] for which Hancock suggests a Mende and/or Vai origin.

1.See also Dalby, D. 1972:8.
2.Hancock, I.F. 1971:470; 547.

Umbundu Items in Patwa Oral Literature:

The following items[1] were recorded in 1976 by Fr. P.A.B. Anthony (Folk Research Centre, St.Lucia) in the speech of Mrs. Albert (Mã Albɛ ~ Roza), aged 42> ,from the Sarot area in St.Lucia. Mã Albɛ is a ti Kɔngo i.e. "little Kongo" a St.Lucian of 'Kongo' descent[2] who remembered the items from conversations with her ti Kɔngo mother and 'Kongo' grandmother.

õjo - 'house', cf. Umb. onjo - ditto. Note also ~~Li. ndako ,~~ Kinya. inzu and Ko. (e ~ o)ndzo - ditto.

okãyi - 'woman', cf. Umb. ukãyi, Ko. nkkeento and Common Bantu "*-kádì "[3] - ditto.

olume - 'person', cf. Umb. ulume and Common Bantu "*dúmè " - ditto.

ogɔmbe - 'cow' ('animal'), cf. Umb. ongoombe, Li. ngɔɔmbe, ~~Kinya. ingha~~ and Ko. (e ~ o)ngoombe.

ungulu - 'pig', cf. Umb. omgulu, Li. ngulu, Kinya. ingurube and Ko. ngulu - ditto.

okambwa - 'dog', cf. Umb. okambwa - 'little dog' and ombwa - 'dog'. Cf. also Li. mbwa , Kinya. imbwa and Ko. mmbwa, all meaning 'dog'.

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1. P (63) (C.N: 3923- 4318 .)
2. See pt.III, ch.1, p. 386 . See also p. 506 .
3. See pt.III, ch.6, pp. 536-537 for full references to the above and other Common Bantu items not referred to above.

otɔ̃bo[1] - '(wheat) flour, cf. Umb. tombo - 'manioc flour'.

oshaji - 'chicken', cf. Umb. ohanji , osanyi - ditto.

ɔlɔsi - 'fish', cf. Umb. olusi and Common Bantu " * -ci " - ditto.

osutyangɔmbe - 'beef', cf. Umb. ositu yo ngoombe, "meat of cow"

Li. nyama ngɔmbe and "meat cow"

Ko. mmbizi angoombe - ditto. "meat cow "

osutiungulu - 'pork', cf. Umb. ositu yo ngulu , "meat of pig"

Li. nyama ya ungulu , "meat of pig"

Kinya. inyama z(a) ingurube and "meat of pig"

Ko. mmbizi angulu - ditto. "meat pig"

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1. The following items, also used by the speaker, were not found in the Umb., Li., Kinya., Ko., or Common Bantu sources available: oshaji ~ oshaj ~ oshaje - 'milk' and mohanda ~ mogada ~ mogadanda - 'banana(s) (both ripe and green)'.
The speaker also used ɔlɔshɔ <Port. loso - 'rice'. Cf. Li. looso and Ko. loso also <Port. and meaning 'rice'. Note the prevalence of initial o suggests derivation from a language like Umbundu which has the regular class 4 initial o prefix.
I would like to acknowledge the help of Dr. Hazel Carter in tracing the Umb. and Ko. items above.

omana ~ omina - 'children', cf. Umb. omala and Ko. (o)waana - ditto. Note the more common Patwa item mamai - 'children'.

okadimba - 'goat', 'sheep', cf. Umb. okandimba - ditto.

ovava - 'water', cf. Umb. ovava - ditto.

Patwa Items of Unknown Origin Including Potential Africanisms[1]:

gili ~ jili - 'relatives'

ra - 'those'[2]

~~sivoce - 'to be disgusted'~~

~~kacile - 'to think' <Fr. calculer with -k- -> -c- ?~~

~~kacil - 'thought(s)'~~

~~mash - 'shoo' Id., used to dogs.~~

kwɛnɛ - 'to fool'

bɔbɔlis - 'trickster'

balamin - 'pestle'

bulɵ - 'to be drunk' (Haitain creole.)

koke - 'to copulate'

~~cule - 'move aside' Imp.~~

jete - 'to look at someone who is eating, in a jealous manner'

makumɛ - 'homosexual', 'transvestite', 'close friend of the same sex'

dudu - 'darling' <Fr. douce douce or doux doux
sweet sweet
and Yor. dudu - 'black'?

ciwe - 'to scrub', 'to clean'

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1. I.e., excluding items ~~not~~ referred to as unknown in the oral genres of the first forty speakers. From a longer list of unknown items in French creoles. See p. 583 (see Appendix pp. 724ff.) of the bibliography.
2. See pt. III, ch. 6, p. 531 .

laje - 'to let go'

ish - 'child'

saka~saga bɔi - 'fashionable man-about-town' <Wol. saisai - ditto.
"flashy boy"

dukwe - 'ought to'

cicima - 'curry root', 'curry plant'

bitɛ̃ - 'thing', 'matter'

bambula - 'drum', cf. Kon. bula - 'to strike'

anik ~ anɛk - 'merely' ~~<Bambara ani - 'with', 'and' + Wol. ak - 'with' ?~~

mi - 'behold'

nana - "meat" i.e. 'the inside of a fruit' e.g.:
nana mango - 'The substance of a mango'.
"meat mango
Cf. Common Bantu *nyama[1] e.g.:
Kon. nyama - 'meat'?

kɛlɛ - 'a ceremony of the St.Lucian nɛg Jine'[2]
?<Mnka./Bambara kɛlɛ ~ kere - 'war'.

susu - a system by which money is 'banked' by a group with a member elected from the group, usually on a weekly basis; at the end of each month a member of this group is given the total monthly savings on a rota basis. Cf. the similar Jamaican practice of (J.C.) padna - 'partner'. <T/F "susúu..... to measure...."?[3] The item is almost certainly from Yor. esusu - 'thrift-fund'.

1.See p. 513 .
2. See pt. III, ch. 6, p. 529.
3.Christaller, J.G. 1933:486.

PART III

CHAPTER 6: AFRICAN ITEMS IN PATWA ORAL LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Despite ~~five-hundred~~ over 150 years of separation from its African language sources, Patwa oral literature displays a number of African influences at lexical and other levels similar to those in Kriul and Krio[1] which have remained in contact with African languages and oral literature.

FORM

The Patwa terms for the oral genres elicited[2] are:

GENRE NUMBER	TERMS USED IN THE ORAL LITERATURE QUESTIONNAIRE	PATWA TERMS/FORMULAE
1.	prose narratives	istwa - 'story' and kɔ̃t - 'story ,performed either as a song or a prose narrative'[3] and ã bwe-"let us drink" 'a toast'
2.	proverbs	bɔn avãti - "good advantage?" - 'proverb'.

1.Described,respectively, in pt.I, ch.5 and pt.II,ch.5.
2.In response to the oral literature questionnaire.
See p. 611 .
3.See p. 520 .

3.	riddles	Klaki...Sə...wɔtpɔkɛtuzanto -'Clerk(i)!Sir! .... <U - ' riddle ' used in a riddle game (see below) pɔzəl <Eng.puzzle and, kwacɛ <U[1] - 'riddle'
4.	songs in[2] general	shasɔ̃ ~ shãte - 'song' and kɔ̃t[3] -'narrative song'
5.	songs sung by children only	(no equivalent Patwa terms recorded)
6.	beginning formulae for:	
	(a) prose narratives	ting! ting!...bwa shɛz! "ting! ting!...wood chair" ki sa Bɔ̃ndye mete asu "what that God put on 'What did God put on latɛ?.... tut chɔz! earth.... all thing" the earth?...Everything!'
	(b) riddles	ting! ting!....etc. as for prose narratives (above) Klaki .....(see 3 above)

(continued)

1.I.e. derivation unknown; see list of abbreviations on p. 53.
2.I.e. the poetic text of songs.
3.Performed as a song (see below.)

7.	ending formulae for:	
	(a) prose narratives	kwik..kwak[1] -'Crick!... Crack!' bɔ̃ mãti -'Well said/lied!' "well lie"
	(b) riddles	kwik..kwak etc...., as for prose narratives (above)
8.	failing formulae for riddles only	mwɛ̃ mãje pwa and "I eat peas ma/ mwɛ̃ pa sav - 1st.sing.Neg.I Neg.know" both meaning,'I do not know'
9.	tongue twisters	(no equivalent Patwa term recorded)
10.	songs sung on special occasions only:	
	(a) religious song	(no equivalent Patwa term recorded)
	(b) marriage song	(no equivalent Patwa term recorded)
	(c) festive song	Magwit/Lawɔz,(see below)
	(d) dirge	kɔ̃t - 'narrative song', ju ;bɛlɛ; kutumba; plezi Jine[2]- ("pleasure African") - 'songs performed at Creole (Keɔl ~ Kewɔl) wakes[3] with or without their separate accompanying dances'.

1.Cf.Dyola taling! taling! and karɛk...karɛk - beginning and ending formulae (respectively)for prose narratives.Note also Jamaican creole krik..krak and Seychelles/Reunion French creole krike..krake, both used as ending formulae for prose narratives.Patwa ting ting and Dyola taling taling are both ultimately from Mnka. See pt.III, ch.6, p. 503 .

2.Jine <Fr.Guinée, Eng.Guinea - 'Western Africa' was a term used by African slaves in the Caribbean to refer to Africa in general e.g.Guinea was used to refer to Africa by maroons of Aku descent in Jamaica.See Dalby, D.1971.See also pt.III, ch.1, p. 386 .

3.As opposed to Indian i.e. Kuli funeral songs (see below.)

Apart from kɔ̃t (narrative (song) song), ju , bɛlɛ, kutumba ~ katumba, magwit/lawɔz, ã bwɛ and Klaki...Sə ... wɔtpɔkɛtuzento, Patwa has no other oral genres not mentioned in other discussions of African/creole and other oral literatures[1].

kɔ̃t:

Traditionally kɔ̃t may be narrated either in song or prose[2] and are thus typical of the genres in which thematic content may be presented in African/creole oral literature. In Hausa, for example, waka - 'narrative song performed by singing or recitation', may similarly be differentiated in terms of such modes of performance[3]. In actual kɔ̃t performances, however, the difference seemed to be between (i) dirge songs and (ii) narratives[4] apparently about actual people and events which are either sung or recited. Examples of the kɔ̃t (dirge song) and kɔ̃t (a sung narrative) are as follows:

kɔ̃t (dirge song):

avã mwɛ̃ mɔ
"before I die
-'Before I die

mwɛ̃ vle ã bɛ̃ lamɛ avã mwɛ̃ mɔ (Rep.once)
I want a bath sea before I die
- I want to bathe in the sea before I die,

se pu mwɛ̃ pwã ã bɛ̃ lamɛ avã mwɛ̃ mɔ[5]
Stab.for me take a bath sea before I die"
- I must bathe in the sea before I die'.[6]

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1. See Finnegan, R.1970 for such a discussion.
2. According to most Patwa speakers of 45> asked e.g.P 35/0(10).
3. Muhammad, D. 1977:10-11 differentiates the two types of performance as waka 1,which is sung, and waka 2 which may be narrated.
4. Cf.Patwa istwa - 'stories' which are always narrated.
5. P 4/(0) 4 (C.N: 2170-2214 .)
6. The sea is believed to have medicinal and spiritual qualities ~~of~~ most Patwa speakers who may bathe in it to rid themselves of physical and/or spiritual ailments.

As in Kriul kumpo and Krio gumbe, the dirge/song is so structured that one line is repeated by the audience as a chorus, while the rest of the song is sung by a lead singer shãtwɛl.

kɔ̃t (sung narrative):

sa ki sote pak mile a
"that Rel. jump fence mule the
-'Those who jumped over the mule-fence,

se Sɛntonya epi Siwil....
Stab. Sentonia and Cyril....
- Were Sentonia and Cyril....

yo pɔte plɛ̃t kɔ̃t li....
they bring charge against him/her....
- They brought/bring a charge against him,

yo made li ki leta i
they ask (s)he Rel. trade (s)he
- They asked/ask him what his trade was,

i di leta i se paye
(s)he say trade (s)he Stab. pay
- He said/say that it was to pay

se bai gute ki ka pase (Rep.twice)[1].....
Stab. give taste Rel. Hab. pass ....."
- To give taste to those who pass by.....'

ju,bɛlɛ and katumba ~ kutumba ~ 'Funeral Songs':

ju, bɛlɛ, and katumba ~ kutumba, have the same form as kɔ̃t (sung)[2], i.e. a lead which the shãtwɛl sings and a chorus which is repeated by the audience. Like kumpo and gumbe these songs are repeated as often as the participants wish. They usually have a musical pattern common to each type of funeral/song and upon which a skilled shãtwɛl or member

1. Consult P.10/0 (4). (C.N: 5176-5168) for the whole kɔ̃t.
2. See pp. 725-710 of the appendix for other examples of each of these sub-genres.

of the audience can improvise any number of themes. The musical pattern thus forms a formulaeic guide to spontaneous composition of the above songs. Each of these three funeral songs was traditionally related to a particular dance, all of which were, and in some cases still are, performed at funerals, as a means of diverting the attention of the bereaved from their grief. The songs include comments about the character of the deceased, as part of the funeral rites

of a nɛg Jine - 'a St.Lucian of Guinea coast (African) descent'
"negro Guinea"

or a nɛg Kɔngo[1] - 'a St.Lucian of Congolese descent',
"negro Kongo"

and as part of the traditional St.Lucian treatment of death as a festive occasion, i.e. plezi Jine - 'the Guinean's joy',
"pleasure Guinean"

at least on the part of the non-bereaved participants (see below.)

Magwit and Lawɔz[2]:

These songs, of similar form to the above including the leading of the singing by a shãntwɛl (see below), are associated with two competing traditional St.Lucian societies[3] of the same name who have the Magwit - 'marguerite' (i.e. a daisy)' and Lawɔz - 'rose' as their symbols (see below.) The songs mainly comprise praises to the respective virtues of the 'flower' society to which the singer(s) is/are affiliated. Each society has its own feast-day, coinciding with the saint's day of their respective flower, i.e. Magwit on October 17th, the feast of St.Margaret Mary Alacoque[4], and Lawɔz on August 30th., the feast day of St.Rose de Lima[5].

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1. Both discussed in pt.III, ch.1, pp. 386ff.
2. See pp. 769/770 of the appendix for examples of both.
3. These societies are not like the self-help societies of West Africa, e.g. in Freetown. The nearest equivalent to the latter are the susu societies of St. Lucia. See pt.III, ch. 5, p. 516.
4. See also pt.III, ch. 4, p. 417. Crowley, D.J. 1958: 7.
5. Midgett, D.K. 1977: 58.

ã bwɛ:

ã bwɛ - 'let us drink'
"Imp.1st.pl.drink"

These are toasts shouted around at a drinking session (usually of rum) amongst close friends and/or family, at which point absent friends/family and the participants are wished well and the things they desire are asked for e.g.:

pu u maye ã bɛl madam
"for you(sing.) marry a beautiful woman"
-'May you marry a beautiful woman'

an bwɛ yɔn asu tɛt Walta Rɔdni[1]
"Imp.1st.pl. drink one on head Walter Rodney"
-'Let's have one on account of Walter Rodney'

Klaki....Sə ...wɔtpɔkɛtuzanto - 'Clerk!....Sir!.... <U'[2] :
"Clerk!..Sir!.. U "

This formula begins a game in which each participant has a false name, e.g.:

pli malis pase lapɛ̃
"more cunning than rabbit"
-'More-Cunning-Than-Brer Rabbit'

It is up to a selected member of the audience i.e. Sə - 'Sir', to guess by asking the 'Clerk' i.e. Klaki (who is told all the false names) questions beginning with the following formulaeic interaction:

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1. Cf.Crowley, D.J. 1957: 9-10 who described ã bwɛ as being a family practice particular to the village of Aux Lyons in the Dennery region.It may well be that in 1957 this practice was Dennery centered but it is now more widespread in its diffusion and at least familiar to people of the Vieux-Fort region from where the researcher originated. Crowley also discusses a number of other oral genres e.g. Calipso but which are not discussed here.
2. I.e. item of unknown derivation used as a beginning formula of the same name. See list of unknown items on pp. of the appendix.

Klaki - 'Clerk! '

Sə - 'Sir! '

wɔtpɔkɛtuzanto - <U

se Antɔni ki pli malis pase lapɛ̃?[1]

"Stab. Anthony Rel. more cunning than rabbit"

'It is Anthony who is More-Cunning-Than-Brer Rabbit?'

Of the genres (and formulae) represented in the questionnaire[2] the first forty Patwa speakers responded to each ~~genre~~ in the following proportions:

GENRE NUMBER	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS RESPONDING
1.	25/40 (i.e. 63%)
2.	22/40 (i.e. 55%)
3.	16/40 (i.e. 40%)
4.	26/40 (i.e. 65%)
5.	6/40 (i.e. 15%)
6.	38/40 (i.e. 95%)
7.	34/40 (i.e. 85%)
8.	29/40 (i.e. 73%)
9.	19/40 (i.e. 48%)
10.	18/40 (i.e. 45%)

1.Consult P.1/Q. (1) for a description of this riddle game.
2.See p. 6//

This would suggest that prose narratives (and their associated formulae) and song are the most productive Patwa oral genres. Cf. Kriul in which proverbs and riddles are the most productive genres and Krio in which proverbs and songs are the most productive[1]. ~~As in Kriul, Krio and other creole/African oral literatures genres are not mutually exclusive and typically one genre may be contained in another.~~

CONTENT

As suggested below[2], African items were mainly distributed, in the specialized song genre (genre 10) and in prose narratives (genre 1), in the speech of rural speakers (i.e. P 32, P 34, P 35, P 37 and P 40)[3]. Island Carib items appeared mainly in prose narratives and riddles (genre 3), again mainly in the speech of rural Patwa speakers. English items were distributed throughout the genres, although also being more frequent in prose narratives. Unlike Kriul, in which the beginning and ending formulae are being relexified ——→ French, the similar Patwa formulae included some relexification ——→ English[4].

Within this creole lexical diffusion a number of themes important to the social history of Patwa speakers are reflected ~~e.g.~~ especially an African cultural tradition, a matrifocal social structure and immigration.

Many older St.Lucians claim to be either

nɛg Jine -'Guinea African(s)' or nɛg Kɔngo -'Kongo African(s)'
"negro Guinea" "negro Kongo"

---

1. See pt.I, ch.5, p. 146 & pt.II, ch.5, p. 319 respectively.
2. See pp.526-528.
3. See pt.III, ch.2, for the social categories of all the Patwa speakers interviewed.
4. ~~Possibly~~ This relexification may be related to the common Latin lexicon in the case of Kriul and French in contrast to more divergent lexical sources of Patwa and English.

African (and Other) Lexical Items in the Oral Literature Responses of Forty Patwa Speakers

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
P 1 (ii)	Eng.		Eng. P	P	P	P	(i) P	P		Eng.
P 2	P	P		P		P	P	P		
P 3	I.Car.	P	I.Car.	P I.Car		P	P	P	P	
P 4	Eng.	P		Eng.		P	P	P		
P 5	Eng.			Eng.		Eng.	P	Eng.	P	
P 6		P		P		P	P	P		P
P 7	I.Car.	Eng.				Eng.	Eng.	P		
P 8	Eng. P	P	Eng.			P	P	P		
P (9)	Fr.	P		P A						
P 10	Eng.		Eng.	P		P	Eng.	Eng.		Eng.
P 11						P	P	P		
P 12				P		P	Eng.	Eng.	P	U
P 13	Eng.	P		P		P	P	P		P
P 14			P			P	P		P	
P 15		I.Car. P		P		P	P	Eng.	P	P
P 16 ~~(ii)~~				P		P	P			
P 17 ~~(ii)~~										
P 18										

(continued)

(i) Note that most speakers used ting ting Mnka./Dyola taling taling and kwik kwak Dyola karɛk karɛk as beginning and ending formulae (respectively). See pt.III, ch.5, for details on both items.

(ii) See general comments on speaker responses to the Oral Literature Questionnaire on p.[illegible] of the appendix. See below for key. Note that first language Patwa speakers are underlined, Patwa monolinguals are also bracketed.

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
P 19	Eng.	P		P	P	P	P	Eng.	P	I.Car. P
P 20	Eng.			P		P	P			
P 21		P	Eng.			P	P		Eng.	Eng.
P 22	A I.Car. Eng.	Eng.	P	U		P	P	P	P	Eng.
P 23	Eng.			P		P	P	Eng.	P	
P 24						P	P			
P 25	Eng.			Eng.						
P 26				P		P		P		
P 27	H Eng.	Eng.				P		P	P	'H'
P 28		P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	Eng.
P 29		P			U	P	P		P	
P 30		P			Eng.	P	Eng.	P		
P (31)	P I.Car.		P			P	P	P		
P (32)	Eng.	P		P		P	P	P	P	A P
P (33)	Eng.		Eng.	Eng.		P				
P 34	A Eng.	U Eng.	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	U
P 35	A I.Car Eng.	Eng.	P	P		P	P	P	P	A U P
P 36										
P 37	P		Eng.			P	P	P		P
P 38	Eng.	P				P	P	P	P	
P 39	A Eng.		I.Car. P	P		P	P	P		U

(continued)

SPEAKER NUMBER	AFRICAN (AND OTHER) ITEMS BY GENRE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
P (40)	A U Eng.	P	A I.Car. Eng. Port	U U		P	P	P	P	A P U
P 41	Eng.		P	Eng.	P	Eng. U	Eng.	P	Eng.	Eng.
P (42)	U P					P	Eng.			
P 43	P	P		Eng.		P				P

Key:

P - Patwa items only.

Items from other languages:

I.Car.- Island Carib

A - African (calque, convergence)

'H - Hindi'

Port.- Portuguese

Eng.- English

U - Unknown

Blank square= not recorded.

while their descendents may claim to be

ti Jine - 'of Guinea descent' or ti Kɔngo- 'of Kongo descent'
"little Guinea" "little Kongo"

Although both descent groups have now largely converged in the Creole society, and both terms are used interchangeably, items of oral literature can still be related to the religious practices and dances of each group.

The kɛlɛ (<U), i.e. the sacrifice of a ram, ~~the~~ and drinking of its blood, ~~being~~ accompanied by all night dancing, by nɛg Jine on the death of a relative, has been said to be associated with "ritual prayers in an 'African' language as yet unstudied"[1]. None of the sources making reference to kɛlɛ, however, give any exemplification. Given the early importation of Mandinka and Wolof slaves in St.Lucia,[2] it is likely that they, the nɛg Jine, left only these allusions to their practices in living memory.

The dances and religious concepts of the nɛg Kɔngo, the later slave imports, are however more in evidence e.g.:

dɛndəlo ti Kɔngo asu lamɛ mama ....
" <U little Kongo on sea mother
-'A Kongo descendent is on the water mother

o dɛdəlo ti Kɔngo ka navije mama.....
oh, <U little Kongo Prog. navigate mother
- A Kongo descendent is sailing mother,

aiuye mesye dam ti Kɔngo ka navije mama.....
<U mister lady little Kongo Prog. navigate mother
- ladies and gentlemen, a Kongo descendent is sailing mother,

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1. See Crowley, D.J. 1957: 8; Simmons, H.F.C in Brathwaite, E. 1963: 41-49 & pt.III, ch.5, p. 516 .
2. See pt.III, ch.1, p. 385 .

dɛndəl ti Kɔngo asu lamɛ mama[1].....

<U little Kongo on sea mother"

...- a Kongo descendent is on the sea mother! '

Both the dances and the kɔ̃t form (e.g. above), performed at the wakes of the nɛg Kɔngo, are called kutumba ~ katumba, although as suggested above the present free variation between nɛg Kɔngo ~ nɛg Jine has led to the use of the term katumba for kɔ̃t dancing and singing irrespective of descent group. This lack of differentiation in the minds of many Patwa speakers especially those of <42, may explain a similar lack of distinction in previous research on this topic[2].

Katumba dancing typically involves a 'competition' between a man and a woman in the centre of the seated or standing crowd. The man initially often makes use of cross-over steps while the woman twists her waist around. The dance reaches its climax with the couple dancing close to each other, without touching, to see which one can outdo the other in twisting the waist in the most sexually daring manner to the beat of the drums. The encircling crowd shout encouragement in support of either the man or woman e.g.:

ba li fɛ -'Show what you are made of!' or

"give him/her iron"

mi fam - 'That is what I call a real woman'.

"see woman"

The loser is the one who leaves the circle first for either

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1. Consult P(63) (C.N: 3923 - 4318 .)This song and other items referred to in this chapter as P(63) ~~is~~ are from a series of radio programmes on the nɛg Jine of St.Lucia compiled by Fr.P.A.B.Anthony (Paba to his friends)of the Folk Research Centre,Castries,St.Lucia and broadcast~~ed~~ respectively on 21.5.74,4.6.74, 11.6.74 over Radio St.Lucia. (The programmes are numbered 48,49 and 50, respectively,in the sound archives of the Folk Research Centre.) I would like to acknowledge the help given me in my research (in St.Lucia in April 1979) by the Folk Research Centre described in the Bulletin of the Folk Research Centre, vol.1,no.1, 1979: 3.I was asked by Paba to trace the origin of the African items recorded in these programmes for the Folk Research Centre.This has been done on pp.536ff and in pt.III, ch.6, pp.512-514.
2. E.g. in Crowley, J.D. 1957.

a new challenger or couple to take the 'floor'[1].

As suggested above, death is traditionally looked upon as a pleasurable release from the pains of life on the part of the nɛg Jine/Kɔngo, a number of whose descendents still see a funeral as an occasion for the comsuptiom of free alcohol and for dancing rather than for grief. This more joyful conceptualization of death may not be unrelated to traditional African and Carib[2] attitudes to death, as well as to the psychic connection for some nɛg Jine/Kɔngo that dying led to a closer connection with their African ancestors. Whether this is viewed as part of the widespread African practice of ancestor veneration/worship or as part of a 'slave religion', in which death would mean a return to Africa, the related kɔ̃t are clearly an on-going part of African culture in Patwa e.g.:

" Gili Jili pe
[" <U <U country
- Relatives in Guinea

I di a koloni .....
(s)he say ~~to~~ in colony.....
- He speaks from the Colony.....

Ra fami ki lwa ki
<U family Rel. far Rel.
- Those far away

Pòkò tan kõnsa
Neg.Complet. hear like this
- have not heard.

Nu Jiné ka kwiyé pu fè
we Guinea Prog. call to make
- We Guineans are calling to tell you

Sav yon mò isi.....
know one die here....."]
- One is dead....."[3]

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1. According to Patwa speakers asked and personal observation. See also Crowley, J.G.1957 & Deterville, V.1970. All the above funeral practices are very similar to those of the Black Carib, described in Taylor, D.M. 1951:99.
2. See Taylor, D.M.1951:99.
3. Crowley, D.J.1957:9.

This view of death contrasts with that of Patwa speakers of Indian descent who view death as an occasion only for grief. Indeed in the funeral ceremonies of the latter, solemn songs in 'Hindi' were sung by older Hindi speakers who specialized in such singing e.g. P 48 (also 'HINDI':1.)

adew de wodewoc anahan sahãhã anajənəgəkɔ yahãhaga
<U <U <U <U <U
k'oonahanahãh .....[1]
<U

Items in the short extract above, were, however, not recognized as being from Hindi or from any other Indian language by Hindi speakers asked, including Dr. R.D.Gupta (Dept. of South Asia, S.O.A.S.)[2]. Such hymns[3] were called sanki by P 48 and may well be 'translations' of English hymns composed by the American evangelists Ina Sankey and Dwight Moody. As such hymns are also sung in English during Creole wakes in St.Lucia (but unrepresented in my data) this seems highly likely.

Simultaneous with this singing, the participants walked four times around the body of the deceased, which was then burnt. At present, however, the merger of most Indians into the Creole/African 'genetic pool' has resulted in the 'disappearance' of many of their original practices and its associated oral literature. My grand-uncle (R.I.P), a part-Indian, for example, could only remember some items from a Hindi lulaby and the actual practices of the ~~past~~ above Indian hosen (<U) ceremony in St.Lucia. The majority of his oral literature is in Patwa[4]. One 'Hindi'/Patwa bilingual was however recorded[5].

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1. Consult P 48/0(4) (C.N: 0335-0927, 0927-1033) for the whole song and other Hindi oral items.
2. Personal communication, S.O.A.S 1980.
3. In an unknown 'Indian' language.
4. Consult P27/0 (10) (C.N: 2270 - 2545 .)
5. I.e. P 48('HINDI':1) (see p. 746 of the appendix) who said that he and his brother were the only two 'Hindi' speakers left in the Vieux-Fort area. Although they were both usually called on to sing sanki he had not done so for some time due to ill-health and perhaps P 48's view that

kai Kuli kai vin but -
"house Coolie Fut(N.Im) come end"
'Indians are coming to an end in (St.Lucia)'.

Although this may be to a large extent true, in-depth research into Indian language and cultural influences in Patwa is likely to throw new light on the important contributions of kai Kuli - "the house of Coolie" to St.Lucia.

The matrifocal structure of present St.Lucian society, itself not unrelated to African tradition and to a slave-past in which the 'breeding' of slaves was practiced, is another theme clearly apparent in the oral literature.Typical of prose narratives about human characters is a description of the hero's relationship with his mother.Descriptions of fathers, although also present, are not as frequent. In the two prose narratives about the young male heroes, Katɔz - 'Fourteen' and the young man who made love to the devil's daughter[1], it is the hero's mother who, apart from the hero, figures most prominently.The fathers are never mentioned.

Past emmigration to England and present emmigration to other Caribbean islands, whose close political and economic ties to America make employment more likely than in St.Lucia, are also reflected in the literature. For example in the following riddle the link with between St.Lucians and their migrant relatives in England is evident:

Q: mama mwɛ̃ wɛste Langlitɛ i gwiyɛ̃ bã mwɛ̃,
"mother my stay England she grin give me
-'My mother remained in England and grinned at me,

sa sa ye?
what that be?
- What is that?

A:[2] zeklɛ
lightning"
- Lightening'

In the following song extract, however, a migrant's emotional and economic aims in going to Sɛnt Krais - St. Croix (United States Virgin Islands) are evident:

.....mama mwɛ̃ ka pati ai sɛnt Krais,
"mother, I Fut.(Im.) leave go Saint Croix
-'Mother, I am going to Saint Croix,

1.Consult P 3/O (3) (C.N: 1699- 1816 .)
2.I.e question and answer respectively; see p.52&53.

mwɛ̃ kai twavai pu mwɛ̃ viwe lakai,
I Fut.(N.Im.) work for I return home
- I will work to return home,

ɛ̃ tu də kas du mwɛ̃se voy keshɔi.....
in all of case sweet I can send something....
- In any case (my) sweet I can send (you) something...

ai ai ai dudu mwɛ̃ , mwɛ̃ ka twavai
ai ai ai sweet sweet my I Fut.(Im.) work
- Ai, ai, ai my darling, I will work,

pu mwɛ̃ viye maye u ....[1]
for I return marry you...."
- To return and marry you.....'

As with Kriul and Krio oral literature, these themes and lexical sources will be discussed in terms of the following:

1) Archival Function,
2) The Use of Praise and Abuse,
3) Political Function,
4) Social Function, and
5) Audience Participation.

1) Archival Function:

Typical of African/creole oral literature is the preservation of culturally valued items within one or more of its genres, one of the richest sources of St.Lucian history being Patwa oral literature. In the following narrative, for example, a Patwa speaker, a ti Kɔngo , related the oral history of her nɛg Kɔngo grand-father:

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1. Consult P 3/O (4) (C.N: 1699-1816) for the whole song.

Fr.P.A.B.Anthony: ..kimɔ n i.. ....

["what manner <Fr.manière -'manner'name he

Mrs.St.Hill: Nyunɔk ...yo te mɛnɛ i se
Nyunok... they Past bring he Stab.
pu tã lɛslavaj....
for time slavery ....
yo [i.e. Africans]van li yo van li
they sell he they sell he
pu plãsh...yo van li pu hash...
for plank...they sell he for axe....
yo jik van li pu dlo.....i te
they even sell he for water...he Past
ka tavai o Kap in St.Lucia i te
Prog. work Loc.Prep.Cape he Past
ka a Boseju in St.Lucia
Prog. Loc.Prep.Beausesjours....." [1]

-'.....What was his name? Nunock...they brought him here during slavery times... they (i.e. Africans) sold him. They sold him for planks, ...they sold him for axes... they even sold him for water...he used to work in the Cape and Beausesjours areas (in St.Lucia).....'

Although this exert typifies the distortions due to exaggeration in many oral historical sources, the reference to both Beausesjours and Cape as slave estates in the speech of other St.Lucians may not be unrelated to the actual historical facts.

1.P (63) (C.N: 3923 - 4318 .)
See p. 8 . These items were recorded by Fr.P.A.B. Anthony of the Folk Research Centre, St.Lucia in 1974.

Dubious as the Kongo/Bantu 'roots' of the above speaker may be, the Umbundu/Bantu ancestry of one ma Albɛ - 'Mrs.Albert' "mother Albert" or Rosa[1] - 'Rose' from Sarot (in St.Lucia) is evident in most of the items of Umbundu/Bantu[2] origin included amongst the following vocabulary, remembered by Rosa from conversation with her mother and grandmother i.e.:

ITEMS RECORDED	COMMON BANTU	PATWA	ENGLISH
ɔ̃jo	"*-jo" - ' house'	kai	'house'
okãyi	"* -kádì" - 'woman', 'wife'	fam	'woman'
olume	"*-yum" - 'person' , "*-dúmì" - 'male '	nɔm	'man'
ogɔmbe	"* -gòmbè" - 'cattle'	bɛf, zanimo	'cow', 'animal'
ungulu	"* -gùdú" - 'pig'.	koshɔ̃	'pig'
okambwa	"* -búà" - ' dog '	shyɛ̃	'dog'
	"* -kàmbá"- 'tortoise'		

---

1. Typical of many St.Lucians is the practice of having another 'unofficial' name. This may not be unrelated to the fact of the African ~ European name of the original African slaves in St.Lucia as well as to the Amerindian belief that if an enemy knows your name (s)he could use it for witchcraft against you. See Taylor, D.M. 1951: 82.
2. The Umbundu/Bantu origins of most of these items are described in detail in pt.III, ch. 5 pp. 512-514.

ITEMS RECORDED	COMMON BANTU	PATWA	ENGLISH
oshaji	"* -cùmbì" - 'chicken '	pul	'chicken'
okadimba	"*-budi" - ' goat '		
	"* -méémé" - ' sheep '	kabwit/matɔ̃	'goat(s)/sheep'
ɔlɔshɔ	"* -púŋgá" -	diwi	'rice'
ɔlɔsi	"*-ci" - 'fish'	pwesɔ̃/lamowi	'fish/saltfish'
osutyangɔmbe	"* -nama"- 'meat'	vyan bɛf	'beef' (+ ogɔmbe above)
osutiungulu	"*-gùdùbè"- 'pork'	vyan koshɔ̃	'pork' (+ ungulu above)
ovava	"* -díbá" — 'water'	dlo	'water'
oshãji-oshaj - oshaje	"* -béédè"- 'milk'	lɛt	'milk'
mohanda-mogada - mogadanda	"* -kòndè"- 'banana'	banan/fig	'(ripe)banana(s), (green)banana(s)'
otɔ̃bo	"* -yùnga"- 'flour'	fawin fwãs/mãyɔk	'(wheat)flour/, (manioc)flour'
omana-omina	"*-yana" - 'children'	mamai[1]	' children '

1.P (63).These common Bantu reconstructions are from Guthrie, C.S nos. respectively, 946,986,2166, P.S. 193,849,887,174, P.S. 278,415,1909,185,1297, vol.2, p.153,333,1910,888,605, 73,1144, and 1922. The Bantu/Umbundu origin of these items is discussed in greater detail in pt.III, ch. 5, pp. 512-514.

2) Use of Praise and Abuse:

The use of praise and abuse as social propaganda aimed at getting individuals to conform to a set of social norms is well illustrated in the Lawɔz/Magwit songs. The songs typically praise the flower-society to which the singer belongs, but abuse members of the competing society. ~~Margeret~~ Magwit members are, for example, criticized in one Lawɔz song as being uneducated[1]. Such a use of mutual abuse once led to street riots between the rival societies in 1884[2]. Although the actual origin of both societies is unknown, they are thought to have originated from the days of slavery[3].

It is not impossible that they were symbols of the past French/English affiliations of St.Lucian society, particularly given the fact that one of the Magwit songs recorded was in English[4], while all of the Lawɔz songs were in Patwa. Their fierce competition in praise and abuse may well have been typified by past violent divergence of loyalties and was possibly not unrelated to the urban predominance of Magwit society members in contrast to the rural predominance of Lawɔz members[5].

Breen, in his description of these two rival 'flower' societies in 1884, also makes this suggestion:

> "It appears that at one period they [i.e. Lawɔz and Magwit] were invested with a political character; and their occasional allusions to English and French, Republicans and Bonapartists would seem to confirm this opinion"[6].

1.See p. 709 of the appendix.
2.Breen, H.H. 1844:200.
3.Midgett, D.K 1977:56. Also the opinion of P 39 whose father, a papa Lawɔz - 'father of Lawɔz' , "father Rose "
told him that it was originally a celebration to mark the end of slavery;consult P39/0 (1) (C.N:6761- 7152 .)
4.See p. 710 of the appendix.
5.According to P.4/0(4) (C.N:2170-2214, 2214-2800 .)
See pt.III, ch.1, pp.417ff and pt.III, ch.3, pp.469ff for the historical and social dimensions of this dichotomy.The French/Catholic origin of both St.Margeret and St.Rose may, however, argue against any difference based on purely English versus French affiliations in St.Lucia.
6.Breen, H.H. 1884:191.

Crowley questions these political implications, because of allusions to these societies in St.Lucia in 1769, i.e. before French Revolutionary activity[1].

It seems likely, however, despite Crowley's doubts, that the Lawɔz versus Magwit competition in past St.Lucian society may well have been political.Bands of maroons - nɛg mawɔ̃ and Island Caribs living in the St.Lucian hills may well have formed one strand of St.Lucian society, possibly symbolized by Lawɔz, which was in competition with European/Creole society in St.Lucia prior to French Revolutionary/French Monarchist and later French/English divisions within the society. Later seizure of St.Lucia for the French Revolution, the setting up of the guillotine in Soufrière, the naming of St.Lucia as St.Lucie la fidèle - 'St.Lucia the faithful (to the French Revolution)', and the joining of nɛg mawɔ̃ with soldiers of the French Revolution may only have reinforced established social cleavages with the reality of blood and the symbolism of flowers. English/French competition for St.Lucia also restablished this division of loyalties traditional to St.Lucian society, and is possibly not unrelated to the naming of Magwit as Wadlo <Fr. roi de l'eau, a title for which only the maritime - based political power of England could qualify[2].

Epithets of praise and abuse were also traditionally used in wedding speeches and at boat races. As wedding ceremonies have become more and more influenced by European and mainland American practices, wedding speeches have lost that flair of word play and the use of innuendo that they once had, while boat-racing and the associated singing in praise/abuse of competing boats as a national sport have given way to other pastimes such as listening to the radio and playing cricket.

1.See pt.III, ch.1, pp.396&397& Crowley, D.J. 1819:551.
2.See pt.III, ch.1, pp.417&418.

The flair in language use in the following Patwa wedding speech, for example, has been preserved in the prose narrative below, although present wedding speeches are often in English[1]: The bride Viktorisya - 'Victorisia' had been known for her various love affairs with different men resulting in different children. Her father Yaba - 'Yaba' criticises her by means of very effective innuendo i.e.:

u bwile bãbu,....u bwile picɛt bɛf..
"you(sing.)burn bamboo,..you(sing.)burn tethering post cow"
'You have behaved badly, like someone who has burnt bamboo (used as building material)...and the tethering post of cows (common in rural St.Lucia.)'

His innuendo is doubly effective in that each image of her bad behaviour can be equated with one of Victorisia's past lovers. The image Yaba uses to describe his joy on his daughter's wedding is also evocative i.e.:

...jɔdi a mwɛ̃ kɔ̃tã, cɛ mwɛ̃
"today the I happy heart <Arawak (I.Car.)[2] I
uvɛ gwã kɔ̃ banan kɔn[3] gwã bwa[3]
open large like banana horn large wood"
-..'today I am (very) happy: my heart is as wide-open as the flowers of a bunch of wild bananas'.

Traditionally fishermen would race their small off-shore fishing boats against each other. In St. Lucian society boats are named by religious/Catholic epithets and saint's names, e.g.:

mɛci Bɔdye - 'Thank God',
"thank God"

and are often owned by one or more fishermen. Each boat crew has its favourite fish vendors on shore. As in addition fish is the main source of meat, such boat-races were probably an important source of local entertainment as well as competition.

1.And therefore not represented in the genres in the data.
2.See pt.III, ch.4, p.487 .
3.Consult P 27/O (1) (C.N: 2270 - 2545 .)

The singing ofaboat-crew's praises for skilful use of sail and oar could only have been an added dimension to the 'angling' of customers for their fish. With the advent of the outboard motor and increasing demands for fish on-shore, such 'fishing' by the use of praise and abuse has died and my single example of this genre is the following praise to the boat Avelina - 'Avelina':

Avelina, joli kanɔt, joli gɔmye
"Avelina, beautiful boat, beautiful gum-tree
dã Lãs Mawo[1].....
Loc.Prep. Lãs Mawo"

'Avelina, beautiful boat, beauty made from the wood of gum-trees from Lãs Mawo i.e. Anse Mahaut, St.Lucia ..'

3) Political Function:

Like written literature, oral literature has its political as well as social dimensions. Although English is the official language in St.Lucia, both the present and past governments have also made use of Patwa, particularly in rural areas, as a means of popularizing their causes. The most successful speakers are those whose knowledge of Patwa oral literature is deep enough to make comparisons between actual political situations and cultural values illustrated in Patwa oral literature, or to embellish their political message with Patwa styliistic devices, e.g. introducing a speech with misye se dam <Fr. messieurs(et)dames -'ladies and gentlemen'
"mister, woman"
and punctuating it with allusive diction such as
a jibye di mwẽ[2] - 'a little bird tells/told me'
"a bird tell me"

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1. Consult P 2/0 (4) (C.N: 1052-1169 & 1169-1258).
2. Heard by the researcher during the campaign of the present government (Labour party), then in opposition (Vieux-Fort April 1979).

Indeed, the greater use of Patwa by a number of Labour party candidates, in contrast to the greater use of English by the present opposition party, may not be unrelated to their different degrees of success in the last election, i.e. the election of the Labour Party to form the government of St.Lucia from 1979.

4) Social Function:

Given the wide accessibility of Patwa oral literature to most St.Lucians, its use as a safety value for anti-social feeling cannot be underestimated. The kɔ̃t (sung narrative), for example, often refer to the licenciousness of some, e.g. Siwil whose 'trade' was to bai gute ki ka pase - "give taste Rel. Hab. pass" 'to give(sexual) tastes to those who pass by', i.e. girls like Sentonya (see p. 521 above). Given that Siwil'z behaviour is not untypical of traditional male behaviour in St.Lucia (and elsewhere) the use of a kɔ̃t vocalises criticisms of this behaviour. Such a creative safety valve is perhaps more necessary to small communities like St.Lucia, where the social 'offender' and 'offended' are likely to meet more frequently than in larger societies. Unlike other more expensive means of inter-communication, i.e. radio and television, African/creole oral literature is available to all social groups, although typically remaining the one means of communicative production used by the lower prestige groups in Saint Lucia[1]. As such, it often offers a critical perspective on the behaviour of the higher prestige groups, which might otherwise have been more violently expressed. For example, in the following kutumba ~ katumba extract in which the ti Kɔ̃ngo singer remarks:

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1. See pt.I, ch.3, pp.469ff.

... fam Kweɔl pa vle mwẽ lakai li.....
"woman Creole Neg. want me house her
-'The Creole woman does not want me in her house....

ka di u apwezã
Prog. tell you (sing.)now
- (I) am telling you now

ai ai ai nu pa na payi nu.....
ai ai ai we Neg. Loc. Prep. country we....
- Ai ai ai we are not in our country....

plewe i ka plewe[1].....
cry (s)he Hab. cry".
- He/She (the African-'Umbundu'/'Kongo') only cries.....'

As suggested above, the African lament in the face of separation from Africa, coupled with the inferior status given to Africans (especially those of darker coloured skin) by European/Creole society in Saint Lucia, is creatively released through the valve of oral literature. Given that marronage and slave uprisings characterized the early Saint Lucian society[2], the poignancy of the above ~~criticism~~ lament can perhaps only be fully understood in such a past social context. Indeed, so tense was this past social conflict that it has also left its imprint in the traditional St.Lucian belief that if a

nɛg Jine was insulted by being called vye nɛg -
"negro Guinea" "old negro"
'old nigger! ', he/she would drop dead due to hurt pride[3]. Again this belief itself, associated as it was with social conflict, has no doubt been part of verbal release of social tension perpetuated in Patwa oral literature.

1.P (63).
2.See pt.III, ch.1, pp. 376ff.
3.P (63).Cf. nɛg - 'person' in synchronic Patwa; see also pt.III, ch.5,p. 498.

5) Audience Participation:

Like the oral genres of other creole oral literatures, that of Patwa is geared towards audience participation. Prose narratives, for example, presuppose audience participation both in response to the beginning and ending formulae (i.e. ting...ting...bwa shɛz and kwik...kwak respectively; see above) and the exclamatory insertions by the audience e.g. mesyau![1] - 'man!' and u pedi sa -

"you(sing) can say that"

'You can say that again'.

It is, however, in the use of the chorus/lead (shãtwɛl) structure of most Patwa songs that audience participation is at its highest. The shãtwɛl leads the singing, but it is the clapping and singing audience who take up the chorus which often, in association with drums, maintains the rhythm of the song[2]. It is not unlikely that group-knowledge of choruses in Patwa songs has made them the favourite archival source for African items in Patwa, which are thus perpetuated in group memory. Such group memory could only have been important under the conditions of slave-trade, in which no specialist group of singers survived. Instead this archival use of oral genres by non-specialists was developed to preserve such items for future Patwa speakers.

1.See pt.III, ch.5, p. 493 .
2.See pp. 705ff of the appendix for examples.
3.I.e. as seen on p.724-730 of the appendix.

PART III

CHAPTER 7: AFRICAN LANGUAGE FEATURES IN ST.LUCIAN PATWA

INTRODUCTION

Despite its long separation from its African languages of diachronic contact, the grammatical structure of Patwa shares a number of similarities with the latter. As suggested in the historical background , the important African languages of diachronic contact with Patwa, and in the following putative (and overlapping) chronological order, are:

Mandinka

Wolof

Bantu languages (e.g.:Kongo[1],Lingala and Kinyarwanda[2])

Ewe/Fõn

Twi/Fante

Yoruba and

Igbo

Grammatical features from the above will be considered in terms of the selected grammatical features in order to analyse their continued or diminishing influences in Patwa.

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1. As suggested in pt.III,ch.1, p.382 .,the early "Kongo and "Angola" African slaves in St.Lucia were likely to have originated from geographical zones where Bantu languages were widespread.Kongo, due to its wide distribution in both Zaire and Angola is used for exemplification of a Bantu language and analysis here for any Creole/African features which they share with St.Lucian Patwa. Umbundu, although also likely to have had an important historical influence upon Patwa (see pt.III, ch. 5,pp.512-514) does not have so wide a distribution.Easy availability of reliable data also made Kongo a better choice for exemplification of a Bantu language.
2. An example of an Eastern Bantu language included because of the possible importation of Africans from 'inland' areas of slaves into the Caribbean via the geographical areas of Kongo and Angola.

In contrast to both Kriul and Krio it is a European language, i.e. English and not an African language, which is having important synchronic relexifying and decreolizing[1] influences upon Patwa.

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

The grammatical features in terms of which synchronic English language influences will be contrasted ~~with diachronic~~[2] African languages influences are:

1. Stabiliser,
2. Predictive Adjective,
3. Front-Focalisation,
4. Emphatic Repetition,
5. Emphatic Elongation of Vowel,
6. Topicalisation,
7. Catenation,
8. Use of Plural Affix,
9. Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for',
10. Suffixation of the Definite Article and Progressive Pronouns,
11. Differentiation of the 2nd.sing. and 2nd.pl. Pronouns and
12. Non-Differentiation of the 3rd. sing. Pronoun.

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1. Defined on p. 50 .
2. Defined on p. 48 .

In addition to the above selected grammatical features, which are all evident in synchronic Patwa[1], the following were also found relevant to Patwa and its languages of diachronic contact:

1) Use of Diminutives,

2) Use of Intensitives,

3) Negative Completive Markers and

4) Use of Aspect Markers.

Stabiliser (Feature 1):

Patwa and a number of its African languages of diachronic contact including Mandinka, Wolof, Yoruba, Igbo and Bantu languages all make use of a stabiliser, e.g.:

Patwa: se ã pye bwa - 'It is a tree'
"Stab. a foot tree"

Wolof: garab la - 'It is a tree'
"tree Stab."

The following African languages of diachronic contact with Patwa do not make use of a stabiliser:

Twi/Fante[2] makes use of the copula ye e.g.:

ɔ ye dua[3] - Ditto.
"(s)he/it be tree"

---

1. See pt.III, ch.2.

2. Examples of the selected grammatical features in the above African Languages, excluding Ewe/Fõn and Kongo are given in pt.I, ch.6 & pt.II, ch.6.

3. Cf. Patwa ye - 'to be', pt.III, ch.5, p.509 .

Predicative Adjective (Feature 2):

Self-stabilised predicative adjectives are evident in a number of Patwa's African languages of diachronic contact[1] e.g.:

Patwa: i wuzh - 'It is red'
"it red"

Ewe: é biya - 'It is red'
"it red"

The following, however, do not make use of self-stabilised predicative adjectives:

Twi/Fante predicative adjectives are preceded by the copula ye.
Ibo adjectives are preceded by a separate predicator di.

For Bantu languages cf.

Kinyarwanda: ratukura - 'It is red'
"it - red"

Front-Focalisation (Feature 3):

Like its African languages of diachronic contact, Patwa also makes use of a focaliser, e.g.:

Patwa: (se) li sɛl ki vini
"(Stab.) (s)he Focal. Rel. come"
'He/She (alone) came'

Kongo: (o)[2]yaandi káka w a yíz a
"(s)he Focal. (s)he Past come Past"
'He/She alone came'

---

1. See pt.II, ch.6, pp.342&343 for examples.
2. Note that o ~ ø before C (consonant) are the full and contracted forms, respectively, of the Kongo 3rd sing. class 1 (persons).

Ewe: ya dekako eva

"(s)he Specif. Focal. come"

'He/She alone came'

In Mandinka, Wolof, Igbo[1], Ewe/Fon, Twi/Fante and Yoruba[2] the focaliser, as in Patwa, is identical to the adverb meaning 'only' e.g.:

Patwa: i vini sɛl

"(s)he come alone (Adv.)"

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Lingala: o ya ki ye moku[3]

"(s)he come Past (s)he alone/one (Adv.)"

Kinyarwanda: ya ye we nyine

"(s)he come (s)he alone (Adv.)"

---

1. Note that in contrast to the three creoles under discussion and many African languages, the Igbo focaliser precedes the focalised item.
2. See pt.III, ch.6, for examples of front-focalisation in Patwa's other African languages of diachronic contact.
3. Cf. Krio (wan) - 'one' and Patwa yon - 'one', both also used as focalisers. See pt.II , ch.2, p.255 and pt.III, ch.2, p.445 respectively. See also pt.I, ch.6, pp.170&171 & pt.II, ch. 6, pp.344&345.

Cf. Yoruba: o wa ni ohũ nikã
"(s)he come Stab. (s)he alone (Adv.)"
'He/She came alone'

Igbo: ɔ bialu sɔ ya
"(s)he come Past alone (Adv.) him/her"
'He/She came alone'

Emphatic Repetition (Feature 4):

Cf. emphatic repetition in Patwa and its African languages of diachronic contact, e.g.:

Patwa: i kuwi i kuwi ....
"(s)he run (s)he run"
'He/She ran on and on'

Wolof[1]: munge dawa dawa
"(s)he Dur. run run"
'He/She ran on and on'.

Emphatic Elongation of Vowel (Feature 5):

Patwa and most of its African languages of diachronic contact make use of this feature, e.g.:

Patwa i ɛ̃tɛli zh/ ãã̃
"(s)he intelligent"
Emph.
'He/She is extremely intelligent'

---

1. See pt.I, ch.6, p. 172 and pt.II, ch.6, pp. 345&346 for examples from Mandinka, Twi/Fante and other African languages.

Ewe/Fõn: ɛ nyáa nu
"(s)he know something"
Emph.

'He/She is extremely intelligent'

Patwa, like Wolof[1], makes a more frequent use of emphatic repetition (including reduplication)[2] instead of emphatic elongation of vowel.

Twi/Fante, like Ewe/Fõn and Kriul, makes use of a number of emphatic ideophones in which emphatic elongation of the vowel may optionally occur[3].

In Bantu languages also, emphatic elongation of a vowel may be used, e.g. in Lingala and Kinyarwanda. Cf. however, the use of emphatic items instead of feature 5 in Kongo, e.g.:

nk kw a ngaángu beéni kíkilu
"Cl.1(sing)possessor(s)he of wisdom very(Emph)much(Emph)"
' He/She is very wise'

~~In Igbo, however, the use of negative attributes to emphasise, and qualify, positive qualities is used instead of emphatic elongation of vowel[4].~~

Topicalisation (Feature 6):

Cf. the use of topicalisation in Patwa and its African languages of diachronic contact, i.e. in Mandinka, Wolof, Bantu languages including Kongo, Lingala and Kinyarwanda, Ewe/Fõn, Twi/Fante, e.g.:

Patwa: liv la mwɛ̃ ba u , i wuzh
"book the I give you(sing.) it red"

1.See pt.I, ch.6, pp.172&173; pt.III, ch.2, p. 429.

2.See p. 550.
3.See pt.II, ch.6, pp. 346 & 347.
~~4.Ibid., see also pt.III, ch.4, p. .~~

Kongo: o nk kaanda una i v vv
"the Cl.3(sing.) book Rel. I you (sing.) give
ene wa mm bwvaki
Complet. it of Cl. 9 redness"

Wolof[1]: tere bi ma la jɔx, dafa xɔ̃x
"book the I you (sing.) give it Stat. red"

and both meaning - 'The book I gave you is red'

Topicalisation is not used as an emphatic marker in Yoruba or Igbo.

Catenation (Feature 7):

Catenation is a feature of Patwa and of all its African languages of diachronic contact, e.g.:

Patwa: i pwã balye a bat yo
"(s)he take broom the beat them"
'He/She took the broom and beat them'

Mandinka: a ye buko ta a ye e busa
"(s)he Perf. Tr. book the take (s)he Perf.Tr. them beat"
'He/She took the book and beat them'

Verbal catenation in Kongo and Ewe/Fon is similar to catenation in European languages, making use of a connective element between the catenated verb phrases[1]. Many of Patwa's other African languages of diachronic contact, including Mandinka (e.g. above), Wolof, Twi and Yoruba[2], do not make use of an intervening connective.

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1. See pt.I, ch.6, p. 175 and pt.II, ch.6, pp.348&349 for examples from other African languages.
2. Idem.

Plural Suffix (Feature 8):

All of Patwa's African languages of contact make use of a plural affix which is, in many cases, similar in form to the 3rd.pl. pronoun, e.g.:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	3RD PLURAL
Patwa:	nɔm la	se nɔm la	yo kuwi
	"man the"	"pl. man the"	"they run/ran"
	-'the man'	-'the men'	-'They run/ran'
Cf.Kongo[1]:	e di	o ma	o ma nkhondo ma
	"the Cl.5(sing) nkhondo banana"	"the Cl.6(pl.) nkhondo banana"	"the pl.banana they m men aanga Hab.grow Hab."
	-'the banana'	-'the banana'	-'(The)bananas grow'
Ewe	: ngucu la	ngucu o	wo fudu
	"man the"	"man pl."	"they run/ran"
	-'the man'	-'the men'	-'They run/ran'

In contrast to these and other of its African languages of diachronic contact, e.g. Mandinka and Wolof, the Patwa pl. marker se is not similar in form to the 3rd. pl. pronoun yo. Similarly, Patwa pl. marker se, precedes the noun in contrast to Kriul, Krio and a number of African languages, e.g. Mandinka, in which the pl. marker follows the noun[2]. The pre-nominal position of Patwa se may have been influenced by pre-nominal Fr. ces - 3rd. pl. ~~possessive~~ demonstrative pronoun e.g. ces amis - 'these friends'.

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1. In Bantu languages, including Kongo, nouns have their singular forms in one class and their respective plurals in another. For the sake of clarity, the above examples in which the relationship between the 3rd.pl. pronoun and the pl.(class) marker is self-evident, were chosen.
2. See pt.II, ch.6, pp.344 & 350.

Use of Grammatical 'say' and 'for' (Feature 9):

Cf. for example:

Patwa: i di yo kɔ̃ ha asiz
"(s)he tell them like this sit"
-'He/She told them to sit down'

Kongo: w a ba soong a vo ba kosok a
"(s)he Past them tell Past that they might sit might"
-'He/She told them to sit down'

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: ɛ gblɔ nam bɛna ma nɔanyi
"(s)he tell me that I sit down"
-'He/She told me to sit down'

Note that in contrast to Krio 'tɛl.....se', Patwa, Kongo and Ewe/Fõn use "tell.....thus/that"[1].

Suffixation of the Definite Article and Possessive Pronoun (Feature 10):

1) Definite Article:

Patwa, unlike Kriul and Krio[2], makes use of a suffixed definite article, as do a number of its African languages of diachronic contact, e.g.:

Patwa: kai la - 'the house'
"house the"

Mandinka: bung o - 'the house'
"house the"

Wolof: neg bi - 'the house'
"house the"

1.See pt.II, ch.6, p. 351 . See also pt.I, ch.6, pp.179 &180.
2.See pt.III, ch.2, p. 429 , pt.I, ch.2, p. 89 & pt.II, ch.2, p. 236 .

Ewe : afɛ la - 'the house'
"house the"

Twi : fiye nɔ - 'the house'
"house the"

Yoruba: ile nyɛ - 'the house'
"house the"

Cf.also Serer (Sin) "Salma,lance; salma - la, la lance"[1]
["lance the"]
and Dyola (Fogny):"le substantif est généralement suivi d'une sorte de pronom qui correspond à l'article défini français.Il est constitué par les voyelles a et u, entre lesquelles on intercale la consonne initiale du substantif.Ex. balay abu , le soleil; mof amu, la terre"[2]....

Note also the influences of local languages, including Mandinka and Wolof, on Senegalese French e.g.:

mezɔ̃ la - 'the house' , fam la - 'the woman'
"house the" "woman the"

and in Gambian Krio , e.g.:

brij la -'the bridge'and tica la -'the teacher'
"bridge the" "teacher the"

In Bantu languages, e.g. Kongo the nominal class markers which can function as definite articles precede the nominal item (see Kongo examples above).

2) Possessive Pronouns:

Patwa[3] and a number of African languages, including all of its languages of diachronic contact except Twi/Fante,make use of suffixed possessive pronouns e.g.:

1.Faidherbe, L. 1963:169.
2.Weiss, H.1940:2.

3.Neither Kriul nor Krio make use of this feature.See pt.I, ch.2, [illegible] and pt.II, ch.2, [illegible] respectively.

Patwa: ami mwɛ̃ - 'my friend'
"friend my"

Wolof: in Wolof all possessive pronouns are suffixed to the noun except 1st.sing.: suma, e.g.:

suma jabar - 'my wife'
"my wife"

Cf. for example:

jabar am - 'his wife'
"wife him"

Cf. also Ewe/~~Fõn~~:

hɔ̃ nye - 'my friend'
"friend me"

In Bantu languages, e.g. Kongo, Lingala and Kinyarwanda, the possessive pronouns follow the noun but are preceded by an intervening genitive link e.g.:

Kongo: nd zo y aa me - 'my house'
"Cl.9 house it G.L. me"

Lingala: buku na ngai[1] - 'my book'
"book G.L. me"

Kinyarwanda: igitabo ca nje - 'my book'
"book G.L. me"

Igbo: enyi m - 'my friend'
"friend me"

Yoruba: ɔrɛ mi - 'my friend'
"friend me"

Note also Serer (Sin): "Mon cheval, pis - es"[2]
["horse me"]

1.Cf. Patwa ngai - 1st. sing. Fut.(N.Im.) . See pt.III, ch.2, p. 439 .
2.Faidherbe, L. 1963:171.

Hausa: aboki na - 'my friend'
"friend me"

Edo: ɔwa mɛ - 'my house' and
"house me"

Dyola(Fogny)...."ati om : ma soeur;
["sister me

alin om : mon frère"[1].
brother me"]

Possessive pronouns are prefixed to the noun in Twi[2]

e.g.: mi fiya - 'my house'
"my house"

Non-Differentiation of the 3rd. sing. mas./fam.(Feature 12):

This widespread African language feature[3] is evident in Patwa and its African languages of diachronic contact i.e. Mandinka, Wolof, Ewe/Fõn, Twi/Fante, Igbo, Yoruba and Bantu languages e.g. Kongo, Lingala and Kinyarwanda[4]:

3RD SINGULAR PERSONAL SUBJECT PRONOUNS
MALE/FEMALE

Patwa: i e.g.: i kuwi
"(s)he runs/ran"
'He/She runs/ran'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kongo: o e.g.: o singa kwiiza
"(s)he will to come"
'He/She is going to come'

1.Weiss, H. 1940:5.
2.Cf.Mandinka in which possessive pronouns are also prefixed to the noun.See pt.I, ch.6, p. 182 .
3.Present in "most West African...and all Bantu languages", according to Dalby, D. 1972:5.
4.See pt.II, ch.6, pp. 353 & 354 .

Cf.Ewe/~~Fõn~~: ɛ e.g.: ɛ fudu
"(s)he runs/ran"
'He/She runs/ran'

Cf.also Kriul/Krio: i - ditto[1].

Cf. also the following similar grammatical features in Patwa and its African languages of diachronic contact:

1) Use of Diminutives:

Cf. the use of a diminutive marker and/or a set of diminutive ideophones, including reference to solids and liquids, in Patwa and its African languages of contact:

	GENERAL	SOLIDS	LIQUIDS
Patwa:	ti bwɛ̃ "Dim.bit" -'a little(bit)'	ti tak "Dim. bit" -'a little bit'	ti zing "Dim. drop" -'a little drop'
	kwas "Dim.remnant" -'a remnant(solid/liquid)'		
Mandinka:	dɔmanding "Dim. little" -' a little'	ndingo "Dim. bit" -'a little bit'	ndingo "Dim. drop" -'a little drop'
Wolof:	tuti "Dim. little" -'a little(solid/liquid)'	tuti	tuti
		dɔgɔti "Dim. bit" -'a little bit'	
	ndɛsit "Dim. remnant" -'a remnant(solid/liquid)'	ndɛsit	ndɛsit

1.See pt.I, ch.6, p. 184 & pt.II, ch.6, pp.353&354.

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kongo:	fi "Cl.19 Dim." -'a little(solid/ liquid)'	fi	fi
Lingala:	ka "Dim. little" -'a little (solid)' and mwa "Dim.Id.little" -'a little(solid/ liquid)'	ka mwa	mke "Dim. drop"
Kinyarwanda:	ga "Dim. little" -'a little'	ka "Dim. bit" -'a little bit'	tu ~ ri "Dim.drop" -'a little drop'
Ewe/~~Fõn~~:	suədə-viədə "Dim. little" -'a little(solid liquid)'	suədə	viədə
Twi/Fante:	kakra (Twi) "Dim.little" -'a little(solid/ liquid)'	kakra bi "Dim. bit" -'a little bit'	kakra
	sɔpiyɔ(Fante) "Dim. little" -'a little (solid/ liquid)'	sɔpiyɔ	sɔpiyɔ

Yoruba:	diye "Dim. little" -'a little(solid/liquid)'	diye	diye
		tinti "Dim.bit" -'a little bit'	misi "Dim.drop" -'a little drop'
	ɛha "Dim.remnant" -'a remnant (solid/liquid)'	ɛha	ɛha
Igbo:	ngwa[1] "Dim. child" -'a little(liquid)'	ngwa	ngwa
	nkpuru "Dim. seed" -'a little(solid/liquid)'	nkpuru	nkpuru
	obele ~ ntankiri "Dim. small" -'a little(solid/liquid)'	obele~ntankiri	obele~ntankiri
			ntupɔ "Dim. drop" - 'a little drop'

1.Cf. also Hausa ɗan (masc.) and ʼyar (fem.)both also 'Dim.' e.g.: ɗan kudi "son" "daughter" "Dim. son money" - 'a little money'

For example:

GENERAL

Patwa: ã ti bwɛ̃ laǰ̌ã
"a Dim. bit money"
-'a little money'

Mandinka: kɔdi nding
"money Dim."
-'a little money'

Wolof: xalis tuti
"money Dim."
-'a little money'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kongo: fi nd ziímbu
"Cl.19(Dim.) Cl.10 money"
-' a little money'

Lingala: ka mwa ndambo ya gato
"Dim. Dim.Id. bit of <Fr.gateau - cake"
-' a little bit of cake'

Kinyarwanda: a ga faranga
"sing. Dim. <Fr.franc - money"
-' a little money'

Cf. also:

Ewe/Fõn: ga viədə
"money Dim."
-' a little money'

Twi/Fante: sika kakra
"money Dim."
-' a little money'

Yoruba: owo diye
"money Dim."
-'a little money'

Igbo: ngwa ego
"Dim. child money"
-' a little money'

SOLIDS

Patwa: ã ti tak / kwas vyan
"a Dim. / Dim. meat"
-'a little remnant of meat'

Mandinka: subu ndingo(tuta)
"meat Dim. (remain Perf.)"
-'a little remnant of meat'

Wolof: yapa tuti / dɔgɔti
"meat Dim. Dim. "
-' a little meat'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kongo: fi mm bizi
"Cl.19(Dim.) Cl.9 meat"
-'a little meat'

Lingala: ka mwa ndambo ya nyama
"Dim. Dim. Id. bit G.L. meat"
-' a little meat'

Kinyarwanda: a ka nyama
"sing. Dim. meat"
-'a little meat'

Cf. also:

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: lã suadə
"meat Dim."
-'a little meat'

Twi/Fante: anam kakara bi
" meat Dim. bit"
-' a little meat'

Yoruba: ɛrã tintí
"meat Dim. "
-'a little meat'

Igbo: ntankiri anu
"Dim. meat"
-' a little meat'

LIQUIDS

Patwa: ã ti zing / kwas dlo
"a Dim. / Dim. water"
-'a little (remnant of) water'

Mandinka: ji ndingo (tuta)
"water Dim. (remain Perf.)"
-' a little(remnant of) water'

Wolof: ndɔx bu tuti
"water Rel. Dim."
-' a little water'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kongo: fi ma aza
"Cl.19 Dim. Cl.6 water"
-'a little water'

Lingala: mwa mai mke
"Dim.Id. water little"
-' a little water'

Kinyarwanda: u tu zi
"sing.Dim. water"
-'a little water'

Cf. also:

Ewe/Fõn: ci viədə
"water Dim."
-' a little water'

Twi/Fante: nsu sɔpiyɔ ba
"water Dim.drop bit"
-' a little water'

Yoruba: omi misí
"water Dim. little"
-' a little water'

Igbo: nkpuru mmiri
"Dim. seed water"
-' a little water'

2) Use of Intensitives:

Cf. the use of intensitive markers in Patwa and its African languages of diachronic contact:

Patwa: mashe ⟶ démashe
"Intens.walk"
-'to walk' -'to walk excessively'

Kongo: siimba ⟶ simb idi(1) a
"touch Intens.[1] touch"
-'to touch' -'to hold tightly'

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1. Note that idi is mainly used as a completive marker; see p. 567.

Twi/~~Fante~~: gwani ⟶ gwaniaa

"run Intens."

-'to run' -'to run to excess'

In Igbo gburu - 'to excess' is placed after the verb stem to form the intensitive e.g.:

ije - 'to walk' ⟶ jegburu - 'to walk to excess'

In Mandinka, Wolof and Yoruba, intensity is marked only by repetition[1]. Similarly in Lingala and Kinyarwanda, no separate intensitive forms exist and emphatic elongation of vowel also marks intensity[2].

3) Negative Completive ~~Pronouns~~ Markers:

Cf.Patwa: i pɔkɔ maǰe

"(s)he Neg.Complet. eat"

-'He/She has not yet eaten'

Wolof: leka gul

"(s)he eat Neg.Complet."

-'He/She has not yet eaten'

Twi/Fante:the negative completive is formed by a double negative in which the first negative means 'not do' e.g.:

ɔ nyɛ ndɛ

"(s)he Neg. do Neg.sleep"

-'He/She has not yet slept'

Igbo: ɔ ri beghi

"(s)he eat Neg.Complet."

-'He/She has not yet eaten'

Yoruba: kɔ ti de

"(s)he Neg. Complet.come"

-'He/She has not yet come'

1.See pt.I, ch.6, p.172 & pt.II, ch.6, pp.345&346.
2.See p.552 & pt.II, ch.6, pp.348&349.

In Mandinka, Ewe/Fõn and Bantu languages no separate marker for the negative completive exists e.g.:

Mandinka: a mang domoro kee foloo
"(s)he Neg. eat do yet"
→'He/She has not yet eaten'

Ewe : (ɛya) mɛ dunu hadɛkɛo
"((s)he) Neg. eat yet Neg."
→'He/She has not yet eaten'

Bantu languages, e.g.:

Kongo: k y e ele eeti ko
"Neg. I go Complet. yet Neg."
→'I have not yet gone'

Lingala: a lei nanote
"(s)he eat still Neg."
→'He/She has not yet eaten'

4) Use of Aspect Markers[1]:

The use of tense/aspect markers in Patwa can be further summarised[2] as follows:

TENSE/ASPECT

Patwa:	te	(past)	ø	(neutral)
	kai	(future-near-imminent)	za	(completive)
			ka	(progressive)
			ka	(habitual)
			ka	(future-imminent)

1. Excluding negative markers. See pt.I, ch.6, p.188 .
2. See pt.III, ch.2, pp.437-443 for an outline of the Patwa tense/aspect markers.

Cf. the similar use of tense/aspect markers in Patwa's African languages of diachronic contact: Mandinka, Wolof, Bantu languages including Kongo, Lingala and Kinyarwanda, Ewe/Fõn, Yoruba and Igbo[1].

TENSE/ASPECT

Kongo:

VERB INITIAL	a	(past)	G[2]/ku	(habitual)
	G /ku	(future non-imminent)		
VERB FINAL	a	(past)	aanga[3]	(habitual)
	a	(future non-imminent)	idi[4]	(completive)

Ewe

VERB INITIAL	ø	(past)		
	a	(future non-imminent)		
VERB FINAL			na	(progressive)
			na	(habitual)
			na	(future-imminent)

For example:

TENSE (PAST)

Patwa: i te vini
"(s)he Past come"
-'He/She came'

---

1. Previously described, with the exception of Kongo and Ewe/Fõn in pt.I, ch.6 & pt.II, ch.6.
2. I.e. a gemminated consonant.
3. I.e. V V nga: aanga ~ iinga etc.
4. I.e. VCV: idi ~ ene ~ ele etc.

Kongo: w a yiz a
"(s)he Past come Past[1]"
-'He/She came'

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: ɛ va
"(s)he Ø Past come"
-'He/She came'

TENSE (FUTURE NON-IMMINENT)

Patwa: i kai vini
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.) come"
-'He/She will come'

Kongo: o kw iiz a
"(s)he Fut.(N.Im.) come Fut.(N.Im.)"
-'He/She will come'

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: (ɛ) aa va
"((s)he) Fut.(N.Im.) come"
-'He/She will come'

ASPECT (NEUTRAL)

Patwa: i vini
"(s)he Neut.come"
-'He/She comes/came'

Kongo: does not distinguish neutral aspect by means of a verbal marker.

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: similarly does not distinguish neutral aspect and Ø instead indicates past tense.

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1. Note that an emphatic past can also be differentiated in Kongo. Carter, H. personal communication, S.O.A.S 1980.

ASPECT (COMPLETIVE)

Patwa: i ja vini
"(s)he Complet. come"
-'He/She has come'

Kongo: w iiz idi
"(s)he come Complet."
-'He/She has come'

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: does not make use of the completive aspect.

ASPECT (PROGRESSIVE)

Patwa: i ka vini
"(s)he Prog. come"
-'He/She is (in the process of) coming'

Kongo: the progressive is not indicated by a verbal marker. Instead copulas are used in association with front-focalisation of the verb(without the use of a focaliser)[1] to mark the progressive, e.g.:

mu kw iiza k enâ
"it ~~is in~~ to come that (s)he is"
-' He/She is coming'

ASPECT (HABITUAL)

Patwa: i ka vini
"(s)he Hab. come"
-'He/She (habitually) comes'

Kongo: o kw iiza anga
"(s)he Hab. come Hab."
-'He/She (habitually) comes'

1.Described on pp. 16&17 .

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: ɛ va na
"(s)he come Hab."
-'He/She (habitually) comes'

ASPECT (FUTURE IMMINENT)

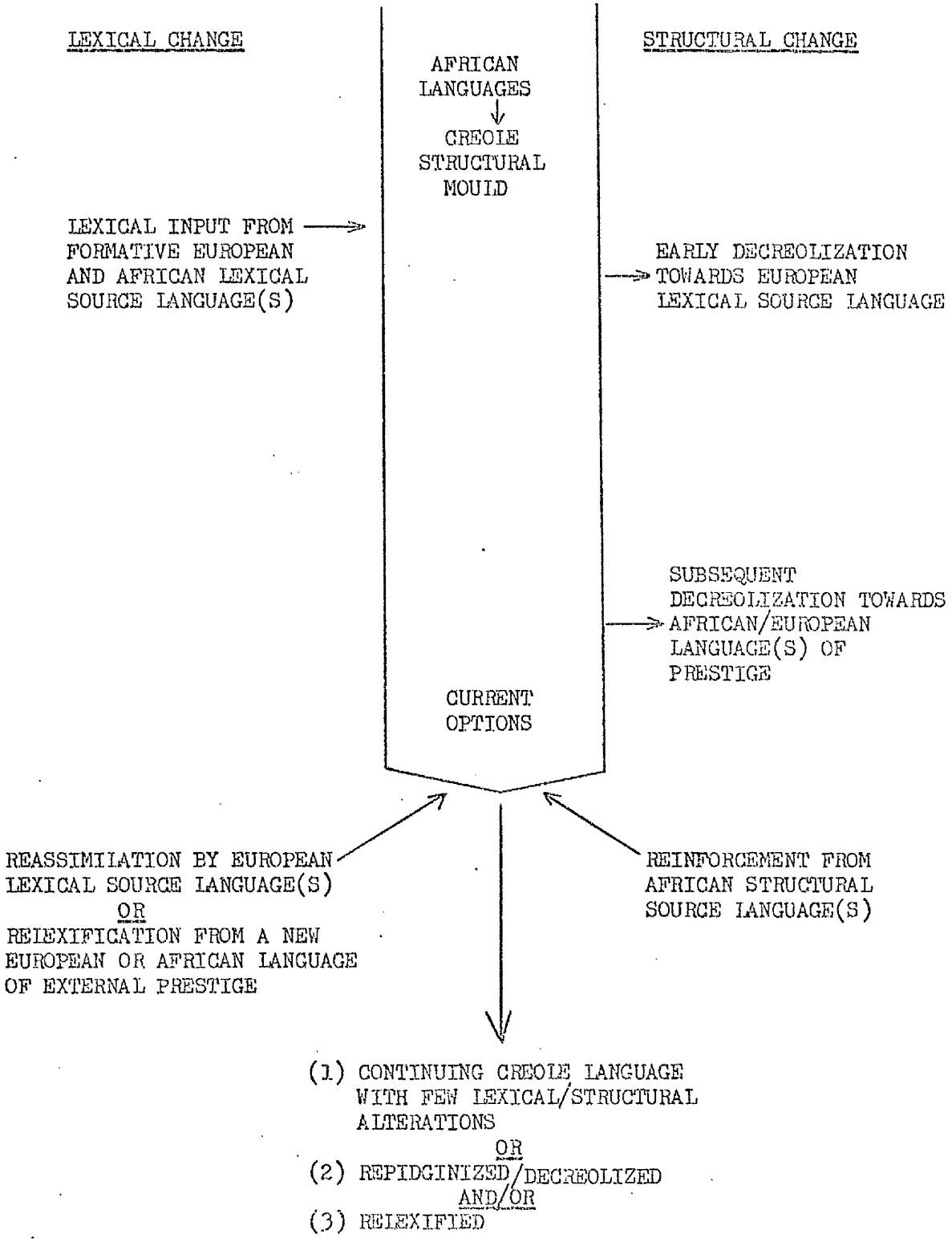
Patwa: i ka vini
"(s)he Fut.(Im.) come"
-'He/She is coming'

Kongo: The future imminent is indicated in the same manner as the progressive (above.)

Ewe/~~Fõn~~: ɛ gbɔɔ na
"(s)he come Fut.(Im.)"
-'He/She is coming'

CONCLUSIONS

The following outline is suggestive of the language processes evident in this study of Kriul, Krio and Patwa:



As suggested in the above plan, Kriul, Krio and Patwa are each being influenced by new lexical inputs[1] from European and/or African languages. In the case of Krio this is resulting in high relexification from English and Wolof in contrast with some relexification of Patwa from English and restricted relexification from French into Kriul.

Coupled with this relexification is the decreolization of the three creoles towards language(s) of prestige. Gambian Krio is the most decreolized, since the local prestige of Wolof and the international prestige of English have brought combined pressure upon the language. By contrast, Patwa is undergoing limited (but perhaps increasing) decreolization towards English while Kriul is undergoing minimal decreolizing influences in the direction of French.

The process of decreolization is closely related to the social context in which the particular creole is used, i.e. as an indicator of relative high or low prestige. Kriul's traditional high prestige has left it less susceptible to the external prestige of synchronic languages of contact. Krio's association with slavery in a Gambian social context, where slaves and their descendants have been strongly prejudiced against within a rigid social hierarchy, coupled with its inferior status relative to English, has left it more susceptible to local African language influences (particularly Wolof) in addition to those of English itself. Patwa's maroon past has left it with some internal prestige but, in contrast to an internationally prestigious English, it is conceived of as a relatively inferior language even by its speakers. This makes it increasingly susceptible to English influences.

At both lexical and structural levels all three creoles demonstrate some degree of reassimilation by and/or reinforcement from their European and/or African source languages. Continued influences at the lexical level could ultimately result in extensive relexification and the formation of 'new' creoles, cf. the way in which Trinidadian creole of French lexical input has now become largely a creole of English lexical input. In the same way, St. Lucian Patwa of French lexical input may ultimately become a creole of English lexical input with Patwa structure (zo Patwa - Patwa structure'[2])
"bones Patwa"

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1. See Dalphinis, M. 1979(a).
2. My own term, used in discussing Patwa, in Patwa, on Radio St. Lucia (1979).

Where structural decreolization is particularly strong, the 'death' of a creole may ultimately result. In the case of Krio, for example, the continued changes upon its creole/African structural mould towards Wolof and/or English may well mark the first stage of its reassimilation towards Wolof and English. This process may, however, also result in the restricted use of the 'dying' creole as a pidgin, cf. the use of petit nègre in Senegal and Ivory Coast, or in the preservation of remnants of the original creole, cf. the French creole remnants in Trinidadian English creole. The ultimate fate of Krio may well be as a pidgin language spoken by Wolof-speaking descendants of the previous creole population. Where creole has become firmly established, however, and is used with relative lack of social stigma, e.g. in the case of Kriul and of Freetown Krio, the lingua franca of Sierra Leone, it is likely to undergo fewer influences from other languages, and even to expand as a second language of regional solidarity (e.g.Kriul in Casamance) or as a language of wider communication (e.g. Krio in Sierra Leone).

These processes would suggest that creoles may be more susceptible to the varying forces of historical and social change than some other languages.

On the other hand, although both Gambian Krio and St. Lucian Patwa have been exposed to external influences leading to speakers' acceptance of the relatively low prestige of their own creole, the ultimate survival of each may now be influenced positively by the increasing use of both languages over the radio in Gambia and St. Lucia, by speakers representative of a developing 'Creole nationalism'.

The relexification theory, which attempted to relate Caribbean and African creoles of different lexical inputs to a proto-Portuguese pidgin, has relevance to this socio-historical discussion. It is not unlikely, given its high prestige vis-à-vis African languages, and widespread diffusion in Western Africa, that some form of proto-Kriul would have been particularly influential upon Africans having initial contact with non-Portuguese speaking Europeans, and searching for a language of mutual communication.

More widespread than these proto-Kriul influences, however, were the common African language influences brought to bear on each European language with which Africans came into contact, whether Portuguese, English or French. These common African influences may well be the reflection of proto-African (especially Niger-Congo and Chadic) language

structures responding to different lexical inputs in a 'proto-creole' socio-historical situation. This situation involved massive interaction among different languages - Amerindian, African and European - resulting in language formation and change on universal principles, although the study of these principles has not been the main topic of this thesis.

However creoles are viewed, the following guidelines to research have proved valuable in the present study. These guidelines form the basis of the six main chapter divisions, utilised in all three parts of this thesis, i.e.

1) Historical,
2) Descriptive,
3) Sociolinguistic,
4) Lexical,
5) Literary (oral) and
6) African grammatical.

1) Historical:

A widespread search in the archives of different institutions in Europe, Africa and the Caribbean was a necessary prerequisite to the analysis of the Afro-Caribbean dimension of Creole history. Information on Patwa history, for example, was found not only in London and Castries, St. Lucia, but also in Dakar, Senegal.

It is likely that the status of Casamance Kriul, Gambian Krio and St. Lucian Patwa as societies peripheral to Guinea Bissau Kriul, Sierra Leone Krio and Martinique 'Patwa' societies, may have contributed to their former exclusion from the foci of historical attention.

The use of oral sources for linguistic and other corroborative evidence for such written sources also proved invaluable. Umbundu items in Patwa, for example, were corroborated by written references to Angolan slave exports to St. Lucia, while informants such as Mr. B. Arcens (K24) and Rev. J. Faye gave commentaries convergent with written historical sources on Casamance Kriul and Gambian Krio respectively.

Lack of attention to such oral sources in former studies may well be related to an overemphasis on the greater 'scientific' value of written sources.

2) Descriptive:

The phonological influences of different languages upon each creole - Wolof, French and Portuguese upon Kriul, Wolof and English upon Krio and English upon Patwa - are resulting in further dialectal variation in Portuguese, English and French creole languages. Such phonological/dialectal influences have been outlined in this study.

The comparative basis of this study elucidates the grammatical structure common to all three creoles despite the divergent European sources of their vocabularies.

Further comparative research into these creoles will, however, also contribute to an elucidation of the differences that exist among their structural moulds, e.g. suffixation of the definite article in Patwa, in contrast to its absence in Kriul and prefixation in Krio.

3) Sociolinguistic:

This sociolinguistic study of selected grammatical features has indicated a high level of correlation between social categories and specific linguistic features, such correlation having, to some extent, been obscured by the former phonological bias of most creole sociolinguistic descriptions.

The social categories adopted in this thesis provide a tentative framework within which sociolinguistic change in creole societies can be viewed. Traditionally, the social categories 'high', 'middle' and 'low' were related to the different levels of acculturation to European culture and language, on the part of 'acrolectal', 'mesolectal' and 'basilectal' creole speakers.

Universal as these categories may be, other categories reflecting the actual social context of Creole societies, e.g. rural/urban in the case of St. Lucia, etc., may result in sociolinguistic analyses which reflect the social status of the creole more accurately.

Such categories are often related to the historical experience of the creole-speaking societies and to their social norms. For example, the history of immigration in the Caribbean, both internally and externally, brings into question the actual or apparent borders of Caribbean language influences, i.e. the delimitation of 'creole space' (espace créole).[1] If social categories reflecting creole history more closely are adopted, the resulting sociolinguistic

1. Topic proposed for the next meeting of the Comité International d'Etudes Créole and of an Anthropological dissertation (Ph.D.) to be submitted by J. Carnegie at John Hopkins University, U.S.A.

studies may begin to develop more accurate means of relating changes in the grammatical structures of creoles to changes in social structure.

It is hoped, however, that both the social categories and the grammatical features adopted in this study will be defined with an increasing accuracy by further research, for example by a detailed sociolinguistic analysis of a single grammatical feature in one or more creole(s).

4) Lexical:

Typical of the genius of creoles is the absorbtion of lexicon from European and other language sources into an African structural mould.[1] The continual expansion of their vocabulary by lexical inputs from other influencing languages, particularly languages of prestige, are (as in the case of all languages) indicative of the lines of historical and social force bearing upon a given creole at different stages of its history. Simultaneous with this adaptation of new sources of lexicon, however, is the perpetuation of items from the creole's African and Caribbean languages of diachronic contact.

It is possible that the adoption of new lexical inputs may be the prelude to a decreolization of the creole's structural mould, as grammatical items from synchronic languages of prestige become included in what was formerly a mainly lexical input.

5) Literary (Oral):

The African oral tradition has played an extremely important role in creole languages, in which this tradition has been perpetuated. Culturally valued language items, often reflecting African and/or Caribbean languages of diachronic contact, are preserved in oral literature for future generations of speakers.

Because of its archival function, creole oral literature often makes use of lexical items not in wide current usage but reflecting past and present values of the creole-speaking societies.

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1. Dalphinis, M. 1979(a).

The influences of creole oral literature upon written literature from Creole societies has however not yet been adequately described.[1]

6) African Grammatical:

Central to this thesis is the evident grammatical similarity among three creoles with different European lexical inputs. These similarities are shared with many Western African languages. It is unlikely that these common African/creole features are to be accounted for by reference to metropolitan European languages at different historical periods.

Further research into some of the relevant African languages themselves, e.g. Bainuk and Balanta, remains necessary. It is likely that a common African (especially Niger-Congo and Chadic) grammatical mould will be further revealed below the surface lexical differences of the African languages themselves. Creole languages are a twentieth century perpetuation of a common African grammatical prototype.

As revealed in analysis of the influencing African languages upon the three creoles, some differences of structure, both in the African languages and in each creole, are indicative of local differences within this common African grammatical prototype, e.g. the suffixation of the definite article is of relevance to Patwa and its early African languages of contact, i.e. Mandinka and Wolof, but not to Kriul which, although having Mandinka as an early language of contact, reflects Balanta and Bainuk structure in the absence of a definite article. Kriul and most of its African languages of contact, e.g. Dyola, Manjak and Balanta, make use of a causative marker, but Krio, Patwa and many of their African languages of contact, e.g. Twi-Fante, Yoruba and Igbo, do not.

This study of the actual local network of grammatical features, in the case of the two creoles still spoken in Africa, reveals local varieties of this common African grammatical prototype which may help evaluate the manner in which the grammatical structure of a creole, closely tied to its function as a language of inter-ethnic communication, becomes the summary of the most dominant grammatical features in adjacent African languages.

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1. See Dalphinis, M. 1979(c) for a tentative outline for research in this direction.

Concluding Remarks:

It has been fashionable to study creoles from a European language perspective to the detriment of comparative African/creole studies. This study has highlighted the grammatical similarities shared between African languages and creoles having lexical inputs from three different European languages.

It is hoped that further research into Creole/African languages will expand and refine the comparative framework provided by this study.

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APPENDIX

The appendix is in five main sections comprising:

The first section has been described in the general introduction[1]. The data on all the speakers recorded during the period of research for this thesis (1976-1980) is organized in terms of the creole or other language spoken, i.e. whether Kriul (K-), Gambian Krio (G-), St.Lucian Patwa (P-) or Mandinka (MNKA.:-)etc. and where the recording was made, e.g.: Kriul recorded in the Gambia (K:G:-) as opposed to Kriul recorded in Casamance (K-).

In keeping with the organization of the thesis i.e. part I: Casamance Kriul; part II: Gambian Krio and part III: St.Lucian Patwa, data on the creole speakers follows the same order.

The data on the individual speakers is analysed in terms of sex, age, ethnic group(s) (K and G) or residence (P), education and employment, and language(s) spoken.

The appendix to the sociolinguistic chapters consists of a list of tables, each headed by KRIUL, KRIO or PATWA as appropriate and also following the organization of the thesis. These tables are followed by general comments on the responses of individual creole speakers in both formal and informal speech, for each creole.

The appendix to the oral literature chapters is similarly organized by the use of the above headings and comprises translated transcriptions[2] and extracts of oral genres

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1. See p. 12 .
2. In accordance with the adopted orthography. See p. 51 .

exemplifying the oral literature of the creole concerned.

These transcriptions are accompanied by the speaker's number and the counter number at which the genre is recorded.

These transcriptions are followed by a list of lexical items of non-Portuguese/-English or -French origin, including unknown items, in the oral literature of each creole.

The counter numbers used[1] are those of a Revox A77 reel to reel tape recorder. The creole recordings are on two tracks of the following reel numbers:

KRIUL 1 - 6,
KRIO 1 - 12, and
PATWA etc.[2] 1 - 14.

The counter numbers run from 0000 - 1000, at which point they become 0000 again passim. They are to be used only as approximate guides to the responses of individual creole speakers recorded, as rewinding of the tape itself changes the occurrence of speaker responses relative to the original counter numbers noted.

They are however an accurate guide to the sequence of speaker responses.

The following additional abbreviation is used with reference to the counter numbers alone:

W/R. - Supplementary Questionnaire Used for Patwa Only to Examine w ~ r Alternation[3].

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1. See pp.731-749.
2. I.e. Other creoles and African languages recorded.
3. See pp.612-613.

CREOLE LANGUAGES QUESTIONNAIRE FOR KRIUL, KRIO AND PATWA IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH

ENGLISH	FRENCH
A) LINGUISTIC SECTION	
1	
a) Where are you going?	Où vas-tu?
b) John is going to Eric's home.	Jean va chez Eric.
c) I am eating my supper now.	Je mange mon dîner en ce moment.
d) Today I am working in the countryside.	Aujourd'hui je travaille à la campagne.
e) Yesterday I was talking to the musician.	Hier je parlais avec le musicien.
f) Tomorrow I will be talking to the priest.	Demain je serai en train de parler avec le prêtre.
2	
a) He's wearing a red shirt.	Il porte une chemise rouge.
b) Today she's carrying a piece of wood.	Aujourd'hui elle porte un bout de bois.
c) Yesterday he was smoking a cigarette.	Hier il fumait une cigarette.
d) Tomorrow he'll be with his wife.	Demain il sera avec sa femme.
e) They are walking.	Ils marchent.
f) You are standing on the bridge.	Tu es debout sur le pont.
3	
a) We are in his house.	Nous sommes dans sa maison.
b) You (pl.) are tending the cattle.	Vous gardez les boeufs.
c) They are combing their hair.	Ils se peignent les cheveux.
d) They like eating sweet potatoes.	Ils aiment ~~à~~ manger les patates.
e) He is leaving the village.	Il quitte le village.
f) Rain is falling.	La pluie tombe.

4

a) He went to market.	Il est parti au marché.
b) They have come back to the house.	Ils sont revenus à la maison.
c) We did not go to see his uncle.	Nous ne sommes pas allés voir son oncle.
d) You (sing.) ate the chicken.	Tu as mangé le poulet.
e) You (pl.) sewed the dress.	Vous avez cousu la robe.
f) I cooked the rice.	J'ai préparé le riz.

5

a) We came to school, sat down and read our books.	Nous sommes venus à l'école, nous nous sommes assis et nous avons lu nos livres.
b) We will go home and cook.	Nous irons à la maison et nous ferons la cuisine.
c) He told us to come in, sit down and eat.	Il nous a dit d'entrer, de nous asseoir et de manger.
d) We will not go to the well, drop the bucket and get the water.	Nous n'irons pas au puits, nous ne laisserons pas tomber le seau et nous ne prendrons pas d'eau.
e) He told me to go to the fields, chase the dogs away and come back inside the house.	Il m'a dit d'aller aux champs, d'éloigner les chiens et de rentrer dans la maison.
f) He will not run up the hill and down again.	Il ne montera ~~pas~~ plus sur la colline ~~et ne descendra pas~~ pour redescendre.

6

a) This basket is Pauline's.	Ce panier est à Pauline.
b) His donkey is in our field.	Son âne est dans notre champ.
c) His eyes were large.	Ses yeux étaient grands.
d) Her coat is red.	Son manteau est rouge.
e) Her head is big.	Sa tête est grande.
f) Our hands are very large.	Nos mains sont très grandes.
g) My belly hurts me.	Mon ventre me fait mal.
h) It's your home we are going to.	C'est à ta maison que nous allons.

i) It's at your (pl.) house that we slept ~~(pl.)~~.	C'est à votre maison que nous avons dormi.
j) Their animals are fat.	Leurs bêtes sont grasses.
k) Our aunt lives nearby.	Notre tante habite à côté.
l) His son is young.	Son fils est jeune.

7

a) Here is the girl who bought the green dress.	Voici la jeune fille qui a acheté la robe verte.
b) This is the man who came yesterday.	Celui-ci est l'homme qui est venu hier.
c) This is the lion who ate the cow.	Ceci est le lion qui a mangé la vache.
d) I am the one who arrived early.	Je suis celui qui est arrivé de bonne heure.
e) The happy man who always smiled was sad this morning.	L'homme heureux qui souriait toujours était triste ce matin.
f) The people who went to get water found that the river was dry.	Ceux qui sont allés chercher de l'eau ont trouvé que la rivière était à sec.

8

a) This is my farm.	Ceci est ma ferme.
b) That man with the beard is my grandfather.	Cet homme à la barbe est mon grandpère.
c) The man and his relatives all came to see us.	L'homme et ses parents sont tous venus nous visiter.
d) This is the calabash my friend gave me.	Ceci est la calebasse que mon ami m'a donnée.
e) This is a stone.	Ceci est un caillou.
f) The bench is near the table.	Le banc est près de la table.

9

a) You (sing.) always visit your grandmother.	Tu visites toujours ta grand'mère.
b) I get up at six in the morning.	Je me lève à six heures du matin.
c) He is always chasing the cats.	Il chasse toujours les chats.
d) They eat rice.	Ils mangent du riz.
e) You (pl.) always take the bus early.	Vous prenez l'autobus toujours de bonne heure.
f) It always rains here.	Il pleut toujours ici.

10

a) (I) I know it.	Moi, je le sais.
b) Audu, well, he's gone.	Audu, bien, il est parti.
c) The book I gave you (sing.), it's red.	Le livre que je t'ai donné, il est rouge.
d) Never go out alone (sing.).	Ne sors jamais seul.
e) Don't ever cross this river (sing.).	Ne traverse jamais cette rivière.
f) Never sleep outside (pl.).	Ne dormez jamais dehors.

11

a) He took it out of the box.	Il l'a pris à la boîte.
b) They made their relatives understand.	Ils ont fait comprendre leurs parents.
c) She took the suitcase down.	Elle a descendu la valise.
d) We fed the orphan.	Nous avons fait manger l'orphelin.
e) The girl made them sew.	La jeune fille les a fait coudre.
f) You (sing.) made them go to school.	Tu les a fait aller à l'école.

12

a) The man entered the room.	L'homme est entré dans la chambre.
b) That basket is red.	Ce panier est rouge.
c) The brown dog ran into the forest.	Le chien brun a couru dans la forêt.
d) The boy chopped the tree down.	Le garçon a abattu l'arbre.
e) The meal is cooked.	Le repas est prêt.
f) The students wanted to read.	Les étudiants voulaient lire.

13

a) The calebash fell down with a crash.	Le calebasse est tombé avec fracas.
b) The meat was boiling rapidly.	La viande bouillait rapidement.
c) The town is a long way away.	La ville est très loin.
d) The man is very stupid.	L'homme est très stupide.
e) The cloth is jet black.	La toile est noire de jais.

14

a) The money was what he wanted.	C'etait l'argent qu'il voulait. (Ce qu'il voulait, c'était l'argent.)
b) A meal was all he would accept.	Il ne voulait accepter qu'un repas.
c) Sewing was her only trade.	La couture était son seul métier.
d) Tending cattle was the thing the boy enjoyed.	C'était s'occuper des boeufs que le garçon aimait.
e) He alone went to see the governor.	Lui seul est allé visiter le gouverneur.
f) He alone was favoured by the teacher.	Lui seul était favorisé par le professeur.

15

a) I bought it.	Je l'ai acheté.
b) You (sing.) hit him.	Tu l'as frappé.
c) The boy attacked her.	Le garçon l'a attaquée.
d) She bought them.	Elle les a achetés.
e) I didn't like him.	Je ne l'aimais pas.
f) They met us.	Ils nous ont rencontrés.
g) They accused you (sing.)	Ils t'ont accusé.
h) We accused you (pl.)	Nous vous avons accusés.
i) He scolded me.	Il m'a grondé.
j) She scolded them.	Elle les a grondés.

16

a) We gave him the horse.	Nous lui avons donné le cheval.
b) They gave him the money.	Ils lui ont donné l'argent.
c) My grandfather bought me a present.	Mon grand-père m'a acheté un cadeau.
d) The man bought you (sing.) the yam.	L'homme t'a acheté l'igname.
e) The butcher bought a lot of meat for you (pl.)	Le boucher vous a acheté beaucoup de viande.
f) Her mother brought a dress for her.	Sa mère lui a apporté une robe.
g) His father bought a pair of trousers for him.	Son père lui a acheté un pantalon.
h) They came to bring us many nice things.	Ils sont venus nous apporter beaucoup de bonnes choses.

17

a) It's me.	C'est moi.
b) It's me.	C'est (bien)moi.
c) It's you.	C'est toi.
d) It's him/her.	C'est lui/elle.
e) It's us.	C'est nous.
f) It's you (pl.)	C'est vous.
g) It's them.	Ce sont eux.

18

a) I shaved myself.	Je me suis rasé.
b) He cut himself.	Il s'est coupé.
c) She washed herself.	Elle s'est lavée.
d) You (sing.) hit yourself.	Tu t'es frappé.
e) We shaved ourselves.	Nous nous sommes rasés.
f) You (pl.) cut yourselves.	Vous vous êtes coupés.
g) They washed themselves.	Ils se sont lavés.

19

a) You (sing.) are the man who ran.	Tu es l'homme qui a couru.
b) We are the ones who made them happy.	Nous sommes ceux qui les avons rendus heureux.
c) You (pl.) are the ones who asked me for the time.	Vous êtes ceux qui m'avez demandé l'heure.

20

a) When will they arrive?	Quand est-ce qui'ils vont arriver?
b) Why did she laugh?	Pourquoi a-t-elle ri?
c) Whom do you know in the town?	Qui connaissez-vous dans la ville?
d) Who (sing.)is the man who ran?	Qui est l'homme qui a couru?
e) Who (pl.)are the men who ran?	Qui sont les hommes qui ont couru?
f) Which one do you want?	Lequel voulez-vous?
g) Which ones do you want?	Lesquels voulez-vous?
h) Which boy came to school?	Quel garçon est venu à l'école?
i) Which girl came to school?	Quelle jeune fille est venu à l'école?
j) Which dogs ran into the street?	Quels chiens sont sortis dans la rue?
k) How much did you (sing.)pay?	Combien as-tu payé?
l) Where is the horse?	Où est le cheval?
m) What do you (pl.) want?	Que voulez-vous?
n) How many birds did you (pl.) kill?	Combien d'oisseaux avez-vous tués?

o) Didn't I give it to you (pl.)yesterday?	N'est-ce pas que je vous l'ai donné hier?
p) I didn't give it to you yesterday, did I?	Je ne te l'ai pas donné hier, n'est-ce pas?
q) I don't know where he sat?	Je ne sais pas où il était assis?

21

a) I know the man.	Je connais l'homme.
b) I saw the house.	J'ai vu la maison.

22

a) I saw a man in my house.	J'ai vu un homme dans ma maison.
b) He broke a stick.	Il a cassé un bâton.

23

a) I saw this man.	J'ai vu cet homme-ci.
b) I saw that man.	J'ai vu cet homme-là.
c) I saw this one.	J'ai vu celui-ci.
d) I saw that one.	J'ai vu celui-là.

24

a) One	Un, une
b) Two	Deux
c) Three	Trois
d) Four	Quatre
e) Five	Cinq
f) Six	Six
g) Seven	Sept
h) Eight	Huit
i) Nine	Neuf
j) Ten	Dix
k) Eleven	Onze

25

a) First	Premier,première
b) Second	Deuxième
c) Third	Troisième

26

a) They each had two each.	Ils avaient chacun deux.
b) They each had three each...	Ils avaient chacun trois...

27

a) He ate before coming here.	Il a mangé avant de venir ici.
b) He ran until he was tired.	Il a couru jusqu'à ce qu'il s'est fatigué.
c) They arrived and sat down.	Ils sont arrivés et ils se sont assis.

28

a) Sit down (sing.) !	Assieds-toi!
b) Sit down (pl.) !	Asseyez-vous!
c) Let them sit down!	Qu'ils s'asseyent!

29

a) Let me sit down first.	Laisse-moi m'asseoir d'abord.
b) Let him sit down.	Laisse-le s'asseoir.
c) Let's sit down.	Asseyons-nous!
d) Let them sit down.	Laisse-les s'asseoir.
e) They are to sit down.	Ils doivent s'asseoir.
f) He is to sit down.	Il doit s'asseoir.
g) She is to sit down.	Elle doit s'asseoir.

30

a) Whenever he goes he laughs.	Chaque fois qu'il part il rit.
b) Whatever he says he laughs.	Quoi qu'il dit il rit.
c) Wherever he goes he laughs.	N'importe où qu'il va il rit.
d) However he tries he cannot.	N'importe quelle manière qu'il essaie il ne peut pas.

31

a) Everyone who comes sits.	Tous ceux qui viennent s'asseoient.
b) Everything moves.	Tout bouge.
c) Anything that moves is alive.	Tout ce qui bouge est vivant.
d) Anyone who is happy laughs.	Qui est heureux rit.

32

a) It wasn't a woman who visited them yesterday.	Ce n'était pas une femme qui les a visités hier.
b) We did not buy oil.	Nous n'avons pas acheté d'huile.
c) Didn't you (pl.) hear me?	Ne m'avez-vous pas entendu?
d) We didn't understand.	Nous n'avons pas compris.
e) No, it isn't his mother and father.	Non, ce n'est pas sa mère et son père.
f) The grocer did not sell any salt.	L'épicier n'a pas vendu de sel.
g) No one likes to lose money.	Personne n'aime perdre de l'argent.

B) ORAL LITERATURE SECTION

1. Do you know any folktales?	Connaissez-vous des contes?
2. Do you know any proverbs?	Connaissez-vous des proverbs?
3. Do you know any riddles, for example?	Connaissez-vous des devinettes?
4. Do you know any Krio (Aku)/ [Patwa] songs?	Connaissez-vous des chansons [en Kriul] ?
5. Do you know any Krio (Aku)/ [Patwa] songs sung by children only?	Connaissez-vous des chansons [en Kriul] chantées uniquement par des enfants ?
6. What do you say before beginning a folktale/riddle?	Que dites-vous avant d'entamer un conte/une devinette?
7. What do you say when you finish a folktale/riddle?	Que dites-vous en terminant un conte/une devinette?
8. What do you say when you fail to answer a riddle?	Que dites-vous quand vous ne pouvez pas deviner une devinette?
9. Do you know any tongue-twisters?	Connaissez-vous des jeux de mots (phrases difficiles à prononcer)?
10. Do you have songs for special occasions, for example: funeral-songs and work-songs?	Avez-vous des chansons pour les événements spéciaux, par exemple pour les enterrements ou le travail?

SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR PATWA[1] ONLY TO EXAMINE w ~ r ALTERNATION

READING PASSAGE

English: The red king was too fat but he always laughed.
Patwa: wa wuz la te twɔ gwo mɛ i te ka tuzu wi
wa ruz la te trɔ gro mɛ i te ka tuzu ri

English: He liked to wander about and take crayfish from
Patwa: i te ɛmɛ dwive e pwa kwibish sɔti
i te ɛmɛ drive e pra kribish sɔti

English: the river
Patwa: lauvyɛ a
lauvyɛ a

WORD LIST

Word Initial w ~ r :

wule - 'roll'
wim - 'stir'
wepɔn - 'reply'
wim - 'a cold'
weve - 'to dream'

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1. In a fieldtrip to St.Lucia in April 1979.

Word Medial w ~ r :

kwɛ - 'to believe'
tiwe - 'to take out'
sewe - 'to hide'
mawɔ̃ - 'fool'
nwɛ - 'black'

'Control' Questions:

a) Would you ever say.....?
b) Imagine you were...would you say...?
c) Imagine a situation where you would say...?
d) How would you say....?

DATA ON SPEAKERS

KEY

M - Male

F - Female

The creole, African and European languages spoken by the speakers interviewed are grouped as follows: creole first, African second and European third. Within each group the languages are heirachically ordered with the language in which the speaker has the most competence at the top. Languages in which the speaker has a limited competence are bracketed[1].

1. The self-assessment of the speaker was used to describe his/her competence in all cases.

DATA ON CREOLE SPEAKERS: KRIUL (K-),KRIO (G-) AND PATWA (P-)

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 1	M 17	Father:Lebanese Mother: from Guinea Bissau.	Primary school in Ziguinchor. Now attending Charles Lwanga Secondary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 2	M 19	Father:Lebanese Mother:from Guinea Bissau.	Attended Primary and Secondary school in Ziguinchor.Is an Assistant Teacher at Sacré Coeur (Canadian) Secondary school and a pupil at Lycée Djignabo, Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 3	F 13	Mother:Pepel Father:Pepel (Both from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Attending Sacré Coeur (Canadian) Secondary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 4	M 52	Mother:Manjak Father:Manjak (Both from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor, l'École Technique Commerciale, Dakar.Book-Keeper (1947-1973.) Semi-retired.	Kriul Wolof French
K 5	F 21	Father:Dyola (Fogny.) Mother:Manjak (from Carabane.)	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Now attending Lycée Djignabo, Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 6	M 59	Father:Pepel (from Guinea Bissau.) Mother:from Cape Verde, Senegal.	Primary in Ziguinchor, Secondary in Dakar. Book-keeper. (Retired since 1973.)	Kriul Wolof French
K 7	M 14	Father:Lebanese Mother:from Guinea Bissau. (Brother of K 1 and K 2.)	Primary in Ziguinchor.Now a student at the Sacré Coeur secondary school, Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 8	F 52	Father:Pepel Mother:Pepel	Primary and Secondary in Guinea Bissau. Came to settle in Ziguinchor in 1951. Seamstress.	Kriul Wolof French
K 9	F 20	Mother:Balant Father:Toucoulor (from Sediou. Both parents speak Kriul occasionally. Her mother speaks Kriul more frequently than her father.)	Primary in Ziguinchor, Secondary up to Form 3 in Ziguinchor.	Kriul French Wolof
K 10	M 20	Father:Cape Verde Is. (Jeba) Mother:Cape Verde Is.	Primary and Secondary in Guinea Bissau. Welder. Arrived in Ziguinchor in 1976.	Kriul (French)

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 11	M 15	Father:Serer Mother:Dyola. (Both parents also spoke Kriul.)	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Presently attending Sacré Coeur secondary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 12	F 12	Father:Pepel (from Guinea Bissau.) Mother:Pepel	Primary in Ziguinchor.Now at Sacré Coeur secondary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 13	M 59	Father and Mother:Creoles from Cape Verde Is.	Primary only in Guinea Bissau. Came to Ziguinchor in 1961. Binder, reconditioner of books. Painter.	Kriul (Bissau dialect) Wolof French
K 14	M 34	Father and Mother:Balanta (who both spoke Kriul.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Secondary and Commercial Education in Dakar.Accountant.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 15	M 19	Mother:Pepel Father:K 6	Primary in Ziguinchor. Attending Secondary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 16	M 20	Mother:Pepel (from Guinea Bissau.) Father:from Cape Verde.	Primary in Ziguinchor. Attending Secondary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 17	M 51	Mother and Father:Dyola	Primary in Ziguinchor. Manager at the National Office of the Coorporation of Assistance for Development (ONCAD.) K 17 is now resident in Dakar.	(Kriul) Wolof French
K 18	F 28	Mother and Father:Manjak (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Thiès, Secondary in Ziguinchor. Secretarial school in Dakar. Secretary.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 19 (also FÕN: 1, see p.652)	F 20	Mother:Creole Father:Fõn (from Bénin, formerly Dahomey.)	Primary in Bénin.Left Bénin when aged 18.Now attending Sacré Coeur College in Ziguinchor.	(Kriul) Fõn Wolof French
K 20	M 20	Mother and Father:Manjak (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 21	M 27	Mother:Pepel Father:Fõn (from Dahomey.)	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 22	F 24	Mother:K 34 Father:K 6	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. At present in first year of an under-graduate Law course at the University of Dakar.	Kriul Wolof French
K 23	F 24	Mother: Toucoulor	Primary in Guiné and Dakar.Second-ary in Ziguinchor. Brevet[1] and secretarial course in Thiès. Returned to live in Ziguinchor three years ago.	Kriul Pulaar Wolof French

1.Higher School Certificate.

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 24	M 80	Mother:Dyola Father:French	Primary in Senegal.Four-year practical course in Commerce and Industry in Bézier,France. Retired President of the Chamber of Commerce in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 25	F 52	Mother: Mulatto (from Ziguinchor.) Father:Manjak (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Housewife.	Kriul (Wolof)
K 26	F 24	Mother:Manjak Father:Dyola	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. B.A Spanish at the University of Dakar.	Kriul Wolof French Spanish
K 27	M 36	Mother:Lebu Father:Serer	Primary in Ziguinchor. Chef de Carré at Radio Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 28	M 31	Mother and Father:Dyola	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Primary school teacher in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 29	M 21	Mother and Father:Lebanese (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Works in his father's shop.	Kriul Wolof French
K 30	M 40	Mother:Manjak Father:Dyola	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Cashier with S.E.N.L.E.C[1]	Kriul Wolof French
K 31	M 28	Mother:Mandinka (from Guinea Bissau.) Father:Manjak	Primary in Ziguinchor and Dakar.Secondary in Ziguinchor. Bookeepers course in Dakar. Bookeeper at the Enseignement Privé Catholique, Ziguinchor.	Kriul Mandinka Wolof French
K 32	F 48	Mother:Aku (from Gambia.) Father:Creole (from Ziguinchor.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Housewife.	Kriul (Wolof)
K 33	F 25	Mother:Bainuk Father:Manjak (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Shop assistant.	Kriul Wolof French

1.See p. 625 .

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 34	M 26	Mother:Dyola Father:Pepel (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Secondary in Dakar.Training to be a teacher.	Kriul Wolof French
K 35	F 47	Mother and Father:Creoles (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 36	M 43	Mother and Fahter:Dyola	Primary in Ziguinchor. Secondary in Dakar.Seminary in Dakar. Studied English at University in France. Priest and Director of the Catholic private schools in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Dyola Wolof French
K 37	M 70	Mother:Dyola Father:French	Primary in Ziguinchor. Retired.	Kriul (Wolof) French
K 38	F 32	Mother:Bainuk Father:Balanta	Primary and Secondary in Ziguinchor. Course in kindergarden education in France.Teacher with Catholic Private Education in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 39	M 49	Mother:Manjak (from Guinea Bissau.) Father:(from Cape Verde.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Manager of a supermarket in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 40	F 43	Mother and Father:Fõn (from Bénin.)	Primary and Secondary in Bénin. Mid-wife.(Married to a Creole from Ziguinchor. Has been in Senegal for 25 years.)	Kriul Fõn Wolof French
K 41	F 27	Mother:Balanta (from Guinea Bissau.) Father:Bainuk (from Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Secondary in Ziguinchor and Dakar. Midwife in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 42	F 27	Mother and Father:Dyola	Primary in Brin.Secondary in Thiès. Came to live in Ziguinchor five years ago.	(Kriul) Dyola Wolof French
K 43	F 20	Mother:Manjak Father:from Cape Verde (K 43 often visits relatives in Guinea Bissau.)	Primary in Ziguinchor. Secondary in Ziguinchor and Dakar.	Kriul Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 44	M 30	Mother and Father:Dyola	Primary in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof Dyola French
K 45	F 43	Mother and Father:Aku (from Banjul.)	No formal education. Housewife.	Kriul (Wolof)
K 46	F 51	Mother:Dyola Father:Aku (from Sierra Leone.)	Primary school in Ziguinchor. Housewife.	Kriul (Wolof)
K 47	F 73	Mother and Father:Dyola	No formal education. Housewife.	Kriul (Wolof)
K 48	F 10	Mother:Manjak Father:Dyola	At primary school in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French
K 49	M 47	Mother:Bainuk Fahter:Angolan	Primary in Guinea Bissau. Cobbler.	Kriul Wolof French
K 50 (also DYOLA: 1, see p.652)	M 32	Mother and Father:Dyola	Primary in Ziguinchor and Bignona. Presently taking courses with the Chamber of Commerce (Senegal). Works at the Senegalese Society of Distribution of Electrical Energy (SENELEC).	(Kriul) Dyola (Fogny) Wolof French

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
K 51	M 54	Mother and Father:Dyola	Primary in Ziguinchor. Owner of a Private school.	Kriul Wolof French
K 52	F 44	Mother:Dyola Father:from Guinea Bissau.	No formal education. Housewife.	Kriul Wolof (French)
K 53	M 63	Father:Pepel (from Guinea Bissau.) Mother:Bainuk (K 53 is Bainuk in ethnic loyalty.)	Primary school only in Ziguinchor. Nurse. (Retired)	Kriul French Wolof
K 54	M 20	Mother:Pepel Father: K 6	Primary in Ziguinchor. Now in the final year of Secondary in Ziguinchor.	Kriul Wolof French

Kriul in The Gambia (KRIUL:G: -)

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
KRIUL:G:1 (Bissau Dialect)	M 25	Dyola	Primary, Secondary and Teacher's Certificate in Bissau. Was a teacher in Bissau.	(Kriul) Dyola Portuguese
KRIUL:G:2 (Bissau Dialect)	F 35	Manjak	Primary and Secondary in Guinea Bissau. Seamstress.	Kriul Krio Manjak Mandinka Wolof
KRIUL:G:4 (Cape Verde Dialect)	M 78	Cape Verdian	Primary and Secondary in Cape Verde. Cook. (Arrived in Banjul 40 years ago.)	Kriul Krio Portuguese
KRIUL:G:5 (Bissau Dialect)	M 50	Pepel	Primary and Secondary in Bissau. Post Office Clerk, Taylor. (Has been resident in Banjul for 22 years.)	Kriul Krio (Wolof) English Portuguese

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 1	F 28	Mother:Aku Father:Fula	Primary and Secondary in Banjul. Licence-ès - Lettres and Course in Diplomacy in France. Foreign Service, Gambia.	Krio Wolof French English
G 2	M 30	Wolof	Primary in Gambia Secondary in Ghana. B.A. in Dakar, Senegal. Interpreter's school in Belgium. Translator, Ministry of Extern -al Affairs, Banjul, Gambia.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English French Spanish
G 3	F 20	Aku	Primary and Secondary in Banjul. Clerk, The Treasury, The Quadrangle, Banjul, Gambia.	Krio Wolof English
G 4	F 74	Aku	Primary in Banjul.Retired.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 5	F 12	Aku	Primary-Banjul, now attending secondary school in Banjul.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 6	M 39	Wolof	Primary, Secondary and Teacher - Training in Banjul, Dip.Ed - England. Teacher of Mathematics 1958-1974. Administrative Officer/Accountant at British High Commission -Banjul.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) (French)
G 7	F 31	Aku	Primary and Secondary in Banjul. Secretarial course in London. Stenographer at President's Office, the Quadrangle, Banjul.	Krio Wolof English
G 8	F 23	Aku	Primary-Banjul, Secondary -Freetown. Accounting Machine Operator, Quadrangle Banjul.	Krio (Wolof) English
G 9	M 48	Aku	Primary and Secondary -Freetown , Sierra Leone. Passed External Univ. of London Law exams of the Middle Temple Council of Legal Education. Solicitor General, Gambia. Acting Judge.	Krio Wolof English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 10	F 70	Aku	Primary-Banjul, Secondary-Freetown. Businesswoman in Freetown 1920-26. Retired Business-woman.	Krio (Wolof) (Mandinka) English
G 11	F 77	Wolof/Aku	Primary and some Secondary-Banjul. Taught - Banjul. Businesswoman, now retired.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) English
G 12	F 14	Aku	Primary - Banjul, now at secondary school - Banjul.	Krio Wolof English
G 13	F 8	Aku	Primary school and Methodist Prep. School-Banjul.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) English
G 14	M 68	Aku	Primary and Secondary - Banjul. Magistrate's Clerk. Clerk of Courts for 30 years - Banjul. Acting Dept.Registrar -West African Court of Appeal. Retired Clerk of Courts.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 15	F 13	Aku	Primary- Banjul, now attending Crab Island Secondary school.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 16	M 35	Mother:Aku Father:Dyola	Primary and Secondary - Banjul. Served in Gambian Foreign Service in Sierra Leone;is now a Businessman and a poet.	Krio Wolof English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 17 (Also MENDE:1)	F 60	Aku	Primary and Secondary -Sierra Leone. Arrived in Banjul aged 29, Businesswoman employing others.	Krio Mende Temne Wolof Mandinka
G 18	M 24	Mother:Mende (from Freetown.) Father:Serer (from Gorée.)	Primary and Secondary - Banjul, Businessman, in the family business: 'Houmbail Records'.	Krio Wolof English
G 19	M 62	Mother:Nigerian (resident in Freetown.) Father:Jamaican	Primary and Secondary in Banjul. Retired Health Inspector after 32 years. Awarded British Empire Medal for Meritorious Service.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 20	M 63	Mother:Aku Father:Wolof (Christian)	Primary and Secondary -Banjul. Social Science Course - Goldsmith's College, London, Course in Journalism at Regent Street Polytechnic-London. Teacher- Banjul. Reporter for Nnamdi Azikiwe's 'The Guardian' Port Harcourt (Nigeria) and, 'The Sunday Observer'-Port Harcourt. Editor and Managing Editor of 'The Nation' Banjul, Gambia.	Krio Wolof Mandinka (Pulaar) English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 21	M 43	Aku	Primary- Banjul, Secondary-Freetown. Businessman-Banjul.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) English
G 22	M 25	Mother:Dyola Father:Aku (Household are from Freetown.)	Primary and Secondary -Banjul. Taking Institute of Banker's exams. Bank Clerk.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) English
G 23	F 35	Mother:Temne (from Freetown.) Father:Aku (from Freetown.)	Primary and Secondary -Freetown, Sierra Leone. Secretary.	Krio Mende Wolof
G 24	F 86	Aku/Wolof (Grandmother: Wolof, but/G 24 lived with her Aku relatives.)	Primary-Banjul. Retired Market Trader.	Krio (Wolof) English
G 25	F 77	Aku	Primary-Freetown Secondary-Freetown. Was a teacher in Freetown. Retired Saleswoman.	Krio
G 26	F 17	Aku	Primary and Secondary in Banjul. Sales Assistant.	Krio Wolof English
G 27	F 9	Dyola (Household are from Freetown)	Attending primary school - Banjul.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 28	M 23	Mother:Liberian Father:Aku	Primary and Secondary-Freetown. Taking Accountancy exams. Accounts Clerk, Banjul.	Krio Mende Wolof (Vai) English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 29	F 27	Aku (from Sierra Leone).	Primary and Secondary -Banjul. Teacher, Banjul.	Krio Wolof English
G 30	F 24	Mother:Wolof Father:Yoruba	Primary, Secondary and High School - Banjul. Pitman's Secretarial College -London. Secretary at Lybian Embassy, Banjul.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) English
G 31	F 27	Aku	Primary and Secondary -Banjul, Social Work course at Ghana Labour College. Family Planning Advisor.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 32	F 58	Aku	Primary and Secondary-Banjul. English teacher, Warden of Yundum College for Girls. Is now retired.	Krio Wolof English
G 33	M 68	Mother:Aku Father:Temne	Primary and Secondary-Freetown. Arrived in Gambia aged 62. Shoe maker, also Lead Singer/Guitarist of The "Gambia Gumbe Boys" half-hour weekly programme of Krio songs on Radio Gambia.	Krio
G 34	F 60	Aku	Primary-Banjul, Secondary-Freetown. Retired Librarian and Broadcaster for Radio Gambia.	Krio Wolof Mandinka Pulaar English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 35	M 28	Mother:Aku Father:a Wolof (from Senegal).	Primary and Secondary-Banjul. Electrician.	Krio Wolof Mandinka
G 36	F 18	Mother:Dyola Father: Pulaar	Primary and Secondary-Banjul. Student awaiting entrance to Law School in U.S.A.	Krio Wolof Mandinka (Pulaar) English French
G 37	F 56	Aku	Primary,Secondary and Teacher's Cert. in Banjul. Diploma in Speech and Drama - England. Former Senior Mistress at Gambia High School. Teacher at Gambia High School.	Krio (Wolof) English (French)
G 38	F 27	Aku	Primary and Secondary-Banjul. Telex Operator/ Counter Clerk at Cable and Wireless, Banjul.	Krio Wolof English
G 39	M 25	Aku	Primary,Secondary and High School in Banjul. Bank Statistician, B.I.C.I Bank, Banjul.	Krio Wolof (Mandinka) (Pulaar) English
G 40	F 23	Mother:Serer Father:Pepel (from Guinea Bissau).	Primary and secondary school-Banjul, S.R.N - Banjul. Nurse - Banjul.	Kriul Krio Wolof English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
G 41	M 18	Aku	Primary and Secondary in Banjul. Presently attending Gambia High School.	Krio Wolof English
G 42	M 18	Aku	Primary and Secondary in Banjul, Presently attending St. Augustines High School, Banjul.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 43	F 84	Aku	Primary-Banjul. Retired Trader.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 44	M 26	Mother:Aku Father:Serer	Primary and Secondary-Banjul, Accountants Clerk - Banjul.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 45	F 30	Mother:Aku Father:Igbo	Primary and Secondary-Banjul. S.R.N[1] - Banjul.	Krio Wolof Mandinka English
G 46	F 14	Mother:Aku Father:Serer	Primary and Secondary-Banjul. Presently attending St. Joseph's High School - Banjul.	Krio Wolof English
G 47	M 13	Aku	Primary-Banjul, now attending St. Augustine's Secondary school, Banjul.	Krio Wolof English
G(48)	Gambia Gumbe Boys			
G 49[2]	F 54	Serer	Housewife.	Kriul Krio Wolof Serer Dyola Mandinka Portuguese

1.I.e.State Registered Nurse.
2.The responses of G49 were not analysed in pt.II,ch.3.

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL(/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)[1]	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN
P 1	F 12	Mother:Vieux-Fort; Father:Castries (Vieux-Fort.)	Attending primary school in Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English
P 2	M 62	Mother and Father: Canaries (Vieux-Fort.)	Primary in Canaries.Was a policeman in St.Lucia for 10 years; 13 years working in Curaçao.Bar Proprietor, Vieux-Fort.	Patwa Papiamentu English (Dutch)
P 3	M 28	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort; manager of the Vieux-Fort Fishermen's Co-operative.	Patwa English
P 4	F 60	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	No formal education. Housewife.	Patwa English
P 5	M 27	Mother and Father: Grace (Vieux-Fort)	Primary in Augier.Dock worker.	Patwa English
P 6	M 59	Mother:Vieux-Fort; Father:Babonneau (Vieux-Fort.)	Primary only. Plumber for the Central Water Authority, Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English (French)

1.Only indicated where different from that of parents.

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL(/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 7	F 39	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary only in Vieux-Fort. Primary school teacher. Store supervisor for eight years. Seamstress.	Patwa English
P 8	M 96	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary and Secondary in Vieux-Fort. Shoemaker in Vieux-Fort. Worked in the goldfields of French Guyana for 15 years. Returned to St. Lucia and worked until retirement as a Bailiff.	Patwa (Takitaki) English (French) (Dutch)
P 9	F 71	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	No formal education. Cleaner.	Patwa
P 10	F 59	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary only in Vieux-Fort. Seamstress.	Patwa English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 11	F 50	Mother and Father: Indians from Vieux-Fort.	Primary only in Vieux-Fort.Grocer.	Patwa English
P 12	M 22	Mother:Micoud. Father:Dennery. (Vieux-Fort.)	Primary only in Vieux-Fort.Bank messanger. Marketing manager at the Vieux-Fort Fishermen's Co-operative.	Patwa English
P 13	F 21	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary and Junior Secondary till 15 years old, both in Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English
P 14	M 29	Mother:Indian from Vieux-Fort. Father:Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Plumber in St.Croix for two years. Driver for Barcklays Bank Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English (German)
P 15	M 31	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Secondary and Teacher's Training in Castries.Headmaster of Grace Infant/ Junior School.	Patwa English (French)

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 16	M 13	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Presently attending secondary school in Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English
P 17	F 7	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Presently attending infant school in Vieux-Fort.	(Patwa) English
P 18	M 9	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Presently attending primary school in Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English
P 19	M 26	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Secondary in Castries. Teacher at Vieux-Fort Boys primary school. Maintainence clerk.	Patwa English
P 20	F 9	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Presently attending Belvedere infant school in Vieux-Fort.	Patwa English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 21	M 33	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Correspond-ence courses in Industrial Relations. Secretary of the St.Lucian Seamen and Waterfront General Workers.	Patwa English
P 22	F 70	Mother and Father: Grace.(Vieux-Fort.)	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Seamstress. Shop-assist-ant.Grocer.	Patwa English
P 23	F 41	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Housewife and Seamstress.	Patwa English
P 24	F 56	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Seamstress and housewife in Curaçao. Housewife.	Patwa (Papiamentu) English
P 25	M 24	Mother:Grace. Father:St.Vincent. (Vieux-Fort.)	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Mason.	Patwa English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 26	F 27	Mother:Laborie. Father:Barbados. (Vieux-Fort.)	Primary and Secondary in Vieux-Fort. Taught for three years in Vieux-Fort. Was an air-line hostess for two years.Clerk.	Patwa English (French)
P 27	M 66	Mother:Indian from Vieux-Fort. Father:Vieux-Fort (Roynee.)	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Sailor.Was a diamond prospector for 14 years in British Guiana (now Guyana.) Labourer on his own lands.	Patwa English
P 28	F 54	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort. (Roynee.)	Primary in Dennery. Seamstress for five years. Domestic servant in Castries for four years. Sales assist-ant for three years.After-wards became wife of P 27.	Patwa English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 29	F 46	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Was a teacher at Vieux-Fort Primary Girls School since leaving school.	Patwa English
P 30	M 60	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Mechanic in Vieux-Fort. A gold prospector in Surinam for 15 years. Road overseer in Vieux-Fort for three years. Power station operator for eleven years. Land proprietor.	Patwa (Taki-Taki) English
P 31	M 69	Mother:Laborie. Father:Grace. (Grace.)	One year in Primary. Labourer working for government.	Patwa
P 32	F 75	Mother and Father: Vieux-Fort.(Grace.)	Two years in Primary. Labourer on family lands.	Patwa

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 33	M 25	Mother and Father: Grace.	Primary in Joyeux. Mechanic in Castries for two years. Labourer on his own lands.	Patwa
P 34	F 37	Mother:Augier. Father:Grace. (Grace.)	Primary in Augier. Seamstress. Trader in Trinidad for seven years. Businesswoman employing others.	Patwa English
P 35	M 55	Mother:Choiseul. Father:Grace. (Grace.)	Primary in Vieux-Fort. Worked as a labourer on family lands till aged 26. Worked for 25 years in Guyana as an excavator operator then returned to Grace to work on family lands as a labourer.	Patwa English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 36	F 80	Mother:Carib/African from Choiseul. Father: Papen. (Choiseul.)	Primary in Choiseul. Seamstress and housewife.	Patwa
P 37	F 26	Mother:Choiseul. Father:Castries. (Choiseul.)	Primary in Choiseul. Maker of Handicraft goods.	Patwa English
P 38	F 68	Mother and Father: Desrisseau.	Primary in Micoud. Housewife.	Patwa English
P 39	M 55	Mother and Father: Desrisseau.	Primary in Desrisseau. Secondary in Micoud. Carpenter.	Patwa English
P 40	F 69	Mother and Father: Desrisseau.	No formal education. Labourer on her own lands.	Patwa
P 41	M 26	Mother and Father: Desrisseau.	Primary in Desrisseau. Labourer for ten years. Mason.	Patwa English
P 42	F app. 60	Mother and Father: Mongouge.	Primary in Choiseul for one year. Labourer on the lands of others.	Patwa

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 43	M 38	Mother:Mongouge. Father:Cayenne (French Guiana) (Mongouge.)	Primary in Aux Etangs for one year. Labourer on personal lands.	Patwa
P 44	M app. 45	Mother and Father: Choiseul.	No formal education.Labourer on the lands of others and on personal lands.	Patwa
P 45	F 20	Mother:Martine. Father:Mongouge. (Mongouge.)	Primary in Reunion and Secondary in La Fargue.	Patwa English
P 46	M 50	Mother:Victoria. Father:Mongouge. (Mongouge.)	Primary in Aux Etangs. Secondary in Choiseul. Labourer on the lands of others.	Patwa
P 47	M 20	Mother:La Pointe. Father:Mongouge. (Mongouge.)	Primary in Augier.Secondary in Vieux-Fort. Teacher.	Patwa English (French)

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 48	M 75	Mother:India. Father:India. (Vieux-Fort.)	No formal education.Worked for 28 years in British Guiana (now Guyana.)	Patwa 'Hindi'
P 49	F 47	Mother and Father: Castries.	Primary only. Taught for four years. Assistant store keeper. Housewife.	Patwa English
P 50	F 58	Mother:Anse La Raye. Father:Indian from Soufrière. (Anse La Raye.)	Primary in Anse La Raye. Seamstress. Worked as a cook for 5 years in Curaçao. Grocer.	Patwa Papiamentu English
P 51	F app. 54	Mother:Soufrière. Father:Anse La Raye. (Anse La Raye.)	Primary in Anse La Raye for 2 years. Cook at the Catholic church in Anse La Raye.	Patwa (English)
P 52	M 22	Mother and Father: Anse La Raye.	Primary in Anse La Raye.Clerk.	Patwa English

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 53	M 58	Mother and Father: Soufrière. (Anse La Raye.)	Primary in Anse La Raye. Lived in Curaçao for two years. Mason.	Patwa (Papiamentu) English
P 54	M 17	Mother:Castries. Father:Vieux-Fort. (Castries.)	Primary only. Apprentice printer.	English (Patwa)
P 55	F 30	Mother:Indian from Castries. Father:Indian from Babonneau (Castries.)	Primary in Castries. Accounts clerk.	English (Patwa)
P 56	F app. 65	Mother and Father: Choiseul. (Dennery.)	No formal education. Labourer on personal lands.	Patwa
P 57	F app. 70	Mother:Vieux-Fort. Father:Barbados. (Dennery.)	No formal education. Labourer on family lands.	Patwa
P 58	F 67	Mother and Father: Dennery.	Primary in Dennery. Labourer on family lands.	Patwa (English)
P 59	F 78	Mother:Castries. Father:Dennery. (Dennery.)	Primary in Dennery. Seamstress.	Patwa

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	GEOGRAPHICAL (/ETHNIC) ORIGIN(S) OF PARENTS (AND SPEAKER)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
P 60	M 27	Mother and Father: Dennery.	Primary in Dennery. Driver.	Patwa (English)
P 61	M 79	Mother:Carib/French from Choiseul. Father:Martinique. (Choiseul.)	Primary in Choiseul. Cook.Soldier in Europe during the Second World War.	Patwa (English)
P 62[1]	F 74	Mother:Carib/Creole from Choiseul. Father:Castries. (Choiseul.)	Primary in Choiseul. Teacher at Choiseul Infant School. Housewife.	Patwa English

P(63) Programmes 48,49 and 50 on the Folk Culture of Saint Lucia recorded by Fr. Patrick Anthony and broadcast over Radio St.Lucia on 21.5.74, 4.6.74 and 11.6.74 respectively.

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1. Although not separately interviewed P 62 aided a great deal in the responses of P 61 (her husband.)

Creoles in London (-:L: -):

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
S.L.K:L 1	M 30	Creole	Primary in Sierra Leone. Secondary in Sierra Leone and London. (Arrived in England aged 15.) Musician.	Krio English

Indian Ocean French Creoles:

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
SEYCHELLES:1	M 29	Mother and Father:Creole (African/ European.)	Primary school in Victoria, Mahe, Seychelles. Carpenter, Painter and Laundry worker.	Kreol (French) (English)
REUNION:1	M 40	Mother:Indian Father:Creole (African/ European.)	Primary and Secondary in Reunion. Tertiary in France. Ph.D candidate, Centre Universitaire de la Reunion.	Kreol French

DATA ON AFRICAN LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

The Gambia:

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
MNKA: 2	M approx. 67	Mandinka	Arabic education. Painter.	Krio Kriul Mandinka Wolof Portuguese
MNKA: 3	M approx. 34	Mandinka	Arabic education. Arabic Scholar: Arfang. Trader, Banjul.	Mandinka Wolof
WOL: 1	M 25	Mother: Wolof Father: Serer (Wolof in ethnic loyalty.)	Primary and Secondary - Banjul. University in U.S.A. Sufi poet, novelist and businessman -Banjul.	(Krio) Wolof English (French) (German)
MANJAK: 1	M 42	Manjak	No formal education (i.e. neither European nor Arabic.) Seaman.	Kriul Manjak Wolof Mandinka (Fula) (English)
MENDE: 1[1]				

1.See p. 631.

Senegal:

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN
SERER: 1	M 30	Mother and Father: Serer.	Primary and Secondary in Dakar (Senegal) Builder.	Serer(Sin) Wolof French

FON: 1
(See p. 620)

DYOLA: 1
(See p. 625)

London (- : L : -):

SPEAKER'S NUMBER	SEX AND AGE	ETHNIC GROUP(S) (BACKGROUND)	EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
YOR:L:1	M 30	Yoruba	Primary and Secondary in Nigeria, Ph.D Student, Africa Dept., S.O.A.S (Arrived in England aged 29.)	Yoruba Arabic English
TWI:L:1	M 39	Ashanti	Primary and Secondary in Ghana. Actor. (Arrived in England aged 22.)	Twi Gã English
TWI:L:2	M 38	Ashanti	B.A Politics, Philosophy and Sociology Lancaster University. (Arrived in England aged 26.)	Twi English
GÃ:1	M 29	Mother and Father: Gã (Adangbe)	Primary and Secondary in Ghana. Post-graduate Student, S.O.A.S. (Arrived in England aged 20.)	Gã English

KRIUL

General Comment on the Responses of Certain Speakers in Formal Speech

Speaker Number:

K 3 Some of the sentences were modified where the speaker did not completely understand the French sentences.

K 4 In copying the cassettes onto tape L/30 -32(d) were accidentally erased. Misunderstanding by K 3 of a number of the sentences related to feature 8 resulted in a +4 score for the latter.

K 10 The speaker did not understand L/7(f). His -1 score for feature 9 must be taken in this light. As the speaker spoke little French, translation of the sentences into Kriul was aided by Mr.L.Gomes(K32.)

K 11 Although he used many Fr. items in his responses, the speaker did not have a good command of French: in L/14(d)-(f) he clearly did not understand the items jouer or monsieur but merely repeated them in his Kriul translations. In some instances his command of Kriul (and/or his ability to translate) was lacking e.g. in L/19 (a).

K 13 This speaker had a limited competence in French. Interviewing was aided by hints and some translation by Mr.L.Gomes (K32).

K 14 This speaker made a high use of Fr. loans e.g. eseye 'to try' cf. Fr. essayer-'to try' in his responses.

K 18 Made a high use of French lexical items in her Kriul formal speech.

K 19 A second-language speaker of Kriul, whose first language is Fõn. She made use of many Fr. items as she did not always know the appropriate Kriul term. I modified some sentences ~~in some cases~~ to make translation easier for her. It may well be that second language speakers of Kriul (note also K 18 above) utilise the 'Latin' similarities between Kriul and French as a source of relexifying Kriul with Fr. items with which they have a greater familiarity.

K 21 The speaker's translations were usually very free. This, coupled with a possible lack of understanding of L/14 (b) and L/14 (d) ~~and~~, may also be responsible for his low positive score in feature 3. As he had little grasp of the meaning of the French sentences in a number of cases he said anything in Kriul which could mean what he thought the Fr. sentence meant.

K 24 L/13 - 16 (c), inclusive, were omitted as communication with this partially deaf speaker was difficult.

K 26 The interview was terminated at L/13 (c) as the speaker said she found translation difficult.

K 27 The speaker's hesitancy in translation, coupled with a use of many Fr. loans e.g. vert - 'green', rire - 'to laugh', indicated a lack of fluency in Kriul. The interview was terminated as L/18 (g) as the speaker did not want to continue.

K 28 K 28 called out to his aunt on at least two occasions asking for items of Kriul vocabulary with which he was not familiar.

K 37 The linguistic interview was terminated at L/6 (g) as the speaker did not want to continue.

K 38 As the sentence L/5 (c), on the basis of which one of the three variants of feature 9 was analysed, was accidentally omitted by the researcher, this speaker's score for this feature is not included in the sociolinguistic analysis of the selected grammatical features.

K 42 The linguistic interview was terminated at L/6 (d).

K 45-
K 48 &
K 52 These speakers responded to the oral literature section only.

KRIUL

General Comments on the Responses of Certain Speakers in Informal Speech

Speaker Number:

K 21 The speaker's prose narratives Q. 1 were confused, in content bordering simultaneously on sense and nonsense.

K 24 Up to the age of twelve K 24 was not a resident of Ziguinchor but learned Kriul from his mother. He was not therefore familiar with Kriul oral literature.

K 29 Did not respond to the oral literature section.

K 32 A visitor came to see K 32 at the beginning of the oral literature interview. She was therefore not able to respond to it. This kumpo song was recorded later.

K 37 Impressed upon me how much work he himself had done on Kriul and read out some riddles from his own documents. He did not otherwise respond to the oral literature questionnaire.

K 40 Being a first language speaker of Fõn (Republic of Bénin), the speaker was not very familiar with Kriul oral literature.

KRIO

General Comments on the Responses of Certain Speakers in Formal Speech.

Speaker Number

G 11 The speaker had a hypercorrect approach to both sections of the questionnaire, especially the (formal) Linguistic section. She seemed to be trying to produce an Anglicised Krio which she appeared to think more suitable for 'scholarly' research like my own.

G 15 Anglicisms in the responses of G 15 were often corrected by adults listening to the interview. (C.N: 3302-3490, 3490-3549 .)

G 24 As the speaker was senile (aged 86), communication was at times difficult. Parts of the linguistic section of the questionnaire were therefore altered to make understanding easier. The linguistic section was terminated at the end of part 15 as the speaker was tired. This has affected the count for grammatical features counted in parts of the linguistic questionnaire beyond part 15, e.g. stabilisers which were counted throughout the questionnaire.

The frequent use of z pl. suffix by the speaker may be the result of decreolization due to the influence of an English language orientated school system. The speaker had only completed primary school.

G 25 For a speaker of Freetonian origin aged 77, this speaker spoke an extremely Anglicised Krio. Formerly a teacher in Freetown, her speech may well reflect the hostility to Krio traditionally preached and practiced by Creole teachers in Freetown.

G 27 A number of sentences from each part of the linguistic section were left out to aid communication with this nine year old speaker. This has affected the count for feature 3 as only two sentences from L.14, where feature 3 was counted, were used by G 27.

The speaker did not complete the four sentences in L.7 required for feature 3. Sentence L.8(a) was instead used together with the three the speaker did complete in L.7.

G 29 The speaker responded to questions such as "it's them", in L.17, with responses similar to [ðɛ̃m]- 'them' instead of na dɛm. This brought down her score for stabilisers (feature 1.) Her role as a teacher may well have been an influence on her speech.

G 35 The speaker had many na + Adj. constructions for feature 2 (adjectival verb) pointing to possible Wolof influences, (see pt.II, ch.2, pp.242&243.)

G 37 This speaker also mainly makes use of na + Adj. for feature 2.

G 40 This speaker, of Kriul background, speaks Krio as a second language to Kriul. English, also spoken as a second language by G 40, is often mixed in with her Krio. Possibly the two are not distinct as far as she is concerned, and G 40 may well be using 'English' as a formal variety of Krio suitable for educational and governmental domains. Her use of r is distinct from that of first language Krio speakers i.e. she uses [r̆] (trilled r) where the Aku would use [R ~ r]. This may also be due to her Kriul/Portuguese background. G 40 also hypercorrects some of the selected grammatical features in Krio, e.g. emphatic elongation of vowel (feature 5)(C.N:0667- 0823 .)

G 41 This speaker's high negative score for feature 2 was also due to a greater use of na + Adj. for feature 2.

G 43 The speaker was interviewed with respect to the (informal) Oral literature section only due to her senility.

G 46 The speaker chose to respond to the (informal) Oral literature section only.

KRIO

General Comments on the Responses of Certain Speakers in Informal Speech

Speaker Number:

G 1 — The speaker completed only Q.2.

G 2 — As a Wolof second language speaker of Krio this speaker was unfamiliar with Krio oral literature.

G 4 — Members of the audience answered all of the oral literature questionnaire apart from Q.1 and 4 which G 4 answered herself.

G 6 — This Wolof speaker's knowledge of Krio oral literature was limited.

G 24 — Due to the speaker's senility, only Q.2 was completed. The speaker's refusal to sing Krio songs on the basis of her status as a 'Reader' in a church is probably due to some of the 'pagan' and non-Christian content of Krio song, and reflects a cultural 'hypercorrection' ⟶ Christian/European culture.

G 43 — The speaker was only interviewed with respect to Krio oral literature and about the historical background to the development of Krio in the Gambia. Her senility (84 years old) prevented the use of the linguistic section of the questionnaire.

G 46 — The speaker responded to Q.1 only.

PATWA

General Comments on the Responses of Certain Speakers in Formal Speech.

Speaker Number:

P 1 Used many English loans, where she did not know the Patwa items.

P 2 Used some English words but not to the same extent as some speakers e.g. P 1.

P 4 Having only 3 months night-school when aged 40, the speaker, aged 60, had only a partial understanding of the English sentences. Her use of many English loans was indicative of her lack of understanding of English. She first repeated parts of the English sentences before translating them. Her low positive score in the use of some grammatical features was therefore also indicative of her non-translation of most of the English sentences. This also illustrates why Creoles bilingual in a creole and European language were mainly interviewed[1].

P 5 Of 'rural' origin, P 5 made less use of English loans than the speakers previously interviewed who were all of 'urban' origin. The speaker did not understand English well, e.g. he made use of P. di - 'say' to translate Eng. 'fed', P. fɛi kɔ̃ ha - 'do thus' to translate 'to sew' and P. vɔlɛ - 'to steal' also to translate 'sew'.

P 6 The speaker did not understand some of the English sentences e.g. L.2(a). His use of P.kaz - 'house' is not typical of St.Lucian Patwa but of Dominican French Creole. His relatively limited

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1. Described on p. 47.

knowledge of French was used in a very hypercorrect manner. His greater use of French loans made his Patwa relatively different from that of the previous speakers who made greater use of English loans.

P 8 Misheard the sentences read out to him at times as he was slightly deaf.

P 9 Had very little grasp of English. P 13 therefore first translated the sentences. If accepted by P 9, the latter would repeat them; if they were not, then P 9 would give her own version. I selected only a few sentences from each sub-section of the linguistic section for these purposes. Due to the resultant non-use of many sentences selected for the socio-linguistic analysis, the speaker's responses were not used in the sociolinguistic chapter.

P 13 Of the selected sentences L.5(d) was accidentally omitted by the researcher thus reducing P 13's potential occurrence for feature 10 to 9.

P 16 L.11(b), of the selected sentences was not used as the speaker could not translate Eng. 'relatives' into Patwa. Consequently the total potential score for feature 8 by P 16 was reduced to 9.

P 17 Many sentences indicating the potential occurrence of feature 8 were not translated by P 17. Her score for feature 8 was therefore not included in the sociolinguistic analysis of Patwa. Many sentences were omitted in order to simplify translation. These included L.14(a)-(c) which has lowered her potential score for feature 3 (front-focalisation) to 2. Her speech was highly relexified[1], making use of many English items. Her speech was also very decreolized. See comments on her informal Patwa (below.)

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1. Defined on p. 48&49.

PATWA

P 20 — There is a high amount of relexification in this speaker's formal speech.

P 24 — Of the selected sentences L.14(d) was accidentally omitted by the researcher thus decreasing P 24's potential occurrence for feature 3 to 5.

P 26 — Due to misreading of L.2(j) by the researcher the total potential score for feature 8 was reduced to 9.

P 27 — Mistranslated L.18(b) thus reducing his total possible score for feature 12 from 5 to 4.

P 31, P 32, P 42-45, P 56, P 57 & P 59 — Did not respond to L. as they were Patwa monolinguals.

P 34 — Of the selected sentences L.9(c) was omitted thus reducing the potential score for feature 8 by P 34 to 9.

P 36 — This speaker responded to Q. only due to her senility.

P 40 — A Patwa monolingual who did not respond to L.

P 41 — L.20(e), of the selected sentences was accidentally omitted by the researcher thus reducing the potential score for feature 8, by P 41, to 10.

P 48 (also 'HINDI':1) — This 'Hindi' and Patwa speaker responded to the whole questionnaire in 'Hindi', with P 48 translating into Patwa.

PATWA

P 52 The potential score for feature 3 was reduced to 5 as the researcher accidentally omitted one of the relevant sentences.

P 55 The potential score for feature 8 was reduced down to 9 as the researcher misread a sentence.

P 58 Her limited competence in English has affected her score for the varying features.

P 61 The speaker's potential score for feature 8 was reduced to 9 due to misreading of a sentence by the researcher.

PATWA

General Comments on the Responses of Certain Speakers in Informal Speech.

Speaker Number:

P 2 The speaker said he knew songs of childhood but not in Patwa; his emphasis in saying this: pa Patwa! - 'Not in Patwa! ' possibly reflects "Neg. Patwa" the past severe repression of Patwa in schools.

P 4 The speaker said she knew no Patwa songs but could accompany others when she heard them singing.

P 6 The answer to Q.(8) was suggested to P 6 by a member of the audience.

P 7 The speaker knew very little Patwa oral literature.

P 11 Only responded to the beginning and ending formulae of Patwa oral genres.

P 14 Other Patwa speakers present gave P 14 some of the examples he used in his responses.

P 17 Aged 7 and from a 'light skinned' i.e. European coloured family, in which the use of Patwa was forbidden, the speaker knew no Patwa oral literature apart from a line from a prose narrative .

P 18 Aged 9, the speaker knew no Patwa oral literature.

P 19 A good repertoire of Patwa oral literature.

PATWA

P 22 A very good repertoire of oral literature.

P 23 Made use of many Eng. loans.

P 24 Made hardly any response to the oral literature section.

P 33 The speaker, a Patwa monolingual, could not reply to the linguistic section of the questionnaire and responded only to the oral literature section.

P 36 Due to senility, the speaker, aged 80, could not remember any items of Patwa oral literature. As she was also a Patwa monolingual she did not respond to the linguistic section of the questionnaire. We engaged, however, in a short conversation about her grandchildren and her 'Carib' ancestor.

P 45 Made no response to the oral literature section of the questionnaire.

P 48 (also 'HINDI':1) This speaker responded in 'Hindi' and Patwa. According to him there are no riddles or word-play in 'Hindi'; questions 3,7,8 and 9 of Q., referring to these genres, were unanswered although they could have been answered in Patwa.

P 52 & 60 Made no response to the oral literature section of the questionnaire.

TABLES

The following tables, for all three creoles, are the results of counting the realization of selected grammatical features in selected sentences. In the table for formal speech, with the exception of feature 1, the realization of a creole feature is counted as positive (+) and its non-realization as negative (-). This is indicated by the + and -, for each feature, in the table. Feature 1 (in Krio and Patwa only) is counted in terms of the part of the questionnaire reached when the speaker had used his/her first fifty stabilisers (or of the total number of stabilisers reached by the end of the questionnaire, for speakers whose total did not reach 50). The part of the questionnaire is indicated on the right of the column for feature 1 and the first fifty (or the highest number of) stabilisers used on the left of this column. The total negative score indicating the total non-realization of the alternating selected grammatical features in the given creole, is the result of adding all the (-) sub-columns for these features.

In the informal speech tables the columns for features mark the realization of these features throughout the Oral Literature Section. The realization of feature 1 (in Krio and Patwa only) is similarly given under the sub-column headed 'No. ' for feature 1. This occurrence was divided by the time taken by each speaker to reach his score (and indicated in the column 'Time') and the result expressed as a percentage (%)[1] in the sub-column on the right of the sub-column 'No. ' for feature 1. The total occurrence for all the feature, except feature 1, was arrived at by adding the respective columns. The result is similarly expressed both as a number and as a percentage.

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1. I.e. occurrence of feature 1 is expressed in terms of a standard of 1 feature per minute (=100%)

The tables for formal and informal speech are followed, firstly, by a table summarizing the use of grammatical features having little alternation in the formal speech of ten sample speakers, selected for their high social differences in terms of the selected social categories; and secondly, by a table indicating the contrasts made between the alternating selected grammatical features and the selected social categories which did not, however, result in significant sociolinguistic differences, i.e. of 20% and more between the resultant sociolinguistic groups.

All pages, including tables, referring to their respective creoles, are headed KRIUL, KRIO or PATWA, as appropriate.

KRIUL

A Quantitative Analysis of Two of the Selected Grammatical Features in the Formal Speech of Forty-six Cassance Kriul Speakers

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 −	FEATURE 9 +	FEATURE 9 −	TOTAL −
K 1	4	2	3	0	2
K 2	4	2	3	0	2
K 3	2	4	2	1	5
K 4	6	0	3	0	0
K 5	2	4	1	2	6
K 6	5	1	3	0	1
K 7	4	2	3	0	2
K 8	3	3	1	2	5
K 9	4	2	2	1	3
K 10	5	1	(i) 2	1	2
K 11	2	4	1	2	6
K 12	2	4	3	0	4
K 13	6	0	1	2	2
K 14	2	4	2	1	5
K 15	5	1	3	0	1
K 16	2	3	2	1	4
K 17	5	1	1	2	3
K 18	4	2	1	2	4
K 19	4	2	3	0	2
K 20	3	3	1	2	5

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 −	FEATURE 9 +	FEATURE 9 −	TOTAL −
K 21	(i) 2	4	0	3	7
K 22	2	4	2	0	4
K 23	2	4	2	0	4
K 24	(i)		2	0	0
K 25	3	3	3	0	3
K 26	(i)				
K 27	4	2	3	0	2
K 28	2	4	2	1	5
K 29	3	3	2	0	3
K 30	3	3	2	1	4
K 31	3	3	3	0	3
K 32	3	3	2	1	4
K 33	3	3	0	2	5
K 34	2	4	2	1	5
K 35	1	5	3	0	5
K 36	3	3	3	0	3
K 37		(i)			
K 38	1	5	(i)		5
K 39	3	3	2	1	4
K 40	3	3	3	0	3

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 −	FEATURE 9 +	FEATURE 9 −	TOTAL −
K 41	2	4	2	1	5
K 42	(i)				
K 43	3	3	2	1	4
K 44	5	1	3	0	1
K 45	(i)				
K 46	(i)				
K 47	(i)				
K 48	(i)				
K 49	2	4	2	1	5
K 50	5	1	1	2	3
K 51	3	3	3	0	3
K 52	(i)				
K 53	2	4	3	0	4
K 54	4	2	3	0	2

(i) See p. 654-656 for the reasons why no scores are available for these features in the L. responses of these individual speakers.

A Quantitative Analysis of Six Selected Grammatical Features Having Little Alternation the Formal Speech of Ten Selected Kriul Speakers.(i)

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE									SOCIAL CATEGORY						
	2		4		8		12						Mixed Ethnicity		Guinea Bissau Links	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	Sex	Age	Prest-ige		+	-	+	-
K 1	9	2	1	5	10	0	5	0	M	<21	Mid.		✓		✓	
K 43	10	1	0	6	8	2	5	0	F	<21	Mid.		✓		✓	
K 14	10	1	0	6	10	0	4	1	M	22>	High			✓		✓
K 40	11	0	1	5	10	0	4	1	F	42>	Mid.			✓		✓
K 4	9	2	0	6	9	1	4	1	M	42>	Low		✓			✓
K 38	11	0	0	6	10	0	5	0	F	22>	High			✓	✓	
K 9	11	0	0	6	7	3	5	0	F	<21	Low			✓	✓	
K 51	9	2	1	5	8	2	4	1	M	42>	Low			✓		✓
K 6	11	0	0	6	8 (ii)	2	5	0	M	42>	Mid.		✓		✓	
K 35	10	1	1	5	8	1	4	1	F	42>	Low		✓		✓	

(i) See p. 34 on how selected.

(ii) See pp. 654-656 for general comments on the responses of K 35 & K 6 in formal speech.

KRIUL

Summary of the Results for The Selected Social Categories and Grammatical Features Not Resulting in Significant Sociolinguistic Differences (i) (in Formal Speech.)

CATEGORY	FEATURE 3	FEATURE 9	TOTAL -
Sex: M	9/28 (32%) at -4 and below	6/29 (21%) at -2 and below	(Significant differences described in pt. 1 ch.3.)
F	3/17 (47%) at -4 and below	4/16 (25%) at -2 and below	
Age: <21	4/16 (25%) at -4 and below	3/16 (19%) at -2 and below	7/16 (44%) at -4 and below
22>	8/15 (53%) at -4 and below	3/13 (23%) at -2 and below	11/14 (78%) at -4 and below
42>	3/14 (21%) at -4 and below	3/15 (20%) at -2 and below	6/15 (40%) at -4 and below
Mixed Ethnicity: +	11/31 (35%) at -4 and below	5/30 (17%) at -2 and below	17/31 (55%) at -4 and below
-	4/15 (27%) at -4 and below	5/15 (33%) at -2 and below	7/15 (47%) at -4 and below
Prestige: Low	2/12 (17%) at -4 and below	2/12 (17%) at -2 and below	4/12 (33%) at -4 and below
Mid.	5/22 (27%) at -4 and below	5/21 (24%) at -2 and below	12/22 (55%) at -4 and below
High	7/11 (64%) at -4 and below	2/11 (18%) at -2 and below	8/12 (67%) at -4 and below
Guinea Bissau Links: +	8/28 (29%) at -4 and below	6/28 (21%) at -2 and below	15/28 (54%) at -4 and below
-	7/17 (41%) at -4 and below	4/16 (25%) at -2 and below	9/18 (50%) at -4 and below
1st/2nd Language Speakers:			(Significant differences described in pt.1, ch.3)
1st. lang.	13/45 (36%) at -4 and below	8/37 (22%) at -2 and below	
2nd. lang.	2/9 (22%) at -4 and below	2/8 (25%) at -2 and below	

(i) having differences of less than 20 % between the resultant sociolinguistic groups.

A Quantitative Analysis in Informal Speech of the Two Selected Grammatical Features Found to be Alternating in Kriul Formal Speech, Exemplified by Speakers K 1 - 20.

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 3	9
K 1	0	1
K 2	0	0
K 3	0	0
K 4	0	6
K 5	0	0
K 6	0	0
K 7	2	2
K 8	0	1
K 9	0	0
K 10	0	0
K 11	0	0
K 12	0	0
K 13	1	1
K 14	0	0
K 15	1	1
K 16	0	2
K 17	0	0
K 18	0	0
K 19	3	0
K 20	2	2

KRIO

A Quantitative Analysis of Six Grammatical Features in the Formal Speech of Forty-five Gambian Krio Speakers[i]

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURES 1	2 + -	3 + -	4 + -	8 + -	9 + -	TOTAL -
G 1	50 20	8 4	8 2	1 3	4 6	1 2	17
G (2)	50 18	8 4	7 3	0 4	1 9	2 1	21
G 3	46 32	5 7	4 6	0 4	1 9	1 2	28
G 4	34 32	5 7	3 7 (iii)	1 3	2 8	2 1	26
G 5	50 20	6 6	1 9	1 3	2 8	2 1	27
G (6)	50 20	7 5	7 3	0 4	3 7	3 0	19
G 7	46 32	7 5	5 5	0 4	3 7	1 2	23
G 8	48 32	8 4	5 5	0 4	6 4	1 2	19
G 9	50 17	9 3	9 1	1 3	2 8	3 0	15
G 10	50 25	5 7	5 5	1 3	2 8	2 1	24
G 11	49 32	5 7	0 10	1 3	3 7	1 2	29
G 12	50 17	6 6	5 5	0 4	2 8	2 1	24
G 13	49 32	8 4	2 8	1 3	3 7	1 2	24
G 14	50 18	9 3	5 5	0 4	4 6	1 2	20
G 15	50 17	4 8	6 4	1 3	3 7	1 2	24
G 16	50 19	7 5	7 3	1 3	4 6	3 0	17
G 17	50 19	6 6	3 7	3 1	5 5	1 2	21
G 18	44 32	6 6	4 6	1 3	2 8	0 3	26
G 19	50 20	9 3	5 5	3 1	4 6	1 2	17
G 20	50 20	8 4	3 7	2 2	3 7	2 1	21
G 21	50 16	5 7	7 3	1 3	5 5	1 2	20
G 22	50 20	6 6	9 1	1 3	7 3	3 0	13
G 23	49 32	8 4	5 5	1 3	6 4	3 0	16
(iii) G 24	26 15	7 5	2 8	0 4	2 5	1 2	24

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURES 1	2 + -	3 + -	4 + -	8 + -	9 + -	TOTAL (ii) -
G 25	50 19	5 7	5 5	0 2	2 8	2 1	23
G 26 (iii)	50 17	5 7	7 3	1 3	3 7	3 0	20
G 27	33 32	9 1	0 6	0 4	1 3	1 1	15
G 28	50 20	6 6	7 3	1 3	6 4	1 2	18
G 29	34 32	8 4	1 9	0 4	4 6	1 2	25
G (30)	50 20	7 5	9 1	0 4	5 5	2 1	16
G 31	50 15	4 8	9 1	0 4	5 5	2 1	19
G 32	41 32	8 4	7 3	2 2	6 4	1 2	15
G 33	48 32	5 7	5 5	2 2	6 4	2 1	19
G 34	50 17	9 3	9 1	2 2	5 5	1 2	13
G 35	50 20	5 7	1 9	2 2	6 4	2 1	23
G 36	50 18	7 5	9 1	1 3	7 3	3 0	12
G 37	50 14	5 7	8 2	3 1	5 5	3 0	15
G 38	50 20	8 4	7 3	2 2	1 9	2 1	19
G 39	50 15	8 4	9 1	1 3	6 4	3 0	12
G (40)	40 32	8 4	0 10	0 4	2 8	1 2	28
G 41	50 17	4 8	7 3	0 4	3 7	2 1	23
G 42 (iii)	50 18	9 3	7 3	2 2	5 5	3 0	13
G 43							
G 44	50 17	8 4	3 2	0 4	6 4	3 0	14
G 45 (iii)	50 20	7 5	5 5	1 3	4 6	2 1	20
G 46							
G 47	50 19	8 4	6 4	1 3	1 9	2 1	21

(i) See p. 38 of the introduction and pt. II, ch. 3.
(ii) Excluding feature 1; passim.
(iii) See general comments on pp. 658-660.

KRIO

A Quantitative Analysis of Feature 12 in the Formal Speech of Ten Selected Krio Speakers.

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 12 +	FEATURE 12 -	SOCIAL CATEGORY: Sex	Age	Prestige	Ethnicity	Sierra Leone links +	Sierra Leone links -
G 47	4	1	M	<21	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 36	5	0	F	<21	Mid.	Other		✓
G 22	5	0	M	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 38	5	0	F	22>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 14	5	0	M	42>	Mid.	Aku		✓
G 9	5	0	M	42>	High	Aku	✓	
G 16	5	0	M	22>	Mid.	Other	✓	
G 31	4	1	F	22>	High	Aku		✓
G 20	4	1	M	42>	High	Aku		✓
G 4	2	3	F	42>	Low	Aku		✓

KRIO

Chartwell

Summary of the Results for the Selected Social Categories and Grammatical Features Not Resulting in Significant Sociolinguistic Differences (in Formal Speech)(i)

CATEGORY	FEATURE 1	FEATURE 2	FEATURE 3	FEATURE 4	FEATURE 8	FEATURE 9	TOTAL -
Sex: M	(Significant differences described in pt.II, ch.3.)	9/18 (50%) at below -4	(Significant differences described in pt.II, ch.3.)	13/18 (72%) at below -2	7/18 (38%) at below -6	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)	6/18 (33%) at below-20
F		17/27 (63%) at below -4		21/27 (78%) at below -2	13/27 (48%) at below -6		14/27 (52%) at below-20
Age: <21	4/11 (36%) at below -20	7/11 (64%) at below -4	5/11(45%) at -5 and below	10/11 (91%) at below -2	8/11 (73%) at below -6	3/11 (27%) at below -1	7/11 (64%) at below -20
22>	5/19 (26%) at below-20	10/19 (53%) at below -4	8/19(42%) at -5 and below	17/19 (89%) at below -2	6/19 (32%) at below -6	7/19 (37%) at below -1	6/19 (32%) at below-20
42>	5/15 (31%) at below -20	9/15 (60%)at below -4	10/15(67%) at -5 and below	7/15 (47%) at below -2	7/15 (47%) at below -6	8/15 (53%)at below -1	7/15 (47%) at below-20
Ethnicity: Aku	9/29 (31%) at below -20	17/29 (59%) at below -4	16/29(55%) at -5 and below	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)	13/29 (45%) at below -1	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)
Other	5/16 (31%) at below -20	9/16 (56%) at below -4	7/16(44%) at -5 and below			5/16 (31%) at below -1	
Prestige Low	(Significant differences described in pt.II, ch.3.)	3/5 (60%) at below -4	(Significant differences described in pt.II, ch.3.)	0/5 (0%) at below -2	3/5 (60%) at below -6	2/5 (40%)at below -1	4/5 (80%) at below -20
Mid.		18/29 (62%)at below -4		21/29 (72%) at below -2	12/29 (41%)at below -6	15/29 (51%) at below -1	13/29 (45%) at below -20
High		5/11 (45%) at below -4		8/11 (73%) at below -2	5/11 (45%) at below -6	1/11 (9%) at below -1	3/11 (27%) at below -20
Sierra Leone Links: +	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)	9/16 (56%) at below -4	10/16(63%) at -5 and below	11/16 (69%) at below -2	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)	8/16 (50%) at below -1	(Significant differences described in pt.II ch.3.)
-		18/29 (62%) at below -4	13/29(45%) at -5 and below	23/29 (79%) at below -2		10/29 (34%)at below -1	

(i) Having differences of less than 20% between the resultant sociolinguistic groups.

A Quantitative Analysis of Six Grammatical Features in the Informal Speech of Forty-Seven Gambian Krio Speakers

SPEAKER NUMBER	TIME (MINS)	FEATURES							TOTAL	
		1		2	3	4	8	9		
		No.	%(i)						No.	%(i)
G 1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	100
G (2)	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	100
G 3	6	6	100	0	1	3	1	0	11	183
G 4	35	12	34	3	2	4	0	3	24	69
G 5	4	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	4	100
G (6)	5	1	20	1	0	0	0	0	2	40
G 7	4	1	25	1	0	0	2	0	4	100
G 8	10	12	120	0	1	14	2	0	29	290
G 9	3	1	67	1	0	0	0	0	2	67
G 10	20	12	60	0	0	10	1	0	23	115
G 11	15	17	113	6	5	2	4	1	35	233
G 12	12	14	117	1	4	0	0	1	20	167
G 13	20	21	105	1	6	0	1	2	31	155
G 14	18	15	83	0	0	3	1	3	22	122
G 15	23	38	165	1	2	4	3	3	51	222
G 16	12	18	150	1	0	8	2	0	29	242
G 17	13	15	115	2	0	3	0	0	20	154
G 18	12	5	42	0	0	0	0	0	5	42
G 19	10	7	70	0	0	2	0	0	9	90
G 20	4	5	125	0	0	0	0	0	5	125
G 21	3	6	200	0	1	1	0	0	8	267
G 22	7	5	71	1	0	0	0	1	7	100
G 23 (ii)	18	22	128	1	0	0	1	1	25	139
G 24	2	1	50	1	0	0	0	0	2	100

(continued)

(i) I.e. occurrence of feature 1 is expressed in terms of a standard of 1 feature per minute (=100%.)

(ii) See comments on p. 661.

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	TIME (MINS)	FEATURES 1 No.	%	2	3	4	8	9	TOTAL No.	%
G 25	20	11	55	0	0	0	3	1	15	75
G 26	6	9	150	5	0	2	0	3	19	317
G 27	10	15	150	0	0	0	0	5	20	200
G 28	12	45	375	2	0	5	0	4	54	450
G 29	10	6	60	1	0	3	0	1	11	110
G (30)	5	10	200	1	3	0	0	0	14	280
G 31	10	2	20	1	0	0	0	1	4	40
G 32	5	9	180	0	1	0	0	0	10	200
G 33	40	66	165	7	1	32	11	5	122	305
G 34	10	18	180	3	0	2	0	0	23	230
G 35	30	42	140	1	8	88	7	26	162	540
G 36	30	25	83	9	2	21	6	8	71	237
G 37	16	22	137	3	3	2	2	2	34	213
G 38	8	26	325	2	0	0	0	1	29	363
G 39	25	19	76	0	7	7	7	1	41	164
G (40)	10	10	100	1	2	0	1	2	16	160
G 41	15	10	67	0	4	7	1	2	24	160
G 42 (i)	18	20	111	0	1	2	3	2	28	156
G 43	15	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
G 44	25	26	104	1	2	9	2	1	41	164
G 45 (i)	10	32	320	4	4	0	1	4	45	450
G 46	8	8	100	1	0	0	8	11	28	350
G 47	7	2	28	1	0	0	0	0	3	43

(i) See comments on p. 661.

Summary of the Results of the Contrast between the Selected Social Categories and the use of the Stabiliser in Informal Speech, which did not Result in Significant Sociolinguistic Differences(i)

CATEGORY		USE OF STABILISER (FEATURE 1)
Sex:	M	1/18 (6%) at above 200
	F	2/27 (7%) at above 200
Age:	<21	0/11 (0%) at above 200
	22>	3/19 (16%) at above 200
	42>	0/15 (0%) at above 200
Ethnicity:	Aku	1/29 (3%) at above 200
	Other	2/16 (13%) at above 200
Prestige:	Low	0/5 (0%) at above 200
	Mid.	3/29 (10%) at above 200
	High	0/11 (0%) at above 200
Sierra Leone Links:	+	1/16 (6%) at above 200
	-	2/29 (7%) at above 200

(i) Having differences of less than 20% between all of the resultant sociolinguistic groups.

A Quantitative Analysis of Two of The Selected Grammatical Features in the Formal Speech of Forty-Seven St.Lucian Patwa Speakers.

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 -	FEATURE 8 +	FEATURE 8 -	TOTAL -
P 1	2	4	1	9	13
P 2	2	2	1	9	11
P 3	3	3	3	7	10
P 4	0	5	1	9	14
P 5	4	2	2	8	10
P 6	3	2	5	5	7
P 7	2	4	4	6	10
P 8 (i)	4	2	4	6	8
P (9)					
P 10	2	4	3	7	11
P 11	4	2	5	5	7
P 12	2	4	4	6	10
P 13	2	4	2	8	12
P 14	2	4	3	7	11
P 15	3	3	4 (i)	6	9
P 16	3	3	3	6	9

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 -	FEATURE 8 +	FEATURE 8 -	TOTAL -
P 17	0	2	(i)		2
P 18	2	4	4	6	10
P 19	3	3	1	9	12
P 20	2	4	2	8	12
P 21	2	4	3	7	11
P 22	2	4	3	7	11
P 23 (i)	2	3	4	6	9
P 24	1	5	5	5	10
P 25	2	4	3	7	11
P 26	1	5	8	1	4
P 27	2	4	3	7	11
P 28	2	4	1	9	13
P 29	2	4	3	7	11
P 30 (i)	2	4	4	6	10
P(31) (i)					
P(32)					

(continued)

(i) - See p.662ff for comments on the non-use of features 3 & 8 in the L. responses of these speakers.

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 −	FEATURE 8 +	FEATURE 8 −	TOTAL −
(i) P (33)					
(i) P 34	3	3	3	6	9
P 35	2	4	1	9	13
(i) P (36)					
P 37	2	4	3	7	11
P 38	2	4	4	6	10
P 39	3	3	2	8	11
(i) P (40)					
P 41	2	4	4	5	9
(i) P (42)					
(i) P (43)					
(i) P (44)					
P 45	2	4	2	8	12
(i) P (46)					
P 47	1	5	3	7	12

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURE 3 +	FEATURE 3 −	FEATURE 8 +	FEATURE 8 −	TOTAL −
(i) P 48					
P 49	2	4	3	7	11
P 50	2	4	0	10	14
P 51	2	4	2	8	12
(i) P 52	1	3	3	7	10
P 53	2	4	4	6	10
P 54	4	2	5	5	7
(i) P 55	2	4	3	6	10
(i) P (56)					
(i) P (57)					
P (58)	1	5	2	8	13
(i) P (59)					
P 60	0	6	1	9	15
P 61	2	4	3	6	10

(i) - See pp. 662 ff.

A Quantitative Analysis of Four Selected Grammatical Features Having Little Alternation in the Formal Speech of Ten Selected St.Lucian Patwa Speakers

SPEAKER NUMBERS	FEATURES 2		4		10		12		SOCIAL CATEGORIES OF SPEAKERS			
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	Sex	Age	Prest-ige	R/U
P 1	10	1	1	5	9	1	4	1	F	<21	Low	U
P 8	11	0	0	6	8	2	3	2	M	42>	Mid.	U
P 15	11	0	2	4	10	0	5	0	M	22>	High	U
P 10	10	1	0	6	9	1	5	0	F	42>	Low	U
P 18	10	1	0	6	10	0	5	0	M	<21	Low	U
P 45	8	2	0	6	1	0	4	1	F	<21	Mid.	R
P 47	10	0	2	4	8	2	4	1	M	<21	Mid.	R
P 25	11	0	0	6	10	0	3	2	M	22>	Low	R
P 28	8	2	0	6	10	0	5	0	F	42>	Low	R
P 37	10	1	0	6	10	0	4	1	F	22>	Low	R

Summary of the Results for the Selected Social Categories and Grammatical Features Not Resulting in Significant Sociolinguistic Differences (in Formal Speech)

CATEGORY	F E A T U R E		T O T A L
	3	8	-
Sex: M	(Significant differences described in pt.III,ch.3.)	6/24 (25%)at below -7	10/24(42%)at below -10
F		9/22[(i)](41%)at below -7	14/23(61%)at below -10
	6/9 (67%) at below -3	4/8[(i)](50%)at below -7	5/9 (56%)at below -10
Age: <21	9/17(53%) at below -3	3/17 (18%)at below -7	5/17 (29%)at below -10
22>	16/21(76%)at below -3	8/21 (38%)at below -7	13/21(62%)at below -10
42>			
Prestige:Low	(Significant differences described in pt.III,ch.3.)	12/27(32%)at below -7	18/37(49%)at below -10
Mid.		3/8 (38%)at below -7	5/8 (62%)at below -10
High		0/1 (0%) at below -7	0/1 (0%) at below -10
Residence: Rural	(Significant differences described in pt.III,ch.3.)	(Significant differences described in pt.III,ch.3.)	(Significant differences described in pt.III,ch.3.)
Urban			

(i) P 17 was not included in the sociolinguistic analysis of feature 8.
See p. 663 for comments on the L. responses of P 17.

A Quantitative Analysis in Informal Speech of the Two Selected Grammatical Features Found to be Alternating in Patwa Formal Speech, Exemplified by Speakers P 1 - 20.

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 3	8
P 1	0	0
P 2	0	0
P 3	0	0
P 4	0	8
P 5	0	0
P 6	0	0
P 7	0	0
P 8	0	6
P (9)	0	0
P 10	0	4

SPEAKER NUMBER	FEATURE 3	8
P 11	0	0
P 12	0	0
P 13	0	2
P 14	0	0
P 15	0	0
P 16	0	0
P 17	0	0
P 18	0	0
P 19	0	0
P 20	0	0

KRIUL

Sample Texts

Prose Narrative:

K 28[1] :n na kɔnta bu storiya di ũ mɔntiyadɔr.
I Fut.(N.Im.) relate you story of a hunter

i tɛ̃ bang ũ mɔntiyadɔr, mɔntiyadɔr gráandi
it have Past a hunter hunter great
Emph.

i ka ta bai núunka mɔntiya te
(s)he Neg.Fut.(Im.) go never hunt till
Emph.

i ka ta mata nil limariya a gɔra.
(s)he Neg.Fut.(Im.) kill no animal on that moment

un diya i yɛntra na matu ba pa fuya.
one day (s)he go Loc.(Prep.) forest go to shoot

kada kau ki i bai i ɔdyal kɛ diya
every place Rel. (s)he go (s)he see Specif. day

i ka woca nada ma ɛl, i ka ta gɔsta
(s)he Neg. see nothing but (s)he (s)he Neg.Hab. want

di bai matu u fuya di...diya, di noti sɔng ki
to go hunt a shot at day at night Focal. Rel.

i gɔsta bai fuya, si i bai mɔntiya i ta
(s)he want go shoot if (s)he go hunt (s)he Hab.

mata kada kultadiya di limariya, ma, kil diya,
kill some kind of animal but Specif. day

i bai i ka woca nada kil di noti,
(s)he go (s)he Neg. see nothing Specif. at night

i yɛnta na matu i buska- buska téee
(s)he enter Loc.(Prep.)forest (s)he search search till
Emph. Emph. Emph.

i ka oca nada me i note toka ladus
(s)he Neg. see nothing middle of night strike sides

---

1. This extract is at C.N: 0360-0637
where the whole prose narrative is recorded.

KRIUL

di tris ɔra di noti, tudu ka na ba
with three hour at night all Neg. Prog. go

na matu, nil lumariya ka buli-buli. I
Loc.(Prep.) forest no animal Neg. move move (s)he
Emph.Emph.

woja ũ pastur bɔnĺitu .... I sikidu na ũ
see a bird beautiful (s)he stand Loc.(Prep.) a
Emph.

po i na jobe l. Alo a
tree (s)he Prog. look it then (<Fr.alors) at (<Fr.à)

gɔra kil wɔmi prɔntiya.. i arma si arma
now Specif. man prepare (s)he arm his weapon

i fujya. A gɔra ki kudi jã̀ búur!
(s)he shoot at now Rel. hit Complet. bang (Id.)!

Pastur kai. I kumsa kanta: Jimingu Dyamani,
bird fall (s)he begin sing Jimingu Dyamani,

Jimingu Daymani(i tɛ̃ di... kɔnta bɔs kuma,
Jimingu Dyamani it have to relate you (pl.) say

kil mɔntiyadɔr, si nɔmi, Dimingu)Pastur gɔra
Specif. hunter his name Dimingu bird now

kanta kuma:
sing say

'Dimingu Dyamani, Dimingu Dyamani[1] -mani wei (Rep.twice)
Dimingu Dyamani Dimingu Dyamani (Dya)mani hey!(<Wol.wai[2])

.....kɔjɛ ng gɔɔra[3].'
pick (up)I now

Kuma nti Dimingu bɛng ku ɔjɛ l. I
say then Dimingu come Assoc. see (s)he (s)he

---

1. Such alternation in the pronunciation of items is a regular feature of Afro-Caribbean oral literature which is at times used for theatrical effect e.g.: nasalization is a feature in the speech of kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ - 'Brer Rabbit' in Patwa prose narratives. See pt.III, ch.5.
2. See pt.I, ch.5, p. 160 .
3. A normal feature of song is elongation of vowel without emphasis.

KRIUL

lɛba na kasa.....nyɛrɛ fala l
carry off Loc.(Prep.) home <? say him/her

kuma, minjɛr! bɛng pera pa mi kil pastur ki
say wife come pluck for me Specif.bird Rel.

minjɛr nega. Kumpa bɛng pena ng
woman refuse Kumpa come pluck (for) me

kil pastur kuma na sɔl noti. Dimingu
Specif. bird say Loc.(Prep.) only night Dimingu

rabanta i bota..... na fugan . i
grab (s)he throw away Loc.(Prep.)kitchen (s)he

kantra pastur kanta: Dimingu Damani Dimingu Damani
meet bird sing Dimingu Damani Dimingu Damani

-mani wei (Rep.once) ...pena ng gɔɔra(Rep.once)
(Da)mani hey! pluck (for) me now

....i fala l nta i ka bɔ ku
(s)he say her/him is it Neg.you Assoc.

mata bang? i fala l, ami ki dundu di
kill Past (s)he tell her/him it me who master of

kil mata..... nɔ tɛ̃ di sebe ɛs stɔriya
Specif. forest we have to understand this story

i sedi kuma ...ning algɛn ka tɛ̃ ku bai
it be say no person Neg.have Assoc. go

mɔntiya di noti, bu tɛn di rispita natural
hunt at night you(sing.)have to respect nature

KRIUL

Translation:

'I am going to tell you a story about a hunter.There was once a great hunter who would never return from a hunting trip without having killed an animal.One day he went to the forest to shoot.Wherever he went on that day he saw no game but he himself had never liked hunting by day and usually only liked to go and shoot by night. When he went hunting he usually killed some kind of animal but on that occasion he killed nothing, even at night. He entered the forest and searched and searched but he saw nothing when midnight struck.

At three o'clock at night nothing entering the bush,no animal moved at all. He saw a very beautiful bird...He stood on a tree and looked at it. Then when he was ready, he shouldered his weapon and fired. At that moment he fired and the bird fell. It began to sing: 'Jimingu Dyamani,Jimingu Dyamani (I should have told you that this hunter's name was Dyimingu.) The bird sang 'Dimingu Dyamani, Dimingu Dyamani (Dya)mani hey! (Rep.twice)...pick me up now!

So then Dymingu came to look at it.He took it off home... said to her, 'Wife! Come and pluck that bird which the woman refused to do for me...Kumpa! (i.e. his wife) Come and pluck that bird for me (even) though it is night!.Dimingu grabbed it (the bird) and threw it...into the kitchen.

He met the bird which sang:'Dimingu, Damani,Dimingu Damani (Dya)mani hey!...Pluck me now!' He said to it.'Was it not you that I killed?' It,replied, 'I am the master of this forest....'

What we must understand in this story is that no one must go out and hunt at night, but must respect nature!.....

KRIUL

Proverbs:

Kriul : vɔlta di mundu i rabu di pumba
"spinning of world it tail of pigeon"

Cf.Patwa: se silɔ̃ vã̃ ki lace pul ka pãshe
"Stab. according wind Rel. tail chicken Hab.leans"

and both meaning 'Changes in fortune are natural to human existence'.

Kriul : santadu ki ta panyar rabu di sancu[1]
"slowly Rel. Fut.(Im.) catch tail of monkey"

Cf. Krio: saful saful go kɛc mɔnki
"softly softly Fut.(N.Im.) catch monkey"

Cf.Wolof: ndankan ndankan gapa golo
"softly softly catch monkey"

and all meaning 'With patience great difficulties can be overcome'.

1.Consult K 7/0 (2) (C.N: 4429-4490, 4453-4543 .)

KRIUL

Cf. Krio: Q: wata tirap - 'Water standing up'?
"water standing up"

A: shuga ken - 'Sugar cane'.
"sugar cane"

Cf. Patwa: Q: glo dubut - Ditto?
"water standing up"

A: kan - Ditto.
"cane"

Cf. Krio: Q: wata ɛng - 'Water hanging' ?
"water hang"

A: ɔrenj - 'An orange'.
"orange"

Cf. Patwa: Q: dlo pan - Ditto?
"water hang"

A: zowãi - Ditto.
"orange"

KRIUL

Riddles:

Kriul:Q:[1] n tɛni kasa ki pintadu na ruwa
"I have house Rel. painted Loc.(Prep.) outside
'I have a house which is painted white on the

di branku ki dɛntru pinta d'amarɛlu.
of white Rel. inside paint of yellow.
outside and yellow inside.

i ke? .....
it what"
What is it?

A: i ɔbu di galinya[2]!
it egg of chicken"
A chicken's egg! '

Cf.Krio:Q:ai av e aus, di autsid wait, di
"I have a house the outside white, the

insaid yɛlo?
inside yellow"

A:ɛn ɛg
an egg"

also having the same meaning as the Kriul version (above).

1.Q - 'question', A - 'answer'; see the list of abbreviations on p.52[illegible]53 of the general introduction.
2.Consult K 2 0/2 (3) (C.N: 0930-1089 .)

KRIUL

Songs:

(i) ɛ mata Kabral
"they kill Amilcar Cabral[1]
-'They killed Cabral,

pan ganya gɛɛra
to win war
- To win the war,

Kabral i gɔɔra i ka ta muri
Cabral (s)he now (s)he Neg. die
- Cabral is (here) now, he will never die,

Arisidus panya pa yɛnta dɛntru abrigu
Aristides[2] take to enter inside shelter
- Aristides took to the shelters,

i cama mininu
it call children
- He called the children,

coliladu pa matu....
<U for forest
- into the forest,

Ninu dita kɔsta
Ninu (i.e.Luis Cabral) lies on back
- Ninu (i.e.Luis Cabral)[3] lies on his back,

bumburdidiya, bumburdidiya
Id. boom! Id. boom!
- Boom! Boom!

1.Founder and Secretary General of P.A.I.G.C, killed in January 1973 by agents of Portugal.
2.Aristides Pereira, elected Secretary-General of P.A.I.G.C in July 1973.
3.Brother of Amilcar Cabral and the present president of Guinea Bissau.

KRIUL

gi legi kuri sɔng
<U <U run only(Adv.)
-.....only ran,

sɔng ku kalsɔ̃ (Rep.once)
only (Adv.) Assoc. trousers
- Only with this trousers (Rep.once)

ɔra cika Luish Kabral
hour is up Luis Cabral
- The time is up for Luis Cabral,

Spinola kuri, Spinola[1] kuri
Spinola run, Spinola run
- Spinola runs and runs,

Marselu Gaita[2] no fala l kuma,
Marcel Gaita we tell he say,
- Marcel Gaita told us

ng ganya gɛɛra
I win war
- he would win the war,

i tuga pi mona kabesa
(s)he Portuguese soldier put hand head
- The Portuguese soldier puts his hand on his head

i cora.....
(s)he cry"
- and cries'.....

1.General Spinola, colonial governor of Portuguese Guinea from 1968-1972.
2.A P.A.I.G.C general.

KRIUL

(ii) CHORUS: kɛ ki mininu na cɔra?
"why Specif. little one Prog. cry
-'Why does the infant cry?'

i dur na si kɔrpu.
it pain Loc.(Prep.) him/her body.
- There is pain in his/her body.

kɛ ki mininu na cɔra?
why Specif. little one Prog. cry
-Why does the infant cry?

sangi ki kansa woja (Rep.twice)
blood that fed up see
- He/She is fed up of seeing blood.

LEAD: pastur grandi bing,
bird large come
- The giant bird comes,

ku si obu di fogu
Assoc.(s)he egg of fire
- With its egg of fire.

pastur grandi bing
bird large come
- The giant bird comes,

ku si obu di matãsa
Assoc. (s)he egg of death
- With its egg of death.

mɔntyadɔris ki ka kɔnsiid,
hunters Rel. Neg. know
- The hunters who do not know,

ɛ yara, ɛ fuja na bulanya,
they make mistake they shoot Loc.(Prep.) field
- They make a mistake and shoot into the field,

KRIUL

mɔntyadɔris, préetus suma nɔs,
hunters black like we
Emph.
- The hunters, Black like us,

ɛ yara, ɛ fuja na bulanya
they make mistake they shoot Loc.(Prep.)field
- They make a mistake and shoot into the field.

CHORUS (Rep. once)

LEAD: matu cemaa,
forest burn
- The forest burns,

kasa cemaa,
house burn
- The house burns,

lala cemaa,
savana burn
- The savana burns,

dur, dur,
pain pain
- Pain, pain,

dur na no alma[1] (Rep.four times)
pain Loc.(Prep.) our souls"
- Pain in our souls'

(iii)LEAD: tama sintidu ku Dasalama
"take sense Assoc. Dar-es-Salam[2]
-'Take care when walking near Dar-es-Salam,

ali sɛrpanti na roda di maro
here serpent Loc.(Prep.)edge of river
- There (lives) the serpent at the water's edge,
di Darsilam.....

1.K 5/O.(4) (C.N:2135-2203 .)
2.I.e. a village near Ziguinchor where Ziguinchor girls are warned not to go and develop love affairs due to which they may return pregnant to Ziguinchor.

KRIUL

CHORUS : Dasilamo sabi, Dasilamo sabi[1]

Dar-es-Salam sweet Dar-es-Salam sweet"

- Dar-es-Salam is sweet, Dar-es-Salam is sweet'

1.Consult K 47/O (10) (C.N: 9725-9755 .)

KRIO

Sample Texts

G.4:[1] ... wan de tu kɔk du de[2] travul.
"one day two cock do Prog. travel

de wan wetin na pik na rod i kip am,
the one anything Stab.pick Stab.road he keep it

di ɔda wan i swalar am.
the other one he swallow it.

So wɛn dɛm go fud dɛng go ə lɔng lɔng we
so when they go food they go a long long way

distáns di wan kɔk se
distance the one cock say

giv mi sɔ̃ wetin yu kip di ɔdə wan se
give me some the thing you keep the other one say

no a no go giv yu bikɔz wɛn yu pik yu
no I Neg.Fut. give you because when you pick you

swalar am, mi pik, a kip am i se wɛl wi
swallow it me pick I keep it he say well we

go go jɔj nau so dɛng go tu di jɔj.
Fut. go judge now so they go to the judge.

Dɛm put di mata bifɔ di jɔj di jɔj
they put the matter before the judge the judge

disaid fɔ dɛm i se wai yu pik yu ít, dis
decide for them i say while you pick you eat this

pik i kip bikɔz dis dɔ̃ se i go
pick he keep because this Cómplet. say he Fut.

---

1. G.4/O.(1) (C.N: 0937-1136 .)
2. A construction reflecting new influences from Eng. do in G.K. Cf. relatively non-Eng. influenced de - Prog. in G.K. and S.L.K.

KRIO

hɔngri leta ɔn so i kip am dɛn dɛm bigin
hungry later on so he keep it then they begin

sing. Nau a síng dis sing fɔ yu:
sing now I sing this song for you

mãnloma fɔr dɛnca, ndadaló nangalíci, mɔmlomu
Wol. .... Wol. ....

fɔr wana, nángalo nangalíci yodamula yo cici
... . Wol..... ....

Bur Njai nángalo nangalici, maloba fɔro rona
... ... Wol. ....

nnangalo nangalici[1] .....
.... "

Explanation of the Song by G.4:

di sɔng se wetin mi pik a kip am
"the song say the thing which I pick I keep it

wetin yu pik yu swalar am dɛn wi
the thing which you pick you swallow it then we

go tu Bu Njai Bu Njai se una
go to(Wol.) King Njie King Njie say you(pl.)

go: nanga líci, ɔltin finish....
go (Wol.) these are crumbs all thing finish "

Explanation of Some of the Wolof Items in the Song by G.4:

di lici jɔst wɛ̃ yu pik krɔmz, na
"the (Wol.)crumbs just when you pick crumbs Stab.

ĩ na di lici nangalo nangalici, lici di
it Stab. the crumbs Wol..... .... the

1.The Wolof items are described in pt.II, ch.5, p.329 .
See also p. 777 of the appendix.

krɔmz	we	dɛm	pik	na	grɔng	na
crumbs	which	they	pick	Stab.	ground	Stab.

Jɔlɔf	lici	cɔp	we	i	pik	na	grɔng. ...
Wolof	crumbs	chop	which	he	pick	Stab.	ground "

Member of the Audience (i):

fɔl	no	go	yɛri	shí	go	yɛri ston....
"fowl	Neg.	Fut.	hear	shoo	Fut.	understand stone "

(G.4 tells another story, C.N: 0937-1136 .)

G.7:

mɔnki	wok	bɔbu	it	fɔl	we	no
"monkey	work	baboon	eat	fowl	which	Neg.

yɛri	shi	i	go	yɛri	ton
hear/understand	shoo	(s)he	Fut.	hear	stone

ɔkro	no	de	lɔng	pas	im	masta
ocroe	Neg.	Prog.	long	past	his/her	master "

G.4 Continues the Proverb:

ɔkro	no	de	lɔng	pas	ĩ	masta
"ocroe	Neg.	Prog.	long	past	his/her	master

bɔt	i	de	trõng	pas	di	masta.....
but	(s)he	Prog.	strong	past	the	master"

G.47[1]:

Q: lɛri dɔvz frɔm Inglan wit a brõ strɔ hat ?
"boast<Yor. doves from England with a brown straw hat

A: e nel ....
a nail "

---

1. Q. G.47 (3), C.N: 6372 - 6483

KRIO

G.4: ɛvribɔdi mɔs trai nau yu get di fasiliti ....
"everybody must try now you get the facility"

G.47:

Q: hɔt widaut no dɔ?
"hut without no door

A: an ɛg .....
an egg "

Member of the Audience (ii):

Q: cɛri pepe cɛri pepe no
"cherry? pepper cherry? pepper no

man kan klaim ?
man can climb "

Member of the Audience (iii):

A: smók .....
"smoke"

G.12:

Q: wan blankit we kɔvə wi ɔl ?
"one blanket Rel. cover we all

A: di skai.
the sky"

M.D.(i.e. Morgan " Dalphinis the res- earcher): di ledi savi gumbé[1] nau a want
the lady knows <U song (sub-genre) now I want
hɛr am hã
hear it hey!
a want yɛri am.....
I want hear it "

1.See pt.II,ch.5,pp.316 ff.

KRIO

G.4:[1] yɔ́ rait fain fain Shata
"you all-right fine fine Shata

Shata bɔn i mami na faiya
Shata burn his/her mother Stab. fire "

Children in the Audience, Including G 47 Continue:

fain fain Baba[2]
"fine fine Baba

Baba pis na mi bɛd
Baba piss Stab. my bed

a go tɛl Baba im mama
I Fut. tell Baba his mother

mi no wan Baba egen .....
I Neg. want Baba again "

G.4: yu want Jɔlɔf .....
"you want Wolof "

M.D.: no no na Krio ....
"no no Stab. Krio "

G.4: drai bunga[3] we no no ĭsɛf
"dry fish who Neg. know itself

wata go drai lɛf am
water Fut. dry leave it

drai bunga we no no ĭsɛf

wata go drai lɛf am .....

1.G.4/Q.(4) C.N: 0937-1136
2.Note that G. 47 is called Baba Cole.
3.See pt.II, ch.4, p. 310 .

KRIO

Meri wɔkambɔt wetin de du yu so
Mary walk-all-about what thing Prog. do you so

Meri wɔkambɔt wetin de du yu so
Mary walk-all-about what thing Prog. do you so

a swɛ tu tɛnda nɔto mi kil
I swear to thunder Neg. Stab. me kill

yu wic bɔd
your witch-bird!"

(Rep.) .....

Translations

.....One day two cocks were travelling, anything which one of them pecked/picked from the road, he kept; the other (cock) would swallow his. So, when they went to eat, they went a long way off. One cock said, 'Give me some of what you are hoarding?' The other one replied, 'No I will not give you (any) as, when you peck (something), you swallow it, when I peck I keep it'.

He said 'Well, let us go to the judge now'. So they went to the judge and put the matter before him.

The judge decided for them saying, 'While you peck and eat, this fellow pecks and hoards because he believes that he will be hungry later on, so he stores it'. They then began to sing.

Now I will sing this song for you: .....

Explanation of the Song by G.4:

The song means, whatever I peck I keep, whatever you peck you swallow, so we went to King Njie.

King Njie said to all of you: 'Go! these are trifles, everything is finished'.....

KRIO

Explanation of one of the Wolof Items in the Song by S.4:

The lící are merely when you pick crumbs, that is what lící are .... the crumbs which they peck on the ground. It is (from) Wolof. Lici is food which he pecked on the ground...

Member of the Audience (i):

The chicken which will not respond to being shooed away will respond to a stone (being thrown at it) .....

G. 7: Monkey works but the baboon takes advantage of his labour .....

G.47:

Q: (They) boast? of doves from England(which) have a brown straw hat?

A: A nail .....

G.4: Everybody must try now, you have the facility (i.e. my tape-recorder) .....

G.47:

Q: Hut without any door?

A: An egg. .....

Member of the Audience (ii):

Q: Cherry pepper! Cherry pepper!
No man can climb (it)?

Member of the Audience (iii):

A: Smoke. .....

G.12:

Q: A blanket which covers us all?

A: The sky.

M.D.: The lady [i.e. S.4] knows gumbe (songs). I want to hear them now! I want to hear it! .....

G.4: Are you all right? Fine fine Shata, Shata burned his/her mother in (the) fire.

Children in the Audience, Including G 47 Continue:

Fine Fine Baba,
Baba miturated in my bed,
I will tell Baba's mother
(That) I do not want Baba any more.....

G.4: Do you want Wolof (songs)? .....

M.D.: No no, Krio (songs)!

G.4: People who do not know themselves may become victims of their own ignorance, (like fish who do not know that they must remain in water to survive) .....
Mary walk-all-about? What is the matter with you?(Rep.)
I swear that it was not I who killed your witch-bird!...

PATWA

Sample Texts

ju (<u[1]):

CHORUS: u wɛ u wɛ bagai sa la (Rep.3times)
"you(sing.)see you(sing.)see thing that the
-'See, see this thing!,

LEAD (i.e. shantwɛl): bagai sa la Ivawis fɛ a .....
thing that the Ivawis do the
This thing which Ivawis did,

CHORUS: u wɛ u wɛ bagai sa la
you(sing.)see you(sing.)see thing that the
See, see this thing!

LEAD: saupoze ti Ivawis maye
suppose little Ivawis marry
Even if (little) Ivawis marries,

CHORUS: u wɛ u wɛ bagai sa la
you(sing.)see you(sing.)see thing that the
See, see this thing!

LEAD: saupoze sese li maye.....
suppose sister (s)he marry
Even supposing his/her sister marries,
saupoze sese Ivawis maye[2].....
suppose sister Ivawis marry"
Even supposing Ivawis' sister marries'.....

1.I.e. of unknown origin; see pt. III, ch.5, p.521.

2.P.39/Q.(10)

katumba ~ kutumba:

LEAD (i.e. shãtwɛl): tãbu a tãbu a,
"drum the drum the
-'The drum,the drum,

tãbu a ki mɛnɛ mwɛ̃
drum the Prog. bring me
The drum brings me

tãbu a tãbu a
drum the drum the
The drum, the drum,

CHORUS: tãbu a ki mɛnɛ mwɛ̃ (Rep.once)
drum the Rel. bring me
The drum which brings me

LEAD: tãbu a, tãbu a
drum the drum the
The drum, the drum,

ki mɛnɛ mwɛ̃ [1].....
Rel. bring me".....
Which brings me'.....

---

1. p.15/Q. (10) (C.N: 7090-7190 .)

PATWA

CHORUS: e titole a Kɔngo mɔnima
" <U[1] ..... the Kongo <U
-' <U ..... Kongo <U

LEAD (i.e. shãtwɛl): Jamɛt pa ka twavai,
prostitute Neg. Rel. work
The prostitute does not work,

i ka made gogo lajã,
(s)he Hab. ask big-big money
She (usually) asks for a lot of money,

CHORUS: e titole a Kɔngo mɔnima.
<U..... the <Kongo <U
<U..... Kongo <U,

LEAD: Wan shiling pu dite a ....
one shilling for tea the.....
One shilling for the tea,

CHORUS: e titole a Kɔngo mɔnima[2]
<U ..... the Kongo <U.....
<U ..... Kongo <U.'

---

1. Such items are used as nonsense words by present Patwa speakers but may well have had meaning in pidgin/Patwa. See also pt.II , ch.4,p. 310 .
2.P (63) / O (10) (C.N: 3923 - 4318 .)

PaTWA

bɛlɛ

CHORUS: a la la alalala....
-'A la la la la' ....

LEAD (i.e. shãtwɛl): mwɛ̃ di nɛg la ai twavai pu lavi li(Rep.once)
"I tell negro the go work for life he
-'I told the fellow to go and work for living,

nɛg la di mwɛ̃ tewe li kɔ̃ Soliman(Rep.once)
negro the tell me bury him like Soloman"
The fellow told me to bury him like Solomon(the dog)'...

CHORUS: a la la la.....

PROSE NARRATIVE: Li Soliman ã sete õ shyɛ̃
"(s)he Soloman the Stab.Past a dog
-'Solomon was a dog.

kɔ̃ ha shyɛ̃ ã mɔ yo ai tewe i
like this dog the die they go bury him/her
So,when the dog died and they went to bury it:

sã lãtɛma sã klɔsh sɔ̃nɛ̃
without burial without bell ring
without funeral or the ringing of (church)bells.

Kɔ̃ sa li ki pa te twavai la,
like this she Rel. Neg. Past work the
So he, the one who was not working,

i di tewe i kɔ̃ shyɛ̃ ã[1].....
he say bury him like dog the....
(he)said to bury him like that dog' ....

---

1. A39/ Q.(10) (C.N: 676/- 7/52 .)

PATWA

lawɔz:

...uve ! Limine paule nu !
"open illumine speech us
...'Open! Enlighten our speech!

Lklewe ã paule a ,
light in speech the
Illumine the conversation,

pu jɛnɛs Lawɔz ãtwe.....
for youth la rose open....
For the youth of Lawɔz to enter...

Wadlo pa sa spitye ,
(i.e.Margeret) Neg. can explain
Wadlo (i.e.Magwit - Margeret) cannot explain,

pu yo apwan ɛdikasyɔ̃[1] ! "
for they learn education"
So that they(the youth) can become educated!'

1.Consult P 28/ O. (4) (C.N: 3/37-333/ .)

PATWA

magwit:

(i) Lamagerit mɔ flɛu dulɛ ,
"Margeret my flower dolorous
-'Margeret my sad flower,

ɔwne Lamagerit wi!
decorate Margeret yes
Yes adorn Margeret!

Wi cewi Lamagerit ,
yes cherish Margeret
Yes cherish Margeret,

kandi twaka nu Magerit pase ,
like say trouble us Margeret pass
For our problems Margeret endured,

kandi lapɛn nu Magewit pase ,
like say sadness us Margeret pass
For our sadness Margeret endured,

se nu mɛm Lamagewit!
Stab. we same Margeret"
It is we who are Margeret!.

(ii)'Marching along (Rep.once)
Marching along with Magerit,
King and queen, princess and prince,
Sat down at the throne,
Soldiers and officers,
Sitting around them is Margerit here'.

Lexical Items of Non-Portuguese Origin in Kriul Oral Literature[1]

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ISLAND[2] CARIB	FRENCH	UNKNOWN
K <u>1</u>[3]	1			<u>pose</u> <poser- 'to put down'	
	2				<u>mangɔnasɔ</u> -'a type of plant'
	3				<u>ruwa</u> <Fr.<u>rue</u>- 'street' but also meaning 'colour'.
	5				<u>kɔba</u> -'hole' <Kr.<u>kɔba</u>-'cover'
	10				<u>yɛrmɔ</u> -'brother'
K <u>2</u>	1	<u>bunda</u> <Mnka. <u>bunda</u> - 'posterior'			
	2				<u>nayidɔɔr</u>-'greed'
	4				<u>titi</u> -'everyone' cf.Krio <u>titi</u> - 'little girl'.
K <u>4</u>	1				<u>kupa</u> - ?
	6			<u>c'est pour</u>- 'it is to'	
	7			<u>on dit</u> - 'it is said'	
	8				

1. Represented in the oral genres of the first forty Kriul speakers responding to the oral literature questionnaire. See pt.I, ch.5, pp. 148&149.
2. Used by K 11 only.
3. First-language Kriul speakers are underlined.

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ISLAND CARIB	FRENCH	UNKNOWN
K 5	2				bida - ?
	7			Fr. on dit- 'one says'	
K 6	2				kabricur- 'household in which a death has recently occurred'
	7			répondre - 'to reply'	
	8			on termine- 'it is ended'	
	10			c'est un- 'it is a'	
K 7	1				zavonas -'old man'
	2	..panyar "catch rabu du tail of sancu - monkey" <Wol.[1]			
	3				nyit...nyat - ? "Id. Id."
	4				hahebututi - ?
	10				yɛrmo -'brother'
K 8	1			apre <apres- 'after'	
	4				aderi - 'day of return'

1. See p. 689 of the appendix.

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ISLAND CARIB	FRENCH	UNKNOWN
K 9	2				kalarɔ̃ -'pot'
	8			on se tait - 'one shuts up'	
K 10	10				kɔrkasɔ - ?
K 11	10				-mo -'brother' (see above)
K 12	2		kanari <I.Car. kanari via Senegalese Fr. and Patwa - 'pot'		
	3				wɔla - 'wall' <Kr./Eng. 'wall'?
	8			on ne dit rien - 'nothing is said'	
K 13	3			shu <choux- 'cabbage'	
K 15	1				nɛtu-'daughter'
	3				sabola -'onion'
	10	nikinanka <Mnka. ninkinan- ko- 'dragon'			

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	FRENCH	UNKNOWN
K 16	1			katibu - 'slave'
	3			yanga - 'to touch'
	5			lègi[1] - 'to run' ?
K 17	3			sagabatti - 'a lazy person'
				pɛnad -'an orange tree'
K 18	3			
	8		si tu connais.. 'if you know'	
K 19	3			
	4			mareya - ?
	8		ça n'existe pas - 'this does not exist'	
K 20	1			ɛlɔmɔvɛsh - ?
	2			gingi - 'face'
	3			sira - ?
	4			tetekube - ?
K 21	1		fok <faut que -'(you)must'	blada - ?
	4			siyasa - ?
	10			trɛmabu - ?

1. See p. 673 of the appendix.

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	FRENCH	UNKNOWN
K 22	1			dismaye - ?
	2			tras - 'behind'
	3			juti - 'to under-estimate'
	4			gongu -'to want'
	5			flɛmɛ - ?
	8		on dit n'importe quoi- 'anything is said'	
	10			o yayango - ?
K 23	1			amɔntã -'to be ill'
	4			skina - ?
	7		je ne sais pas- 'I do not know'	
	8		on n'a pas - 'one did not'	
K 25	1			bataf - ?
K 28	1			kalaban - ?
	7		pourquoi-'why'	
K 30	1			sulbei - ?
	6		très souvent - 'often'	
	9		sont beaucoup- 'are more'	
K 31	7		je crois - 'I think'	

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	FRENCH	UNKNOWN
K 35	1	bunda <Mnka.- 'posterior' 'anus'(see above.) pupu <Wol. pũp-'faeces'		
	4			ragomi - ?
	6		on dit -'one says'	
	7		on dit -'one says'	
	8		on dit -'one says'	
	10			oyayango - ?
K 39	3			liku - 'to throw'
	6		ça veut dire - 'that is to say'	
	7		c'est à dire - 'that is to say'	
	8		s'il ne trouve pas - 'if it is not answered'	
K 40	1			sunta - ?
	5			oyayɔnya - ?
	6		on dit-'one says'	
	7		on dit-'one says'	
K 41	1			jitu - ?
K 43	9		tu dis - 'you (sing.) say'	
K 44[1]	4			bambaya - ?
	8		les vieux - 'the old people'	

1.K 17 - K 31, inclusive, and K 39 - K 44, inclusive, made use of no known African language items.

Lexical Items of African (and Other) Origin in Krio Oral Literature[1]

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE[2]	UNKNOWN
G 2	4	yawo<Yor. i yawo - 'bride'			
G 3	1		all the best food		
	5	jánkolikó <Yor. - 'bed wetter'[3]			
	6				il...aul - 'beginning formulae for prose narrative'
	10				astiko - 'wandering minstrels', 'the small drum used by the latter'
G 4	1	lici<Wol. - 'crumbs' (see below)			
	10	yawo - 'bride' (see above)			

1. Represented in the oral genres used by the first forty speakers in response to the oral literature questionnaire. See pt.II, ch.5, pp.324-325.

2. Used by G 14 only.
3. See pt.II, ch.4, p.

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	UNKNOWN
G 5	3				cɑri pɑpɛ - 'cherry pepper?'
	6				il...aul(see above)[1]
	9	titi<Yor.- 'little girl'(see below)			
	10	yawo - 'bride' (see above)			
G 6	[2]	ɔpɔlɔ<Yor. -'frog'			
G 8	4	toto <Mnka.- 'vagina'			
	5				gɛsɛgɛsɛ -'(Id.) the sound of drums played by children'
G 9	8		wellno		
G 10	1				kwakwakwa-'name given to a fourth child'
	8		I'm sorry I don't know		
	10	yawo (see above)	Although we part in body		

1. Items of unknown origin in genre 6 refer to the items il...aul in the responses of all the speakers.
2. Aku first language Krio speakers are underlined; non-Aku first language Krio speakers are not underlined; second-language Krio speakers from other ethnic groups are circled.

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	UNKNOWN
G 11	4				tumaye - ?
	8		I don't know		
G 12	2	ɔpɔlo <Yor.- 'frog'			
G 13	1				dumbe <Me.- ?
	4		As the prophet said...		
	5				namoribara - ?
	10				fati bolo - ?
G 14	2	cuk <Pul. 'to poke', 'to stab', etc.		sabi <Port. saber -'to know'	
	3	jɛjɛ<Yor. 'a little bit to eat'			
	10		they sing Negro Spirit-uals		
G 15	1	pupa <Wol.- 'faeces'			tabaka - ?
	4				tumbela - ?
	10		Ghrist will see...		

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	UNKNOWN
G 16	1	fufu <Yor. 'cassava paste'		
	2	kanda <Bantu languages including Kikongo-'skin' butu- <Twi/ Fante-'to bow'		
G 17	3			sərandiyo <Eng.-? pata -'stick for beating clothes while washing them'
	4	titi <Yor. 'little girl' bɔmbɔ <Te. 'vagina' bɔbɔ <Ga. 'young boy'		
	10	yawo-(see above)		
G 18	4			bailele - ?; biyo -? <Mnka. - 'today'
	9	titi <Yor. (see above)		
	10	yawo <Yor. (see above)		
G 19	2	opolo <Yor. (see above)		
G 21	4	dɛm <Wol.-'to go'		
	10	yawo(see above)		

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	UNKNOWN
G 22	10	yawo(see above)	brother..where are you going to	waatile - ?
G 23	1	shenge <Yor.- 'devil'		
	3	sɔkɔ <Te. 'four-eyed'		
	4			plasas -'a type of sauce'
	10	yawo(see above)	come and dine	
G 25	5	ɔkɔ -<Yor. 'groom'	and some of you	
	10	yawo(see above)	the church you used to go	
G 26	2	ɔpɔlɔ(see above)		tɔpɔlɔ - ?
	4			tayeman -'salesman'
	10	yawo(see above)	where are you going to	
G 27	1			singila - ?
	10		somebody's knocking	fatibolo - ? 'fat hand'
G 28	2	yawo(see above)		
	4			abibiwe - ?
	5	gwangwa <Me. 'a species of fish'		
	6	jɛn <Wol.fɛn- 'a white lie'		
	10	jawo(see above)		kolat <Me.-? - 'cola nut'

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	UNKNOWN
G 29	3	titi(see above)		
	5			ban - 'drum'
	10		lead us.... Heavenly Father	
G 30	2	ɔpɔlo(see above)		
	4	bunga <Me.- 'a species of fish'		
	10	lahila <Wol., ultimately from Arabic-'Great-God!'		
G 31	2	koko <T/F - 'coco yam'		
	4	jege - juju <? Mnka.- 'black magic'		
	10	yawo(see above)		
G 32	2	jɛjɛ(see above)		
G 33	1	big yai-'greedy'		
	4	ganga <Ha[1]- 'drum'	sold his...for one and nine	
G 34	2	wahala <Ha- 'trouble' dɔti <T/F - 'ground earth', 'dirt'		
	4			tekute
	8	dabaro <Ha- 'trickery'		
G 35	1	rɛk <Wol.- 'only'		dege <Ewe and T/F - ?

1. I.e. Hausa.

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	AFRICAN	ENGLISH	UNKNOWN
G 36	1	walahi <Wol., ultimately from Arabic - 'By God!'		Mɔka <U -'an ethnic name referring to the Igbo' ?
	2	kaka <Wol.- 'faeces'		
	10	yawo(see above)		
G 37	6			awujɔ - 'family remembrance feast'
	10	yawo(see above)	Lord it belongs not	
G 38	10	yawo(see above)		
G 39	4	okobo <Yor.- 'impotence'- butu <T/F - 'to bow', 'to stoop'		
G 40	1	rɛk(see above)		
	4			ndɛnsio - ?
	10	yawo(see above)		

PATWA

List of Items and Their Origin Referred to in the Oral Genres of The First Forty Patwa Speakers[1].

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND[2] CARIB	UNKNOWN	FRENCH	ENGLISH
P 1	1		wɔtpɛk-tuzanto- 'riddle game formulae'		as <Eng.as-'when'
	3				antil <Eng.until
	10				gem <Eng.game
P 3	3	kayɛ< I. Car.kayo 'submerged rock'			
P 4	1	cebe<Is. Car. "chémenbae" 'to hold'			so <Eng.so
	4	cebe <I. Car. (above)			
					haf <Eng.half
P 5	1				wɛl <Eng.well
	4				wif <Eng.with
	6				dɛn <Eng.then
	8				wɛl <Eng.well
P 7	2				dat <Eng.that
	6				stat <Eng.start
	7				sem <Eng.same

1.I.e. responding to the oral literature questionnaire.
2.See pt.III, ch. 4 for a detailed analysis of all the African and Island Carib items below.

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND CARIB	UNKNOWN	FRENCH	ENGLISH
P 8	1	cebe (above)			frɛn <Eng.friend
	3				pɔslin<Eng.porcelain
P 10	1			la tash <Fr.la tache - 'work', 'job'	so <Eng.so
	3				ripit <Eng.repeat
	7				jɔs <Eng.just
	8				ansa <Eng.answer
	10				dɔla <Eng.dollar Cf.P. gud-ditto. "good U"
P 12	7				nɔt <Eng.not
	8				dɔnt <Eng.don't
P 13	1				so <Eng.so
	10		golo -? <Wol. golo - 'monkey'		

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND CARIB	AFRICAN	UNKNOWN	ENGLISH
P 15	2	zandoli <I.Car. "anoli" 'lizard'			
	8				ɛksɛpt<Eng.except
P 19	1				abaut <Eng.about
	8				givɔp <Eng.give up
	10	kayɛ <I.Car. kayo - 'subm- erged rock'			
P 21	3				brɔdə <Eng.brother
	9				fɔl <Eng.fell
	10				wai <Eng.why
P 22	1	cɛ <I. Car. "a'niçi" 'heart' 'cour- age'	ɛk<Wol/Fr. ak/avec 'and' 'with' mama Bya "mother Bya" 'Bya's mother'		
	2				praiz <Eng.prize
	10				prez <Eng.praise
P 23	1				bikɔz <Eng.because
	4			oti <Yor.? ngbati- 'where'	
	8				ɔndəstan <Eng. understand

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND CARIB	AFRICAN	UNKNOWN	ENGLISH
P 25	1				nais <Eng.nice
	4				aut <Eng.out
P 27	1			ham na jɔni "' <Hindi?' I Neg.<U"- 'I do not (?speak)'	alrait <Eng.allright
	2				stil <Eng.still
	10			bɛwsit- elanga ? '<Hindi?'	
P 28					ɛnjɔi <Eng.enjoy
P 30	5			mashbivwa?	sing <Eng.sing
	7				wɛl <Eng.well
	8				
P (32)[1]	1	kayɛ <I.Car. kayo (above)			dɛn <Eng.then
	10		jabal- 'prost- itute' Cf.Wol. jabar- 'wife'		

1.First language Patwa speakers are underlined; monolingual Patwa speakers are also bracketed.

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND CARIB	AFRICAN	UNKNOWN	ENGLISH
P (33)	1				so <Eng.so
	3				abaut <Eng.about
	4				anti <Eng.auntie
P 34	1		gam-'to pretend' 'to make as if' Cf.Hausa gama 'ostant-ation', 'boast-fullness'		nau <Eng.now
	2			mi- <U 'here is'	min <Eng.to mean
	3				
	10			culyaz-ima- ?	
P 35	1	cebe <I.Car. "chémenbae" 'to hold'	bolom <Mnka/Bamb-ara boli - 'fetish', 'doll', 'invisible dwarf commanded by a witch - doctor'		
	2				eksplen <Eng.to explain
	10		cu-'many' <Wol.cu -'penis'	ju-'a song genre'(see above.)	

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND CARIB	AFRICAN	UNKNOWN	PORTUGUESE	ENGLISH
P 37	3					min <Eng.to mean
P 38	1					so <Eng.so
P 39	1		oti <Yor. ngbati (above)			dɛn<Eng.then
	3	tululu <I.Car. "itoúr-ourou"- 'small red crabs'				
	10			kutumba- 'a song genre' (above)		
P (40)	1		bo 'to kiss' <T/F bo -'to enter into close contact'	skanga-?, mi <U - 'here is'		kik <Eng.kick
	3	zagaya <I.Car. "agaya" 'a small white crab'	nana -cf. Common Bantu- "nama"- 'meat' (i.e.of a fruit or vegetable)		kaka <Port. 'faeces'	jɔs <Eng.just

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	GENRE NUMBER	ISLAND CARIB	AFRICAN	UNKNOWN	ENGLISH
P (40)	4			dedazi-?	
	9				
	10		gam <Hausa gama (above)		
P 41	1				dat <Eng.that
	4			bwɛnɛ -'to move'	
	6				jɔs <Eng.just
	7				etil <Eng.still
	9				yɛs <Eng.yes
	10			maduk-? mafilolo-? otiotio-?	bjutiful <Eng. beautiful
P (42)	1			bulɔg - 'a lie'	
	6			mamai U	
	7				biliv <Eng. believe
P 43	4				daling <Eng. darling
	10			Wadlo - 'supporters of Magwit' dule -'to sleep'	

COUNTER NUMBERS[1]

The following tables indicate the speaker number, section of the questionnaire and the sequence in which the speaker's responses occur in the recorded material.

The speaker numbers and sections of the questionnaire are referred to in the manner previously indicated[2] while their sequence is referred to in terms of the reel number, the side of the reel and counter numbers, which are all also duplicated on cards and on boxes deposited with the actual recordings.[3]

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1. See p. 600 .
2. See p. 12 .
3. Sound Archives, S.O.A.S. library, catalogue no. MT1152 .

KRIUL

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
K 1	L.		1	1	0000	0445
		O.	1	1	0445	0627
K 2	L.		1	1	0627	0930
		O.	1	1	0930	1089
K 3	L.		1	1	1089	1479
		O.	1	1	1479	1530
K 4	L.		1	1	1530	1805
		O.	1	1	1805	1910
K 5	L.		1	1	1910	2135
		O.	1	1	2135	2203
K 6	L.		1	1	2203	2546
K 9	L.		1	2	2549	2847
		O.	1	2	2847	2896
K 10	L.		1	2	2896	3314
K 10 (with K 31)		O.	1	2	3314	3396
K 8		O.	1	2	3396	3601
K 11	L.		1	2	3601	3976
		O.	1	2	3976	4003
K 12	L.		1	2	4003	4142
		O.	1	2	4142	4207
K 10		O.	1	2	4207	4246
K 13	L.		1	2	4246	4497
K 13	L.		2	1	4497	4611
		O.	2	1	4611	4810
K 14	L.		2	1	4810	5254
		O.	2	1	5254	5276
K 15	L.		2	1	5276	5520
		O.	2	1	5520	5755
K 16	L.		2	1	5755	5983
		O.	2	1	5983	6256

KRIUL

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
K 17	L.		2	1	6256	6525
K 18	L.		2	1	6525	6676
		O.	2	1	6676	6711
K 19		O.	2	1	6711	6744
K 19 (also FÕN:1)		O.	2	2	6744	6922
K 20	L.		2	2	6922	7337
		O.	2	2	7337	7526
K 21	L.		2	2	7526	7800
		O.	2	2	7800	7846
K 22	L.		2	2	7846	8050
		O.	2	2	8050	8248
K 23	L.		2	2	8248	8520
		O.	2	2	8520	8631
K 29	L.		2	2	8631	8777
K 24	L.		2	2	8777	9033
K 24	L.		3	1	9033	9130
		O.	3	1	9130	9212
K 25	L.		3	1	9212	9616
		O.	3	1	9616	9647
K 26	L.		3	1	9647	9681
K 27	L.		3	1	9681	9945
MNKA:1		O.	3	1	9945	9976
K 28	L.		3	1	9976	0360
		O.	3	1	0360	0637
FÕN:1	L.		3	1	0637	0893
K 29	L.		3	1	0893	0952
(etc.)		O.	3	1	0952	1032
K 30	L.		3	1	1032	1257
		O.	3	1	1257	1290

KRIUL

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
K 30		O.	3	2	1290	1576
DYOLA:1	L.		3	2	1576	2056
		O.	3	2	2056	2121
K 31	L.		3	2	2121	2168
		O.	3	2	2168	2226
K 19	L.		3	2	2226	2331
K 32	L.		3	2	2331	2775
		O.	3	2	2775	2784
K 33	L.		3	2	2784	3067
		O.	3	2	3067	3148
K 34	L.		3	2	3148	3207
K 35	L.		3	2	3207	3409
		O.	3	2	3409	3530
K 36	L.		3	2	3530	3588
K 36	L.		4	1	3588	3959
		O.	4	1	3959	3987
K 37	L.		4	1	3987	4130
		O.	4	1	4130	4219
K 31	L.		4	1	4219	4438
K 27	L.		4	1	4438	4491
K 38	L.		4	1	4491	4896
		O.	4	1	4896	4956
K 39	L.		4	1	4956	5206
		O.	4	1	5206	5266
K 22	L.		4	1	5266	5401
K 40		O.	4	1	5401	5600
K 24		O.	4	1	5600	5849
K 24		O.	4	2	5849	6655
K 41	L.		4	2	6655	6890
		O.	4	2	6890	7157
K 42	L.		4	2	7157	7595

KRIUL

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
K 18	L.		4	2	7595	7710
K 21		O.	4	2	7710	7884
K 43	L.		4	2	7884	8087
		O.	4	2	8087	8190
K 44	L.		5	1	8190	8672
		O.	5	1	8672	9048
K 34	L.		5	1	9048	9311
		O.	5	1	9311	9322
K (56)		O.	5	1	9322	9550
K 45		O.	5	1	9550	9614
K 32		O.	5	1	9614	9653
K 45		O.	5	1	9653	9688
K 46		O.	5	1	9688	9708
K 45		O.	5	1	9708	9725
K 47		O.	5	1	9725	9755
K 48		O.	5	1	9755	9778
K 49	L.		5	1	9778	0035
		O.	5	1	0035	0093
K 17	L.		5	1	0093	0193
		O.	5	1	0193	0224
K 50	L.		5	1	0224	0478
		O.	5	1	0478	0580
K 50		O.	5	2	0580	0638
K 19	L.		5	2	0638	1254
		O.	5	2	1254	1297
K 41	L.		5	2	1297	1430
K 51	L.		5	2	1430	1853
		O.	5	2	1853	1920

KRIUL

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
K 40	L.		5	2	1920	2250
K 52		O.	5	2	2250	2413
K 40		O.	5	2	2413	2509
K 6	L.		5	2	2509	2603
		O.	5	2	2603	2673
K 53	L.		5	2	2673	2832
K 53	L.		6	1	2832	3395
		O.	6	1	3395	3668
K 54	L.		6	1	3668	4005
		O.	6	1	4005	4036
K 53		O.	6	1	4036	4184
K 7	L.		6	1	4184	4429
		O.	6	1	4429	4490
K 6	L.		6	1	4490	4503
K 7		O.	6	1	4503	4543
K 8	L.		6	1	4543	4793
		O.	6	1	4793	5251
K 9	L.		6	1	5251	5788

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
G 1	L.		1	1	0000	0359
		O.	1	1	0359	0374
G 2	L.		1	1	0374	0703
		O.	1	1	0703	0725
G 3	L.		1	1	0725	0883
		O.	1	1	0883	0937
G 4 (with K7 & K12 etc.)		O.	1	1	0937	1136
G 14	L.		1	2	1136	1417
		O.	1	2	1417	1660
WOL: 1	L.		1	2	1660	1900
		O.	1	2	1900	2019
G 11	L.		1	2	2019	2300
G 11	L.		2	1	2300	2526
		O.	2	1	2536	2827
G 13	L.		2	1	2827	3130
		O.	2	1	3130	3302
G 15	L.		2	1	3302	3490
G 15	L.		2	2	3490	3549
		O.	2	2	3549	3873
G 16	L.		2	2	3873	3992
G 17	L.		2	2	3992	4228
		O.	2	2	4228	4320
G 18	L.		2	2	4320	4529
		O.	2	2	4529	4576
MNKA:2 (with G 54)	L.		2	2	4576	4638

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
MNKA:2 (with G 54)	L.		3	1	4638	3149
MNKA:3 (with G 54)	L.		3	1	3149	5208
		O.	3	1	5208	5242
G 40		O.	3	1	5242	5250
G 20	L.		3	1	5250	5547
		O.	3	1	5547	5588
G 21	L.		3	1	5588	5753
		O.	3	1	5753	5778
G 22	L.		3	1	5778	5849
G 22	L.		3	2	5903	6109
		O.	3	2	6109	6194
G 23		O.	3	2	6194	6411
G 24	L.		3	2	6411	6577
		O.	3	2	6577	6645
G 25	L.		3	2	6645	6950
		O.	3	2	6950	7015
G 25		O.	4	1	7015	7215
G 26	L.		4	1	7215	7621
		O.	4	1	7621	7704
G 14	L.		4	1	7704	7859
G 23	L.		4	1	7859	8047
		O.	4	1	8047	8112
G 27	L.		4	1	8112	8204

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
G 27	L.		4	2	8264	8455
G 28	L.		4	2	8455	8750
		O.	4	2	8750	8969
G 29	L.		4	2	8969	9059
G 30	L.		4	2	9059	9138
(with		O.	4	2	9138	9252
G 34)						
G 12	L.		4	2	9252	9386
G 12	L.		5	1	9386	9593
		O.	5	1	9593	9706
K:G: 1		O.	5	1	9706	9888
(with						
G 40)						
MANJAK:1	L.		5	1	9888	0181
		O.	5	1	0181	0230
G 31	L.		5	1	0230	0249
		O.	5	1	0249	0301
G 5	L.		5	1	0301	0514
		O.	5	1	0514	0538
G 6	L.		5	1	0538	0572
G 6	L.		5	2	0572	0900
		O.	5	2	0900	0940
K:G: 2	L.		5	2	0940	1277
		O.	5	2	1277	1297
G 49	L.		5	2	1297	1398
		O.	5	2	1398	1456
G 4	L.		5	2	1456	1719
(with						
G 7 &						
G 12)						

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
G 4	L.		6	1	1719	1968
G 7	L.		6	1	1968	2270
		O.	6	1	2270	2287
G 8	L.		6	1	2287	2651
		O.	6	1	2651	2734
G 24	L.		6	1	2734	2920
G 24	L.		6	2	2920	3092
G 29	L.		6	2	3092	3313
		O.	6	2	3313	3441
G 9	L.		6	2	3441	3679
		O.	6	2	3679	3715
K:G: 4	L.		6	2	3715	4052
K:G: 4	L.		7	1	4052	4260
		O.	7	1	4260	4821
MNKA:3 (with G 34)		O.	7	1	4821	5048
G 10	L.				5048	5226
G 10	L.		7	2	5226	5234
		O.	7	2	5234	5402
G 32	L.		7	2	5402	5731
		O.	7	2	5731	5796
G 31	L.		7	2	5796	5996
G 16	L.		7	2	5996	6088
		O.	7	2	6088	6161
G 47	L.		7	2	6161	6372

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
G 47		O.	8	1	6372	6453
G (48)		O.	8	1	6453	7111
G 43		O.	8	1	7111	7302
G 44	L.		8	1	7302	7509
		O.	8	1	7509	7556
G 44		O.	8	2	7556	7738
G 45	L.		8	2	7738	8091
		O.	8	2	8091	8220
G 46		O.	8	2	8220	8281
VAI: 1	L.		8	2	8281	8603
		O.	8	2	8603	8632
SERER:1	L.		8	2	8632	8722
SERER:1	L.		9	1	9004	9039
		O.	9	1	9039	9226
G 35	L.		9	1	9226	9277
		O.	9	1	9277	9560
G 36	L.		9	1	9560	9780
		O.	9	1	9780	9868
G 36		O.	9	2	9868	0150
G 37	L.		9	2	0150	0464
		O.	9	2	0464	0667
G 40	L.		9	2	0667	0823
		O.	9	2	0823	0882
G 41	L.		9	2	0882	1034
G 41	L.		10	1	1067	1138
		O.	10	1	1138	1336
G 42	L.		10	1	1336	1620
		O.	10	1	1620	1705
G 43		O.	10	1	1705	1903
G 19	L.		10	1	1903	2139
		O.	10	1	2139	2179

KRIO

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER FROM	NUMBER TO
G 19		O.	10	2	2179	2339
G 33	L.		10	2	2339	2628
		O.	10	2	2628	3007
G 34	L.		10	2	3007	3228
		O.	10	2	3228	3308
G 35	L.		10	2	3308	3344
G 35	L.		11	1	3344	3660
K:G:5	L.		11	1	3660	4023
		O.	11	1	4023	4313
G 38	L.		11	1	4313	4489
		O.	11	1	4489	4520
G 38		O.	11	2	4580	4603
G 30	L.		11	2	4603	4812
G 49	L.		11	2	4812	4995
		O.	11	2	4995	5112
G 10		O.	11	2	5112	5202
G 39	L.		11	2	5202	5394
		O.	11	2	5394	5505
MENDE:1	L.		11	2	5505	5617
MENDE:1	L.		12	1	5748	5977
		O.	12	1	5977	6104

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
P 1	L.		1	1	0000	0542
		O.	1	1	0542	0724
	W/R.		1	1	0724	0786
	WORD LISTS[1]		1	1	0786	0853
P 2	L.		1	1	0853	1052
		O.	1	1	1052	1169
P 2		O.	1	2	1169	1258
	W/R.		1	2	1258	1292
	WORD LISTS		1	2	1292	1378
P 3	L.		1	2	1378	1699
		O.	1	2	1699	1816
	W/R.		1	2	1816	1839
	WORD LISTS		1	2	1839	1870
P 4	L.		1	2	1870	2170
		O.	1	2	2170	2214
P 4		O.	2	1	2214	2800
	W/R.		2	1	2800	2828
P 5	L.		2	1	2828	3093
		O.	2	1	3093	3187
	W/R.		2	1	3187	3209
P 6	L.		2	1	3209	3456
P 6		O.	2	2	3462	3620
	W/R.		2	2	3620	3670
P 7	L.		2	2	3670	4024
		O.	2	2	4024	4064
	W/R.		2	2	4064	4078
P 8	L.		2	2	4078	4112
		O.	2	2	4112	4555

1.See p. 583 of the bibliography.

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
P 8		O.	3	1	4555	4900
	W/R.		3	1	4900	4940
P 9	L.		3	1	4940	4960
(with		O.	3	1	4960	5016
P 13)	L.		3	1	5016	5149
	W/R.		3	1	5149	5170
P 10		O.	3	1	5176	5168
	L.		3	1	5168	5595
	W/R.		3	1	5595	5607
P 11		O.	3	1	5607	5620
	L.		3	1	5620	5770
P 11	L.		3	2	5770	5867
	W/R.		3	2	5867	5894
P 12		O.	3	2	5894	5954
	L.		3	2	5954	5920
	W/R.		3	2	5920	6309
P 13		O.	3	2	6309	6412
	L.		3	2	6412	6721
	W/R.		3	2	6721	6746
P 14		O.	3	2	6746	6771
	L.		3	2	6771	6948
P 14	L.		4	1	6948	7057
	W/R.		4	1	7057	7090
P 15		O.	4	1	7090	7190
	L.		4	1	7190	7517
	W/R.		4	1	7517	7541
P 16		O.	4	1	7541	7560
	L.		4	1	7560	7848
	W/R.		4	1	7848	7873
P 17		O.	4	1	7873	7898
	L.		4	1	7898	8104
	W/R.		4	1	8104	8118

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
P 17	W/R.		4	2	8118	8167
P 18		O.	4	2	8167	8180
	L.		4	2	8180	8619
	W/R.		4	2	8619	8641
P 19		O.	4	2	8641	8769
	L.		4	2	8769	8994
	W/R.		4	2	8994	9007
P 20		O.	4	2	9007	9036
	L.		4	2	9036	9277
P 20	L.		5	1	9277	9436
	W/R.		5	1	9436	9486
P 21		O.	5	1	9486	9652
	L.		5	1	9652	0020
	W/R.		5	1	0020	0043
P 22		O.	5	1	0043	0252
	L.		5	1	0252	0410
P 22	L.		5	2	0410	0548
	W/R.		5	2	0548	0591
		O.	5	2	0591	0646
P 23		O.	5	2	0646	0815
	L.		5	2	0819	1077
	W/R.		5	2	1077	1096
P 24		O.	5	2	1096	1109
	L.		5	2	1109	1304
	W/R.		5	2	1304	1318
P 25		O.	5	2	1318	1474
	L.		5	2	1474	1602

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
P 25	L.		6	1	1602	1784
	W/R.		6	1	1784	1813
P 26		O.	6	1	1813	1830
	L.		6	1	1830	2250
	W/R.		6	1	2250	2270
P 27		O.	6	1	2270	2545
	W/R.		6	1	2545	2560
	L.		6	1	2560	2766
P 27	L.		6	2	2766	3137
P 28		O.	6	2	3137	3331
	L.		6	2	3331	3562
	W/R.		6	2	3562	3577
P 29		O.	6	2	3577	3592
	L.		6	2	3592	3828
	W/R.		6	2	3828	3844
P 30		O.	6	2	3844	3890
	L.		6	2	3890	3930
P 30	L.		7	1	3930	4197
	W/R.		7	1	4197	4217
P 31		O.	7	1	4217	4357
	W/R.		7	1	4357	4365
P 32		O.	7	1	4365	4602
	W/R.		7	1	4602	4611
P 33		O.	7	1	4611	4729
	W/R.		7	1	4729	4738
P 34		O.	7	1	4738	4932
	L.		7	1	4932	5064
P 34	L.		7	2	5064	5196
	W/R.		7	2	5196	5226
P 35		O.	7	2	5226	5795
	L.		7	2	5795	5997
P 37		O.	7	2	5997	6056
	L.		7	2	6056	6244
	W/R.		7	2	6244	6258

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
P 38		O.	8	1	6258	6396
	L.		8	1	6396	6735
	W/R.		8	1	6735	6761
P 39		O.	8	1	6761	7152
	L.		8	1	7152	7344
	W/R.		8	1	7344	7359
P 40		O.	8	1	7359	7423
P 40		O.	8	2	7423	7986
	W/R.		8	2	7986	7996
P 41		O.	8	2	7996	8138
	L.		8	2	8138	8340
	W/R.		8	2	8340	8353
P 36		O.	8	2	8353	8374
	L.		8	2	8374	8397
		O.	8	2	8397	8434
P 42		O.	8	2	8434	8490
	W/R.		8	2	8490	8498
P 43		O.	8	2	8498	8585
P 43	W/R.		9	1	8585	8622
P 44		O.	9	1	8622	8942
	W/R.		9	1	8942	8953
P 45	L.		9	1	8953	9221
		O.	9	1	9221	9248
	W/R.		9	1	9248	9269
P 46		O.	9	1	9269	9538
	W/R.		9	1	9538	9547
P 47		O.	9	1	9547	9617
	L.		9	1	9617	9754
P 47	L.		9	2	9754	9993
	W/R.		9	2	9993	0016
P 48[1]	L.		9	2	0016	0335
		O.	9	2	0335	0927

1.Also 'HINDI':1.

PATWA

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
'HINDI':1		O.	10	1	0927	1033
	W/R.		10	1	1033	1050
P 52	L.		10	1	1050	1104
	W/R.		10	1	1104	1210
P 53		O.	10	1	1210	1347
	L.		10	1	1347	1575
	W/R.		10	1	1575	1592
P 49	W/R.		10	1	1592	1617
P 54	L.		10	1	1617	1877
		O.	10	1	1877	1910
	W/R.		10	1	1910	1926
P 55		O.	10	1	1926	1961
	L.		10	1	1961	2087
P 49	L.		10	2	2087	2525
		O.	10	2	2525	2589
P 50	L.		10	2	2589	2865
		O.	10	2	2865	3014
P 51		O.	10	2	3014	3053
	L.		10	2	3053	3256
P 51	L.		11	1	3256	3455
	W/R.		11	1	3455	3494
		O.	11	1	3494	3586
P 52		O.	11	1	3586	3726
	L.		11	1	3726	3923
P (63)		O.	11	1	3923	4318
P 56		O.	11	1	4318	4436
P 56		O.	11	2	4436	4528
	W/R.		11	2	4528	4550
		O.	11	2	4550	4725
P 57		O.	11	2	4725	4808
	W/R.		11	2	4808	4827
P 58		O.	11	2	4827	4900
		O.	11	2	4900	5030
	L.		11	2	5030	5265
	W/R.		11	2	5265	5276

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
P 59		O.	11	2	5276	5370
	W/R.		11	2	5370	5379
		O.	11	2	5379	5619
P 59		O.	12	1	5619	5639
P 55	L.		12	1	5639	5982
	W/R.		12	1	5982	5013
P 52	L.		12	1	5013	6399
P 61		O.	12	1	6399	6644
	L.		12	1	6644	6796
'HINDI':1	L.		12	2	6796	7196
(copied		O.	12	2	7196	7778
on reels 9, side 2 & 10, side 1)	W/R.		12	2	7778	7789
P (63) (copied on reel 11, side 1)		O.	12	2	7789	7962
P (63) (copied on reel 11, side 1)		O.	13	1	7962	8566
REUNION:1	L.		13	1	8566	8955
		O.	13	1	8955	9134

OTHER CREOLES AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES

SPEAKER NUMBER	LINGUISTIC SECTION(L.)	ORAL LITERATURE SECTION(O.)	REEL NUMBER	SIDE	COUNTER NUMBER FROM	TO
REUNION:1		O.	13	2	9134	9483
SEYCH-						
ELLES:1	L.		13	2	9483	9901
		O.	13	2	9901	0135
	W/R.		13	2	0135	0171
YOR:1	L.		13	2	0171	0302
YOR:1	L.		14	1	0302	0630
		O.	14	1	0630	0840
GÃ:1	L.		14	1	0840	1227
		O.	14	1	1227	1326
T/F:1	L.		14	1	1326	1574
T/F:1	L.		14	2	1574	1735
		O.	14	2	1735	1974
K:L:1	L.		14	2	1974	2336
		O.	14	2	2336	2385

'Lexical Expansion in Casamance Kriul, Gambian Krio and Saint Lucian Patwa'

Paper presented to the Conference on Theoretical Orientations in Creole Studies, St.Thomas, Virgin Islands, March 28 - April 1, 1979.

Abstract

LEXICAL EXPANSION IN CASAMANCE KRIUL, GAMBIAN KRIO AND SAINT LUCIAN PATWA

The paper presents a brief discussion of (i) the process of lexical expansion in the above Creoles with reference to their common African structural mould below their surface lexical differences, (ii) their varying diachronic and synchronic language contacts and (iii) a proposed theoretical framework for analysing these.

Examples are drawn from all three Creoles, with special emphasis on Saint Lucian Patwa.

The paper is accompanied by an historical chart and a vocabulary of the linguistic terms employed.

LEXICAL EXPANSION IN CASAMANCE KRIUL, GAMBIAN KRIO AND SAINT LUCIAN PATWA

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M.Dalphinis

1. LINGUISTIC VOCABULARY

In view of the complex range of terms which have been introduced into the discussion of pidgins and Creoles, this paper begins with a definition of terms used in the subsequent discussion:

DIACHRONIC / SYNCHRONIC - are defined here as mutually exclusive terms. Diachronic refers to the interaction of languages in the past which are no longer in contact. Synchronic refers to the interaction of languages which are still in contact (giving rise to synchronic reinforcement of past influences).

LANGUAGES IN DIACHRONIC CONTACT - languages in past geographical contact, but now separated.

LANGUAGES IN SYNCHRONIC CONTACT - languages in present geographical contact.

STRUCTURAL MOULD - the main African language structure at the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic levels which characterises the Creole languages under consideration.

LEXICAL INPUT - (a) the mainly European lexicon which Creole languages adopted in their formative stages; (b) the lexicon adopted by established Creole languages from either African or European languages in synchronic contact.

RELEXIFICATION - the massive input of lexical items from one language into the structural mould of one or more others, involving: (a) the continuance of the phonology, morphology, semantic structure and syntax of the latter; (b) the virtual disappearance of its/their former lexicon. This process may be either gradual or swift and may work in different directions at different times, i.e.:

Lexical input:	Structural mould
European	African
African	Established Creole
Carib	Arawak
African	African
2nd.European language	Established Creole
Established Creole	African
etc.	

HYPERCORRECTION - the adoption of items into a language through deliberate approximation to another language either by relexification or by decreolization.

DECREOLIZATION - changes in the phonology, semantic structure, morphology and syntax of an established Creole approximating to the grammatical system of a non-Creole language. Changes in lexicon do not constitute decreolization, but rather relexification.

DOMAIN - semantic field which, in a given language, may have external prestige or influence through superior environmental knowledge.

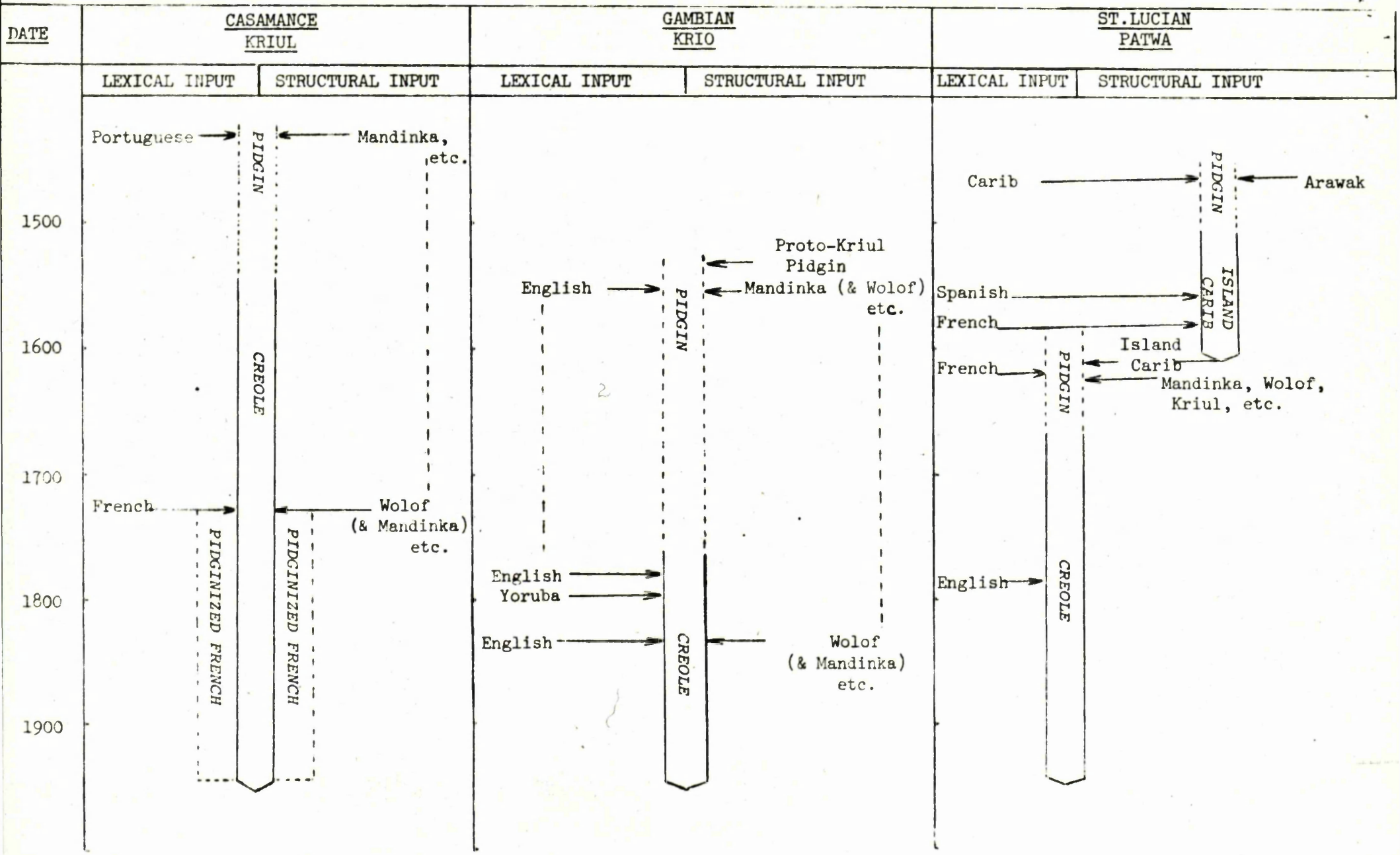
PRESTIGE - is taken as being directly correlated to domain. Each language is assumed to have one or more domains of internal prestige and may have one or more domains of external prestige.

EXTERNAL PRESTIGE - the prestige given to a language by non-native speakers of that language.

INTERNAL PRESTIGE - the prestige native speakers give to their own language as a marker of in-group self-esteem.

PIDGIN / CREOLE - a pidgin is a language of limited vocabulary, as spoken by second-language speakers. By lexical expansion the vocabulary becomes a Creole spoken as a home language.

LEXICAL EXPANSION - a process comprising calques, convergences and loans as a result of the social and psychological interaction of one language on another (subsequently 'suprastrate' and 'substrate', reflecting normally the main lexical and structural sources, respectively).



THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF KRIUL, KRIO AND PATWA

2.INTRODUCTION

Lexical expansion in African and Caribbean Creoles involved the recasting of European lexical items in an African semantic, phonological, morphological and syntactic mould. In order to examine fully such African influences upon Creole lexical items, comparison is made between Creole languages whose respective lexicons are mainly of Portuguese, English and French origin, thus allowing an evaluation of the common African language mould below their surface lexical differences.

Casamance Kriul, Gambian Krio and St.Lucian Patwa [1] have been selected for this purpose. Patwa has been separated from its African structural sources while all three Creoles have been separated from one or more of their lexical source languages ,thus providing a novel opportunity to compare Creoles with and without synchronic contact with their African and European source languages.

3.HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Casamance Kriul has been separated from Portuguese and Kriul in Guinea Bissau (formerly Portuguese Guinea) due to a Franco-Portuguese treaty in 1886 which made Ziguinchor [2] part of the French colony of Senegal. Kriul and Patwa have both been brought into contact with a European language other than that which formed the basis oftheirearlier lexical development [3] (i.e. French in the case of Kriul, and English in the case of Patwa). Kriul expanded from a Portuguese pidgin to meet the developing communication needs of the Atlantic Slave Trade, around which early Portuguese settlers, the host African ethnic groups, their Afro-Portuguese descendants as well as other Europeans, cemented profitable commercial activity.

Krio, the next Creole language developed in West Africa, owes, as do other Creoles, some of its lexical expansion to the prior presence of Kriul [4]. It became a Gambian language on the arrival of freed-slaves re-shipped from the Freetown area (in Sierra Leone) to Bathurst (now renamed Banjul)[5], where it has been brought into synchronic contact with English and separated from its formative African lexical sources, especially Yoruba (its major diachronic African lexical source and the dominant language of S.W.Nigeria).

Patwa developed from a French lexical input into a Senegambian language mould (8) [6] coupled with the general influences of other African languages and of Island Carib, the language of the St.Lucian inhabitants prior to and during the period of African immigration. Patwa has been out of contact with its African language sources for about 500 years; it was mainly exposed to French lexical influences till 1813 when St.Lucia became politically British and the imposition of English began. [7]

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The complex linguistic situation resulting from the upheaval and crisis which marked 17C and 18C African and Caribbean history benefits from the Saussurean synchronic/diachronic framework. Changing lexical influences upon Kriul, Krio and Patwa can be discussed in terms of diachronic languages in contact as opposed to synchronic languages in contact providing varying lexical inputs to the structural mould of these Creoles, with possible reinforcing or decreolizing effects. [8]

Yoruba lexical items in Krio (5), for example, partly due to the predominance of Yoruba Creoles (or Aku as they were known by non-Yoruba Freetonian Creoles) are indicative of a diachronic contact with Yoruba. This has since been succeeded

1. Kriul, Krio and Patwa refer to Casamance 'Portuguese' Creole, Gambian 'English' Creole and St.Lucian 'French' Creole respectively. These are the names used by the speakers themselves to describe their languages. See sketch map on p.7. for the geographical position of Kriul and Krio.
2. The Creole centre of the region up to today. See note 2 of sketch map on p.7.
3. See chart on p.2.
4. As reflected in Kriul items in Creole English on both sides of the Atlantic (4
5. See map on p.7.
6. Mainly Mandinka /(Bambara) and Wolof.
7. Alleyne, M., 1961. Dalphinis, M., 1977.
8. See linguistic vocabulary on p.1.

by the synchronic contact with Wolof (6) (and Mandinka) whose prominent features are: many Wolof loans and the synchronic reinforcement of aspects of the Krio structural mould having origins in Wolof and/or Mandinka(7). Diachronic influences upon Kriul lexicon, though varied, have been mainly Mandinka (1), spoken by the Mandinka [9] wives of the Portuguese and the many Mandinka-speaking peoples in the Casamance.

Wolof (and Mandinka) have provided the main synchronic reinforcement (3) and French the new lexical input, for Kriul. These same African languages, by contrast, were the main diachronic sources of the Patwa structural mould (C18 and 20), while English and not French is providing new lexical inputs for Patwa. Both Kriul and Patwa are adapting to European languages different to their formative lexical sources.

Earlier definitions of relexification,i.e. of a Portuguese pidgin becoming a Creole by adopting new European lexicon do not reflect the above exemplification. Relexification viewed as a regular inter-African language feature, involving a change of lexical input between languages of similar structural mould [10], provides a more suitable framework for the study of Creoles, much of whose structural moulds are African-derived.

Language prestige and other sociolinguistic factors are also relevant. The African Creoles have traditionally had a 'superior' status in relation to African languages while the Caribbean Creoles have had an 'inferior' status. Relexification [11] has been mainly prestige-motivated in Creole societies. E.g.Kriul, as the language of economically powerful Afro-Portuguese middlemen [12], was a language of prestige in the Casamance. This is relected in the few African language loans in Kriul (1) in contrast to the widespread use of Portuguese/Kriul loans in neighbouring African languages (2) [13] . The few African loans in Kriul are mainly Mandinka. This itself reflects the past prestige of Mandinka as the language of the Manding trade empire extending into the Casamance [14].

The present semi-official role of Wolof as a language of communication and as an expression of the Dakar-centred [15] state has aided the prestige of Wolof and its spread in Senegambia extending as far as Casamance. Encroaching Wolof influences upon Kriul (3) have been on this new background of prestige. The past prestige of Kriul is now expressed in terms of a Casamance regionalism and independence from a 'Wolof' centre of political diffusion. The past external prestige of Kriul has been translated into a present internal prestige in face of the new external prestige of Wolof [16]. Even pidginized French as spoken by Kriul-speakers shows evidence of such increasing Wolof influences (3).

The close relationship between prestige and linguistic change as described by Labov suggests the possible adoption of Labov's framework for such African/Creole language situations. However, the latter framework, in its focus on the use/non-use of a single prestige-related language item presupposes the widespread use of a single language, e.g. English in the Euro-American language situation. African/ Creole languages by contrast presuppose a varied language background in which the use/non-use of one or more languages of prestige is of sociolinguistic relevance. The exact domain(s) of such prestige languages would, however, need to be analysed in terms of its/their internal (diachronic) and external (synchronic) prestige. [17]

9. Mahoney, F. 1975:20.
10. Dalby, D., 1971:285.
11. As defined in the vocabulary, unless otherwise stated.
12. In the Atlantic Slave Trade, see p.
13. Abdoulaye, B., in conversation, S.O.A.S., 1979.
14. The Portuguese choice of Mandinka women as wives was not unrelated to a mutual interest in the profits of the Atlantic Slave Trade.
15. A Wolof centre in the mainly Wolof-speaking Northern Senegal.
16. See linguistic vocabulary.
17. E.g. the varying domains of past and present Kriul prestige.

Diachronic Yoruba lexical influences in the domain of culinary terms, for example, are suggestive of the past external prestige given to Yoruba by non-Yoruba Creoles. It is a prestige which has been translated into the present internal prestige of Yoruba-derived items in Krio as opposed to the external prestige of Wolof in the Senegambia.

In the Krio responses to my Oral Literature Questionnaire [18], Yoruba loans were more frequent in the song genre related to Christian marriage (in the speech of both younger and older speakers). In the Islamic Senegambia such a selective perpetuation [19] of Christian songs [20] is indicative of the present internal prestige of Yoruba-derived items in Krio [21]. The traditional association of a 'Christian' cultural background with Western European prestige and power suggests that the perpetuation of Yoruba loans in a specifically Christian song genre is related to a probable past role of Yoruba as a language associated with European/Christian power and prestige, at least in the eyes of non-Yoruba Freetonian Creoles.

The synchronic spread of Wolof as a language of external prestige in Senegambia has aided the predominance of Wolof loans in both formal and informal Krio. This contrasts with the more restricted lexical influences of English on modern Krio in the formal domains of education and government where English still enjoys some external prestige. These domains are, however, being encroached upon by Wolof and Mandinka.

Such changes of prestige and domain are motivating factors in relexification and vary with the different languages in contact. French in Senegal, for example, which, like English in Gambia, also enjoyed external prestige in the domains of government and education is also being gradually replaced by Wolof in these domains. It is these new Wolof influences which have partly resulted in the use of a pidginised French by Kriul speakers.

It is not unlikely that the diachronic external prestige of Mandinka, as the language of the Manding empire, encouraged the influence of Mandinka on the proto-Patwa structural mould. The past domains of French in St.Lucia as the language of power, government and education are now being taken over by English, the synchronic language of external prestige. A relexification of Patwa from French to English lexicon is in process. However, as Patwa has internal prestige in informal discourse, such 'English' relexification is mainly in the formal domains of government and education. In fact, English lexical items from these domains are themselves structured in terms of Patwa's mainly Wolof/Mandinka structural mould(3,8)

Upon such a complex background of varying lexical sources Labov's term 'hypercorrection' can also be usefully reconsidered in terms of Creole/African languages as an approximation towards another language due to its external prestige, involving also relexification as a regular inter-African language feature. For example, the high external prestige of Portuguese, English and French amongst early speakers of Kriul, Krio and Patwa respectively, has made them the 'target' languages for 'hypercorrecting' Creole speakers.The internal prestige of their indigenous

18. I am grateful to S.O.A.S., the University of London Central Research Fund and the Cassell Trust for support of my research, and to the Whiteley Fund for making it possible for me to attend this conference.

19. As opposed to non-Christian Wolof and Mandinka oral literature, also in the communicative competence of most Gambian Krio speakers.

20. A distinction is drawn between the term 'survival' as used in Dalby, D., 1972. where Africanisms in Jamaican Creole are viewed as having 'survived' the censorship of past plantation society. From a synchronic viewpoint where similar African items in the Creoles are being used as markers of internal prestige, the term 'perpetuation' seems preferable.

21. Many 'Aku' Creoles have Yoruba first or middle names in addition to European first and last names, e.g. Ayodele Allen, James Omo Thomas, etc. In Freetown, the Aku even regard themselves as Nigerians in exile.

African languages, in certain domains, has aided the survival of calques, convergences and loans in the Creoles.

Relexification [22], therefore, was partly the result of such hypercorrection in which massive borrowing of European lexicon originally became used in what was already an established inter-African language process [23]. It is a process which has continued in synchronic African/Creole language contacts, e.g. the relexification of Krio due to hypercorrection towards a prestigious Wolof [24]. By contrast, due to the strong internal prestige of Kriul [25], Wolof influences on Kriul are in terms of structural reinforcement alone, coupled with minimal French lexical influences in the domain of education. Patwa, which like Kriul has been politically separated from its formative European language, is showing greater signs of relexification as a result of Patwa speakers hypercorrecting [26] towards an internationally prestigious English.

'Decreolization' within this African/Creole context of varying lines of historical and linguistic force can no longer be viewed in terms of the influences of European languages upon the lexicon of established Creoles, as African languages are having their own 'decreolizing' impacts upon the Creoles, e.g. Wolof is 'decreolizing' Krio. These 'decreolizing' effects are not only in terms of relexification but are also affecting the structural moulds of the Creoles, either by reinforcement or structural replacement, e.g. in the case of Wolof influences upon Kriul and Krio structure respectively.

Such African influences upon Creole structural moulds suggest that changes in a Creole's structural mould constitute decreolization [27]. Changes of lexicon, e.g. the adoption of English lexicon in Patwa (20), do not constitute decreolization but a new lexical input into the African structural mould.

The formation of Island Carib from a Carib lexical input into an Arawak structural mould, has, similarly, mainly involved the relexification of Arawak towards the prestigious Carib lexicon of the 18C Carib (male) invaders of St.Lucia. The Arawak structural mould of their newly conquered women-folk survived. Such historically prior languages have had determining influences upon the structural moulds of subsequent languages; e.g. the Arawakan structural mould has converged with that of African languages (9) at certain points in the early development of Patwa.

In all the Creoles, including Island Carib, the earliest recorded language in the Creole's area of original development has often also been the original mother/home languages of the conquered group, e.g. Arawak in Island Carib, Mandinka in Kriul and Krio, Wolof/Mandinka in Patwa and Wolof in Mauritian Creole [28]. It is on their structures that the languages of the conquerors have been moulded.

A model for child-acquisition of language in the African/Creole context would need to emphasise the structural mould of mother/home language as the basis for the African/Creole's acquisition of lexical items from external/'father' languages. Such impact from historically prior contact languages upon Creoles are frequently convergent with that of the most widespread and prestigious language(s) of the Creole speakers [29], and are not totally unrelated to lexicon. Island Carib lexical

22. See linguistic vocabulary on p.1.
23. See p.4.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Wider interest in the Caribbean Creoles by indigenous educational élites and foreign scholars of international repute is having some modifying effects.
27. Another aspect of hypercorrection.
28. Baker, P., in conversation, S.O.A.S., 1976.
29. Mandinka in the formation of proto-Kriul and proto-Patwa.

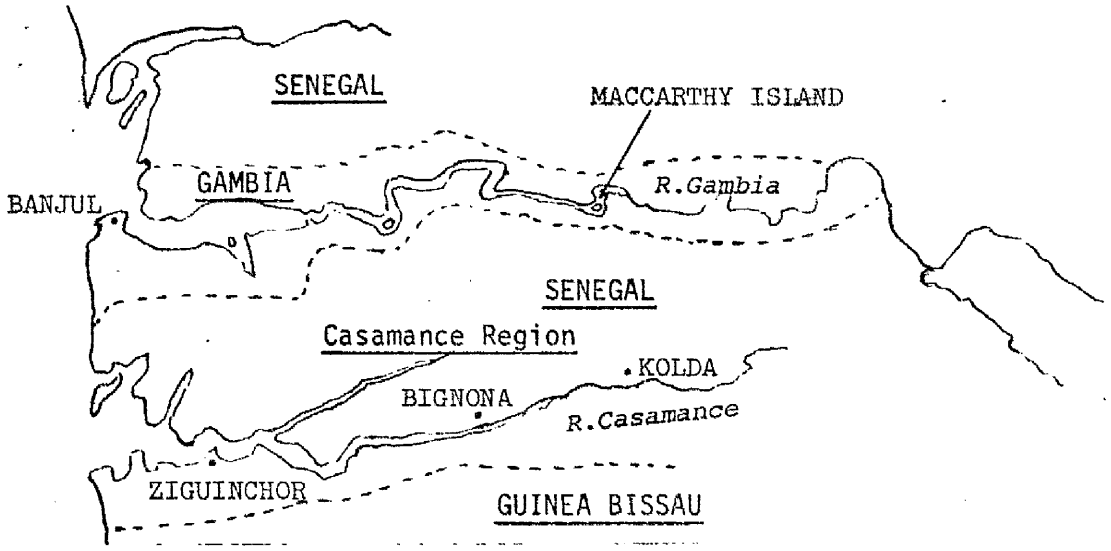
items surviving in Patwa (10), for example, are mainly flora and fauna terms reflecting the adoption of Island Carib lexicon by Africans in areas outside their former experience.

Given the mainly structural influences of historically prior languages upon the Creoles, the applicability of supposed 'universal' descriptive terms for Creole structural moulds can often be tested by seeing if the 'universal' is applicable to the structural mould of both the Creole and its past structural source languages. E.g.the term 'adjective' adopted from European language descriptions, i.e. as ∅ copula + adjective, has proved to be unsatisfactory on comparison with descriptions of African languages from which the term ADJECTIVAL VERB has more relevantly been included in descriptions of Creoles. Similarly, descriptions of the Patwa structure NOUN + DEFINITE ARTICLE can be based on a comparable Mandinka and Wolof structure (3). Psycholinguistics are also relevant to this theoretical framework. The slavery-based Creole societies censored the use of African lexical items by various methods, e.g.the wearing of an iron mask which blocked the mouth and the separation of people from the same ethno-linguistic groups,[30] coupled with the general 'inferior' status given to African lexical alternants to European items. Such censorship conflicted with the social need for a language of wider communication as well as with the African need to perpetuate traditional African perceptions by any means necessary. This conflict partly motivated the remoulding of European lexical items as calques (12) expressing such African perceptions or the preservation of African items as convergences (13) with European lexical items of similar shape (and meaning) in order to by-pass censorship. The few African loans (18) which survived reflect the extremity of censorship.

The presence of calques, convergences and loans in the Creoles in both the formative and synchronic stages point to their validity as descriptive terms.

Conclusion: Prior theoretical frameworks based on a Euro-centred view of lexical expansion are inadequate. The terms 'Portuguese-based', 'English-based' and 'French-based' are not representative of the African influences on Creoles which must be viewed en bloc, irrespective of surface differences, in order to delineate the common African lexical (and structural) influences which underlie them all.

30. Gisler, D.B., 1976:59-64.



Sketch Map indicating Ziguinchor and Banjul, the two areas in which Casamance Kriul and Gambian Krio respectively are now mainly spoken

1. Krio was formerly spoken by 18C Krio settlers in MacCarthy Island, the Gambia, but as these settlers have gradually merged with the surrounding Mandinka ethnic group, Krio is now a dying language spoken by a few older Creoles on the island.

2. Kriul is mainly spoken in the Santiaba quarter of Ziguinchor and in the Greguiss hamlet just outisde Ziguinchor by the resident Creoles, and in Bignona and Kolda by Creole families who have moved from Ziguinchor to these towns.

Appendix

KRIUL: (1) Of the relatively few African loans in Kriul, note the following Mandinka-derived items: Kriul jube -'to look at', Mandinka jubi -'to look at'; Kriul ksangkara -'roof', Mandinka kangkarang -'roof'. (2) Diola (Fogny) bai -'to go', Kriul bai - 'to go' cf.Portuguese vai -'goes'. Diola (Fogny) fɛra -'market', Kriul fɛra -'market', cf. Portuguese feira -'a fair, an open-air market'. (3) Kriul suffixes li and la indicating proximity and distance respectively, e.g.omi li -'this man', omi la -'that man', are being reinforced by Wolof nominal suffixes of the form C+i and C+a, including li and la, which also indicate proximity and distance respectively with convergent influences from ci and là in celui-ci and celui-là. These Wolof (and Kriul) influences are evident in the pidginized French spoken by Kriul speakers, e.g.lopital la -'the hospital'; mezɔ̃ la 'the house' and also point to the wider influences of singular and plural nominal suffixes in both Wolof and Mandinka, e.g.: Wolof jangha bi -'the girl', jangha ji -'the girls'; Mandinka sunggut o -'the girl', sunggut olu -'the girls'. (Cf.also the similar definite suffix la in Patwa and other French Creoles). (4) E.g.Kriul sabi -'to know'→ Krio sabi -'to know'; Kriul blai - 'basket'→Krio blai -'basket'.

KRIO: (5) Krio ɔpolo -'frog', cf.Yoruba ɔpɔlɔ -'frog'; Krio okoboloto -'impotence', cf. Yoruba okobo -'impotence'. (6) Krio a ndɛl misɛf -'I shaved myself', cf.Wolof ndɛɛl -'to be bald'; Krio yu na saisai man -'you are a profligate', cf.Wolof saisai -'a profligate'. (7) Krio di kau dɛm -'the cows'. Cf.the use of a separable plural marker corresponding to the 3rd.pl.pronoun in Bambara (interintelligible with Mandinka), e.g.misi '(the) cow', misi + u -'(the) cows'.

PATWA:(8) For grammatical structure note Patwa and Mandinka ka both = progressive and habitual marker. Also Patwa 1st.sing.ma, maa, mai 1st.sing.negative progressive/ habitual and negative future markers respectively. Cf.Mandinka mang - general negative marker. (9) Mandinka mang may have converged with Arawak/Island Carib m - negative marker. Suffixation of possessive pronouns is a feature of a number of African languages including Yoruba, Edo and Hausa, as well as of Island Carib. (10) Patwa zandoli - 'lizard', cf.Island Carib anoli -'lizard' (initial z from French les); Patwa mabuya - 'a grey-coloured lizard', cf.Island Carib maboya -'lizard'. (11) Patwa obya ~ obiya - 'spell'; cf.Twi obiafo -'a sorcerer' in which fo is a personal suffix, including probable convergence with Island Carib "Abienra: abiénragoüa, ensorceller". (12) Patwa ashte lamɛ -'to buy from someone' literally "to buy hand (from)". This is a widespread African construction, e.g. Hausa saya hannu and Mandinka sang bulu, both having the same literal meaning. (13) misye -'the man', 'mister', a term of address used for both friends and strangers, e.g.Patwa sa ka fɛt misye -"what Prog.do man"; cf.Black American 'What's happ'nin man'. Cf.also Mandinka cɛ and Wolof gɔr-gi -'man', similarly used as terms of address. French 'monsieur' has thus been extended to refer to friends. (14) mama u -"mother your", 'your mother', short for kukun mama u -'your mother's vagina'. This is the severest pan-African insult; cf.Hausa uwarka -'your mother!', short for ka ci uwarka -'(you) fuck your mother!'. Note also Black American 'mother-fucker'. The fact that women victims of the Atlantic Slave Trade were at the sexual mercy of white men may also have contributed to the force of the latter insult. (15) Patwa ʒa mwɛ̃ - 'my friend' is a putative convergence of French gens and the French name Jean with Mandinka/Bambara jɔng -'slave'. Like Black American 'John',ʒɑ̃ was probably influenced by the Mandinka/Bambara massa -'chief' versus jɔng -'slave' tales cycle. Cf.the Patwa ti ʒɑ̃ tales about a wily youth who defeats his social 'superiors'. Note also similar ti ʒɑ̃ tales in Martinique and Seychelles French Creoles. (16) Patwa jabal -'prostitute', 'paramour' is a putative meaning shift based on Wolof jabar -'wife'. Note also Patwa jamɛt -'loose woman', (a girl behaving like a) prostitute', with putative meaning shift from Wolof jam -'slave', plus French nominal suffix -ette. (17) ɛk -'and', cf.Wolof ak, probably influenced by French avec -'with' (which exists separately in Patwa: avɛk - 'with'). (18) Patwa bɔ̃da -'anus', 'backside'. Cf.Bambara boda, i.e.bo da "excrement hole", possibly strenthened by Hausa boodaddar -'buttocks'. (19) mɔlɔkɔi -'a lazy person', cf.Kongo moolo 'a lazy person'; m is a Class 1 prefix referring to human beings, the stem -olo- means 'lazy'. mɔlɔkɔi can be analysed putatively as: mɔlɔ kɔ i -"lazy body (French corps) his/her". Cf.also Palenquero Creole 'mambloyo' -'useless, lazy person' also of putative Kongo origin (Lewis, A.R., 1978:3, S.C.L.Conference papers). (20) Patwa dɛsk la -'the desk', bɔs la -'the bus'. Cf.lexical expansion from English/Krio and French in Gambian Mandinka, e.g. fiil o -'the field', ɔɔr o - 'the time' French 'l'heure'.

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'A Historical Background to the Development of Patwa in St.Lucia'

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Abstract

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATWA IN ST.LUCIA

This paper presents a historical background to Patwa's development in St.Lucia with particular emphasis on St.Lucian "Marronage", the influx of slaves from Martinique and elsewhere into St.Lucia and the "French Connection" which such immigrants reinforced in "French" St.Lucia.

Comment is made on the viability of African substratum and relexification theories within this historical context, as well as upon some of the present social and linguistic effects of this history.

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A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATWA IN SAINT LUCIA *

The earliest available reports [1] on the history of Saint Lucia index the island's history as one of turbulence and a frequent change of rulers. The English settlers brought to St.Lucia in 1639 were promptly chased off by the native Caribs; the Caribs in their turn were practically wiped out [2] by the French invading from Martinique, under the leadership of Governor Duparquet in 1640. Between 1640 and 1650, St.Lucia was firstly owned by the "Compagnie des Isles d'Amérique" and then by a Monsieur Dizel du Parquet who bought the island, as well as a few other islands from the "Compagnie" which was now bankrupt:

"Le 12 mai 1648..... la Compagnie... acablee de dettes..... decide de liquider son association en vendant son avoir: les Iles" [3]. "Dizel du Parquet acquiert le 22 septembre 1650 Martinique, Sainte Lucie, la Grenade et les Grenadines pour 41500 livres".

From 1650, the ownership of the island was contested by the British and French alone by means of treaties and, more often by wars; in 1664, Lord Willoughby sent 1000 Barbadians to St.Lucia who overpowered the French settlers but two years later were overpowered themselves by diseases and "native wars" [4]. In 1667, the French retook the island and in 1674 reannexed it to the French crown as a dependency of Martinique and, though French ownership was contested by the British in the years that followed, a peaceful arrangement was reached whereby the island was to be used for "restricted purposes" [1] only.

This arrangement was shattered in 1739 by the deployment of French troops on the island by the Marquis de Caylus; in 1748, peace was again arranged between the British and the French at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, where St.Lucia was declared neutral. This neutrality was broken by the Seven Years War which followed, during which St.Lucia surrendered to the British admiral Rodney; at the end of this war St.Lucia was given back to France.

However, like Helen of Troy, St.Lucia was destined to be the scene of further conflict between her eager suitors; in 1762, the British "occupent sans coup ferir la Grenade, Saint Vincent et Sainte Lucie" [5] with a force led by "Douglas et de Rodney". In 1778, presumably after another period of French control, Rodney again

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This is a preliminary paper and is not to be quoted without the author's permission. Note that an earlier version of this paper was first presented to the Comparative Seminar on African and Creole Languages, S.O.A.S., 1977.

retook the island, but, in 1783, it was restored to France at the Treaty of Versailles. The see-saw struggle continued, and in 1794, during the French Revolution, the British admiral Jervis took the island for Britain; it was subsequently recaptured by the Republican Victor Hughes for France, and then by Abercrombie for Britain, but in 1802, it was restored to France at the Peace of Amiens. Eleven years later, in about 1813, St.Lucia was ceded to Britain. The following are the conquests, either by war or by treaty: Caribs: one conquest; French: seven conquests; British: eight conquests.

From Rinchon [6] we ascertain that the slave population of St.Lucia in 1780 was approximately 20,000, and from Frossard [7] that the slave population in 1787 was 16,689, but by 1833, according to Rinchon [8], the slave population was only 13,348; this figure agrees with Curtin's 10,000 "and rising" graph indicating the number of slaves imported into St.Lucia between 1776 and 1834 [9].

From the reports of the Protectors of Slaves between July 1826 and December 1829 [10], we get the figure of 14,300 slaves for the 1826 population of St.Lucia, as well as interesting details about the past slave-society of St.Lucia. The overall impression of these records is the high frequency of the 'crime' of running away; for example, between the 1st.June and the 31st.December pf 1826, "Absconding, running away" [11] was the 'crime' committed most by the most slaves, i.e. by 120 male slaves and 20 female slaves, while 5 slaves were punished for "harbouring runaways" during the same period. Running away was also the 'crime' committed by the most slaves between the 1st.January and the 30th.June of 1827, i.e. by 131 male and 26 female slaves [12]; as it was also for the period between the 30th.June and 31st. December 1827, during which 97 male and 13 female slaves absconded and ran away; as well as for the period between the 1st.January and the 30th.June in which 83 male and 13 female slaves ran away.

Given the many forested areas in St.Lucia, the mountainous terrain in some areas which has only been opened up by road communication in fairly recent times [13]; running away was quite a feasible strategy, and, given the already existing bands of "maroon" or runaway slaves in these forests, a more pleasurable existence than slavery. It is from this experience that we get the ward [maw3] - runaway, and the phrase [nag maw3] - runaway, in St.Lucian Patwa. Unfortunately, in recent times these terms have the abusie meaning of 'ignorant, fool, silly', all of which are also partly coreferential with 'black' and 'African' in St.Lucian society.

Running away of "Marronage" was obviously not without its pains [14] as it was often undertaken for a period of a few months only in many cases, for example, the slave "Pierre who ran away for 5 months" and the slave Angelique who ran "away for more than a month in the woods"; both alluded to in the Half Yearly Returns from 30th.June 1827 to the 1st.January 1828 inclusive, of the records of the Protectors of Slaves.

The names of some of the slaves in these records, as wll as indicating the probable mockery of the masters, for example "Petit Pascal", "Janvier Jaloux" [15], are also possible indices of the areas in West Africa from which they were taken; for example the names St.Rose Mustapha and Louisa Galba (compare Hausa Garba) indicate an Islamic West African origin; the names Nanny [16], Cuffy and Adò, on the other hand, indicate the possible presence of Akan slaves from the Gold Coast, while the names Lucie Ibo [17] and Charles Congo [18] speak for themselves. The names Mandingo [19] and Pierre Senegal [20], on the other hand, indicate a Senegambian origin.

The records of the minutes of the St.Lucian Privy Council from 1826 to 1832 and the records of the Minutes of the Executive Council from its formation in March 1832 to February 1834 are not very indicative of such possible origins of the St. Lucian slaves, but are extremely good indices of the tremendous effect of Maroon [maw~] culture amongst the St.Lucian slaves; we are told that there "were a good many Maroon Slaves in the island" and that the British rulers in about 1826 were wondering:

"whether it would not have a good effect if it were to serve his Proclamation offering a free pardon to all who should return to their owners within a certain period, after which a General Detachment would be ordered out for their apprehension". [21]

This General Detachment was to some extent successful; for example:

"the Maroon Negro Henry killed by a detachment regularly authorised to go in pursuit of Maroon Slaves". [22]

The importance placed upon their effectiveness is evident. The authorities found it:

"proper to establish at Castries and Soufriere in addition to the present Police a Brigadier and 3 Archers at each of these towns with a salary of £3000 livres each per Annum and £2000 livres to each of the said archers in addition to the usual fees granted by Law for the capture of Runaway Slaves." [23]

Given that the "Allowance" of a high official such as the Protector of Slaves was £7,000 livres [24], it is an indication of the importance placed upon the threat of the [nεg maw5] to St.Lucian plantation society that, as seen below:

3 archers	@ £2,000 per year for Soufriere	= £6,000
3 "	@ £2,000 per year for Castries	= £6,000
1 Brgd.	@ £3,000 per year for Soufriere	= £3,000
1 "	@ £3,000 per year for Castries	= £3,000
	Total	£18,000

£18,000 should be spent purely upon counteracting the Maroon threat.

The threat of the Maroons is further indicated by the fact that "fees granted by law for the capture of Runaway Slaves" were made in addition to the salary of these Regular Detachments which must have been in existence in parts of the island other than Castries and Soufriere. Note that these Regular Detachments for Castries and Soufriere:

"should be exempt from the performance of all Militia duties".[25]

Given the strength of Maroon culture in St.Lucia, it is likely that the development of Patwa owed as much, if not more, to the slaves than to the masters. As a common language of the St.Lucian slaves it must have been an extremely important means of communication for the runaways and for the perpetuation of runaway culture. Bands of slaves living in the forests away from plantation society are likely to have contributed other dimensions to the development of Patwa than those of plantation society where the culture of the masters was paramount, both in the minds of the plantation slaves and those of their masters.

Further, given that running away, as suggested earlier, was carried out for short periods by many slaves, it is likely that even the slaves who spent most of their lives on the plantations would have had some acquaintance with the Maroon culture of the perpetual runaways.

Given that British political domination in St.Lucia had lasted since 1813, it is likely that in 1827 some of their linguistic dominance and, as a consequence, some of their political dominance was avoided by the Maroon slaves speaking Patwa.

This French connection of the St.Lucian Maroons as a dimension of their perpetuation of an Afro-Caribbean alternative to plantation society culture and language is based upon fact as well as conjecture; for example, the famous case of the "Negro named Cyrile [26] who had escaped from Martinique" in 1828 and even had the audacity to perform actions causing him to be:

"accused of having been concerned in poisoning some Slaves at Martinique and had also been in the habit of Selling Drugs without Licence since his arrival" [26] in St.Lucia, having disembarked upon the coast in a canoe" [26]; apart from indicating the easy communication available between St.Lucia and neighbouring Martinique (24 miles), it is only an individual example of the Martinico-St.Lucian Maroon route. This route is ironically alluded to in Patwa: [pas - pa - tɛ] - 'pass by land', an ironic name for Martiniquan immigrants in St.Lucia [27] which preserves the comment that the first Maroon immigrants in St.Lucia:

[te pase pa glo]

- 'had come by water'.

As well as Curtin's [28] short note that St.Lucia was looked upon as the haven of many Runaway Slaves, the Privy and Executive Council records are specific;

for example, in 1830 the:

"Honourable members called his Excellency's attention to the frequent arrivals in this Island of runaway slaves from Martinique and their numbers being started to have increased to an alarming extent, and fearing that some evil consequences may arise there from, that they may materially affect the morality of the Slaves in this Island .... to his Majesties government that the colony may be relieved of them" [29],

while even as late as 1832, the Privy and Executive Council still indicate the problem of the tradition of Martinico-St.Lucian Marronage in St.Lucia:

"The Council proceeds to the further consideration of the proclamation for repressing and discouraging the ingress of Fugitive Slaves from Foreign Settlements" [30].

"The evidence of Refugees who have arrived from Martinique previous to the passing of the act proposed" [30],

"The Council proceeded to the further consideration of a proclamation for the refusing and discouraging of fugitive slaves from foreign settlements". [31]

Whatever the illusions of the Martiniquan slave about greater freedoms available in St.Lucian plantation society, the difficulty of inter-communication within St.Lucia in the recent past [32] was a feature which made Marronage in St. Lucia as feasible as Jamaican Marronage in the Blue Mountains; as the records for 26th.May 1832 indicate:

"the frequency of the Crime of Running Away amongst the slaves of this Island and the Physical Circumstances of the Country rendering it difficult, if not impossible to arrest fugitive slaves, it is necessary .... to repress this practice".

This Martinico-St.Lucian link, though possibly justifying the statement of a French colleague at the A.U.P.E.L.F. Conference of 1976 at Nice ("la perpétuation de la Créolophonie est une perpétuation de la Francophonie"), indicates also the presence of common factors among the slaves, from the linguistic to the genetic, other than the French language. Slaves from both Martinique and St.Lucia, both living in the St.Lucian forests as Maroons, would have to develop a culture substantially different from Martiniquan and St.Lucian plantation societies in order to guarantee their mutual survival. These common factors would of necessity be of an Afro-Caribbean dimension.

The Relexification thesis which, by pointing to common syntactic structure [33] between the Crioulo of Senegambia and the Caribbean creole languages, and which holds that the French Caribbean creoles are creoles in which the Crioulo syntactic structure has been preserved, but the Portuguese-derived lexical items

have been repoaced by French-derived lexical items, would find good grounds for justification in this historical context. What is more common to both St.Lucian and Martiniquan slaves, apart from a common African origin in Senegambia where the Afro-Portuguese middlemen [34] did much of their slave trading in the Crioulo language? The meeting of Martiniquan and St.Lucian [nɛg mawɔ̃] in the relative isolation from St.Lucian and Martiniquan plantation culture provided by the St.Lucian landscape is only a possible opportunity for high relexification of Crioulo structure by French-derived lexical items common to both Martiniquan and St.Lucian slaves.

This common origin, culture and language is of pertinent relevance to the St.Lucian historical situation where in the earliest years in which St.Lucian Patwa was first being developed, namely between 1640 and 1813, the changes of ownership between British and French slave-masters were frequent.For this frequency of change between British and French domination not to have affected the basic structure of St.Lucian Patwa, and to have left its structure nearly equivalent to the Martiniquan creole language (developed mainly under French domination) necessitates a preservation of linguistic structure other than English or French in the linguistic competence of St.Lucian and Martiniquan slaves. An African sub-stratum [35] theory,and a straight Relexification hypothesis can both be easily accommodated by such historical evidence.

This Martinico-St.Lucian slave route is also alluded to by living Martiniquans whose slave-master ancestors had sent a slave to St.Lucia by boat in order to save this slave from severe punishments in Martinique [36].

This route was not one-way only, and whatever illusions the Martiniquan slaves held of St.Lucia as a haven, the St.Lucian slaves only duplicated them in their zealous attempts to run away to Martinique; for example, such an attempt, although unsuccessful, is referred to in the Privy and Executive Council records for the 6th.of October 1832:

"Eight of the slaves of his Estate, the Roseau, were missing last night, and are supposed to have embarked in a canoe for Martinique" [37]

They were apprehended by seamen authorised to do so, as indicated by the testimony of one of these seamen:

"About five this morning I came up with the Boat, detached to Seaward, which had met with a Canoe off the Margot des Roseaux with Thirteen Slaves on Board - twelve belonging to the Perle Estate and one to the Bois d'Orange Estate". [37]

The possible mutual influences between the St.Lucian and Martiniquan creole languages can however only be further attested by an analysis of the past records for Martinique in which I should expect some reference to St.Lucian [nɛg mawɔ̃] in

Martinique and Martiniquan [nɛg maw3] successfully escaping to St.Lucia. The link of French culture between these slaves is, however, not an argument to be ignored; as early as 1639 when French troops invaded St.Lucia from Martinique, the first Martinico-St.Lucian links were forged; this was followed by the 1674 reannexation of St.Lucia to the French crown as a dependency of Martinique and culminated with a period of French cultural ascendency between 1651 and 1793 where, with a gap in 1667, for the English governor Faulk's last year of office [38], 36 French governors ruled St.Lucia. The governor most responsible for the French cultural and material development of St.Lucia in this period was the governor Laborie [38].

The cultural supremacy of France within St.Lucia as well as being alluded to in 1814, when St.Lucia could be described as French in "language, manners and feeling" [39], is also well attested; the place-names of the island, for example, have remained French even after long periods of English colonization; for example, Vieux-Fort, Dauphin and Gros Islet, and, even under British domination, French titles such as "Procureur du Rol"[40] as well as French names for English currency were used by the British administrators themselves: "the sum of £200 livres" [41] (my underlining).

Political co-operation between French-ruled Martinique and British-ruled St.Lucia in 1827 was so cordial that at least one case of repatriation was amicably dealt with:

> "a slave now at Martinique... and it is satisfactorily proved that the Slave name Pauline is a Creole of St.Lucia and all her relations are still here and as on apreceeding occasion his Majesty's Government were pleased to recommend that another slave in similar circumstances should be allowed to return to the island and be registered as a slave of this Colony..... in the meantime that the Slave be allowed to return to the island"[42].

In fact, so cordial was this relationship that a potential conflict between a French "schooner" [43] and a British vessel in St.Lucian waters was avoided:

> "the very handsome conduct of Capt.Jacob, Commander of the Sloop Jeremie, in declining to receive any remuneration for the injury done to this vessel by the act of Captain Irailland, of the French Schooner Argus in consequence of the large family of Captain Irailland" [43].

In fact, even an account of this encounter was also given:

> "to the governor of Martinique and a very satisfactory explanation... had been made both to the British flag...".

Despite this extreme cordiality between the French rulers of Martinique and the rulers of British-dominated St.Lucia, the extereme cultural dominance of France in St.Lucia and the resultant cultural rejection of British values is not one to

be underestimated, even up to this present day, after many years of British political domination.

According to the records even by 1827 [44], fourteen years after the advent of British rule, both the Laws of France and of England were important in the legislature of this now British territory:

"the age of Majority should be reduced to 21 years as was at present to the rule both in England and France" [45].

Even concerning the length of time within which contracts might by annulled, French custom is alluded to in detail:

"...the term settled by many of the ancient customs of France exclusive of the customs of Paris" [45].

By 1832 the question of French cultural dominance is undisputed even by the British rulers, who argue that the office of Judge of the Police-court in St.Lucia necessitates knowledge of French law; for example, the complaint of a leading St. Lucian citizen in 1832 is one of descrimination being practised against him because of his alleged lack of knowledge about French law:

"... justified his opinion of my unfitness for the Office of Judge of the Police Court first, because he conceives me ignorant of the French Law" [46].

Indeed in the institution of the law, nowhere else are the Francophonic rites of justice copied in more detail than in the British-ruled St.Lucia of 1832; the title of the Chief Justice is that of the Chief Justice in France - the "Sénéchal" ("performed by the Senechal or President of the Court"), and even his jurisdiction the "Sénéchaussée" was mimicked in St.Lucia: "the Court of the Sénéchaussée" [48].

Given this extreme influence of French institutions and culture in the St. Lucian past, the defensive attitude of the past British rulers towards French culture in St.Lucia is not surprising. This, by the way, follows from the fact that even under British rule many of the masters of the plantations and the member of the élite were French. For example, the "Honourable" "Gaillard Delablanque" [49] and "Mr.Le Chantre the Deputy Grelfier of the Court" [50].

This dominance of French culture is one that was possibly shared by the St. Lucian slaves as well as the St.Lucian slave-masters. Given the French ideology of assimilation as compared to the Germanic ideology of racial separation of the British, it is not surprising that the slaves should have had greater access to French rather than British culture. St.Lucian situated French culture, therefore, has possibly always had an influence upon the St.Lucian slave-masters in any wish to identify themselves as autonomous and separate from the Metropolis, whether English or French [51].

As far as the slaves were concerned this possible greater access to French culture was firstly no doubt easier for slaves originating from a Crioulo-speaking Senegambia as the Latin culture and language of the Portuguese half-castes was closer to French than it was to English. Note for example the greater similarity between Patwa [bɔ̃] and Crioulo [bɔ̃ni:tu] as compared to English [gud].

This access to French culture has resulted in a mainly Afro-French culture in St.Lucia. For example, when a Césaire speaks of "a bowl full of oils, a candle-end with a dancing flame" [52], are we brought to an African present and past of of non-Christian icon- and ancestor-worship or to the Catholic past and present of the French, or to a new culture in which both are reflected?

The St.Lucian [fɛt la wɔz] itself is indicative of the Afro-French cultural syncretism; whatever the French origins of this "fête", the sudden rhythmic dancing in a room around tables on which jars full of roses were placed, to the chanting of [wɔz, la wɔz, wɔz, la wɔz] shows a definite African element in the mode of performance despite its European content [53].

Given this cultural and linguistic access of the St.Lucian slaves to Afro-French culture, it only follows that Patwa was the language of revolt, African perpetuation and of African religions in St.Lucia, the words [vudu] (Voudun), [tʃɛ̃-bwa] or [kɛ̃-bwa] (sorcery), for example, were and are identified with Patwa rather than English in St.Lucia. Breen's description of a group of about twelve slaves about to be hanged for the 'crime' of revolting against slavery is also exemplary in that he describes one such slave about to be hanged, who sheds "a single tear" which for Breen [54] indicated a sudden realization by the slave that [kɛ̃-bwa] would not save him.

Breen's other description of a slave who, because he believed the witch-doctor who told him that he would be invulnerable to harm, willingly allowed himself to be condemned to certain punishment, is another aspect of the African experience which only has lexical indices in Patwa.

An analysis of past language policies in St.Lucia also indicates the cultural ascendency of France in the island and the resultant linguistic syncretism between French and African languages in the development of Patwa; the first comment made on language policy in the records is in 1832 when St.Lucia was under British rule:

> "On the Governor's enquiring what proportion do the Slave proprietors or managers of this Island understand the French language only, bear to those understanding English, they were calculated at about two thirds" [55].

This "carte blanche" for the ascendency of the French language in a British-ruled territory is reflected by the practice of translating laws from English into French for the purpose of what is possibly the majority of the population - French-speakers:

> "... It had hitherto been the usage of the Royal Court to have all Laws

translated into French previously to their being registered in the Royal Court, and in no former instance had any Law been registered in the English Language"[56] (my underlining).

In such a multi-lingual society, the frequent use of interpreters was a logical consequence:

"Mr.Taggart the Sworn Interpreter being sent for, admitted that he received the Law of 2nd.November 1831 as also that of 20th.June 1831 for translating into French... Mr.Taggart replied that having other translations to make, he did not think that he could individually translate those orders in Council in less than three or four weeks" [56] (my underlining)

The arguments between interpreters and their employees as well as being a testimony to human quarrelsomeness also indicate that the standard of French spoken in St.Lucia was of a high if not meticulous standard; for example, we note a case where, pertaining to "the Registry of this Translation", it was suggested "that the registration should only be provisional in consequence of the numerous errors contained therein"[57].

Even if this wish for linguistic perfection is explained as the necessary care devoted to the translation of all official documents, one has to admire the wish to preserve the French language in a British territory where all such documents would be read by French-speaking slave-masters, whose memories of France should have begun to fade.

Language-use, as well as being effective (for example: the "using in the public court house language calculated to excite the slaves of the Island to Rebellion" [58] by the "protector of slaves"[58]) was, for this period, unquestionably a French-benefiting affair. For example:

"... the Order in Council of the 2nd.November 1831, be promulgated in the French language, which they are of the opinion will supersede the necessity of publishing further on that head..." [59]

"[the] Sitting of 26th.May 1832 [60]... bearing the date 2nd.November 1831, was directed to be published in English and French for the information of the community" [60].

The implied value attached to bilinguals, e.g.:

"I have the occasional assistance of a young Gentleman versant in both languages" [61],

and what seems to be cutting criticism within this context:

"Mr.Grant knew nothing either of the laws of France, or its language" [62] (my underlining),

also point to the importance of French in St.Lucia of 1832.

Whatever its influences, whether French, West African or Portuguese, it is evident that, as well as the neighbouring island of Martinique, other islands were

influenced by the Afro-French culture and language of the St.Lucian slaves, as well as influencing the St.Lucian slaves by means of this same language and culture. For example, Trinidad French Creole,which is now a dying language, was probably influenced by the past ingress of "refugees" from St.Lucia:

"The Procureur General began to make an observation that the removal to Trinidad could not be viewed by the Refugees at present in this island as any punishment, because a great many of these persons have quitted St.Lucia and returned to that Colony, where they had established themselves" [63].

As with the case of Martinique, the influences were mutual; St.Lucia was the catch-point of runaway slaves from as far afield as Trinidad:

"The Honourables Peter Smith, Peter Mater and Gaillard Delabenque strongly objected to the Refugee Slaves being punished for that offence, being sent to Trinidad, as they conceive it will tend in no way to deter them from visiting this colony, but they approve of their being sent to Sierra Leone at the Expense of Government" [64] (my underlining).

The development of St.Lucian Patwa could only have benefited from the ingress of Trinidadian slaves some of whom also spoke a French Creole.

This reference to St.Lucia as a haven for runaway slaves is an interesting myth. Like all myths it must have had substance as well as popular currency amongst slaves from neighbouring islands. It is obviously nothing to do with the leniency of French as opposed to English slave-masters, as slaves from French-ruled Martinique and British-ruled St.Lucia both wanted to flee to the island opposite (St.Lucia for Martiniquan slaves and Martinique for St.Lucian slaves).

Perhaps an explanation would be the classic psychology of "the grass is greener on the other side" and the necessary illusion for all slaves throughout history, from Spartacus's band or the Israelites to the more recent African slaves, that somewhere in this world or the next is a "promised land" which just has to be better than the one the slave finds himself in. After all no future land either in time of space could be any worse.[65]

Psychology apart, the terrain of St.Lucia, which even in present times is difficult, high mountains and deep forested valleys in most areas, with the exception of areas near the coast where the deltaic alluvial deposits of rivers have created areas of flat land. This was probably definitely a defendable or inhabitable haven for the slaves who managed to run away into these valleys within St.Lucia, and, on the theory that nothing succeeds like success, it is not surprising that slaves from other islands, among them Martinique and Trinidad, would take a chance for survival's sake and go to where at least the fable of an alternative to slavery was said to originate - St.Lucia.

Given the prominence of St.Lucia as a runaway catchment area, the Maroon [maw$] influences upon St.Lucian Patwa by groups of slaves living in the forest

is not to be underestimated; possibly the present-day predominance of Patwa in rural areas, [hɔtɛ], as opposed to its slow death in the urban area of Castries, has been influenced by this situation as well as by the natural wish to master international languages, English being the most accessible, by any urabn as opposed to rural population. Another possible outcome of this past situation is the genetic classification [nɛgʒẽne] [66] 'blue'-black negroes who are often mainly of rural origin; e.g.from the rural area of [dewisol] (Desrisseaux).

This reference to the possible exportation of St.Lucian slaves to Sierra Leone, if it was acted upon("approve of their being sent to Sierra Leone at the Expense of the Government" [67]) may possibly explain the origin of some of the French-derived lexical items in Sierra Leonean Krio as well as reasserting part of the geographical dimension in which African-derived creole languages had their most prominent influences.

Apart from this suggested punishment of being sent back to Africa, other punishments were devised to restrain the culture of "Marronage" in St.Lucia itself such as "a rigid penal enactment to repress this practice" [68] entailing a system of corporal punishment for the first and second offence and "Chain Gang for life on the third offence for both men and women slaves". The severity of these punishments in fact only index the audacious traditional tenacity of the African in surviving under any circumstances; despite these threats they continued to search for freedom by running away from slavery.

The Journals of the Legislative Council from 1835-1839 bear out the previously described historical background to Patwa. For example, the 1835 "Ordinance respecting refugee slaves from Foreign Colonies which was read... repressing and punishing the illegal intrusion of fugitive alien Slaves into the Colony of Saint Lucia" [70]. They also allude to the tradition of "Marronage" in St. Lucia as well as testifying to the Martiniquan connection in St.Lucian culture:

> "The Procureur General laid on the Table a Draft Ordinance respecting Martinique refugees" [71].

and to the maintenance of French culture in a British-ruled St.Lucia; for example, the maintenance of the Catholic Church, introduced into St.Lucia by the French rulers, seems to be of importance even under British rule as seen from the same records [72].

These records also indicate the high probability that many of the rulers of St.Lucia after 1813 were French not only in "culture and manners" but in blood also. This is also testified by the possibly French influences on the use of English by the Clerk making the various records, for example, the "Procureur General"[73](compare the English "procurer").

These journals,however, indicate other interesting dimensions of the history of language in St.Lucia. For example, the entrenched nature of "Marronage" in St. Lucian culture seems to have had a great influence upon even subsequent plantation society itself as even "Apprenticed Labourers" began to follow this African slave innovation:

"An Ordinance preventing and punishing persons harbouring and employing runaway Apprenticed Labourers" [74] (my underlining).

The first reference to Anglo-French conflict in St.Lucia on the basis of differences in culture is referred to in 1835: "... the impossibility of administering the existing French Laws" [75] by a court designed for British laws "... by a court constituted totally different from that to which the execution of these laws was originally confided" [75].

From about 1835 St.Lucian society becomes transformed away from a classic slave-orientated and slave-concerned society [76] towards a proletariatizing society concerned with the laws of supply and demand for labour and with the question of whether economic profit can still be derived by the importation of labour as well as the need of all investors to ascertain the price of labour:

"The Sugar Planter in this Colony has no prospect in view of improving his condition by bringing into the colony free labourers[77]... an apprentice is... rated at twenty one pounds sterling each" [78].

This possible economic non-viability of the imporation of free labour has no doubt been responsible for the present lack of any large population of Indians or Chinese in St.Lucia at present; the numbers of those imported were not large enough for them to form ethnic minorities capable of having a distinctly separate identity in St.Lucia. The island's descendants are predominantly of African, European (mainly French), Indian, Amerindian and Chinese genetic stock in that order of importance; race relations have consequently usually been good as these minorities have never constituted a threat to the status of the generally African-descended population and economic power is in the hands of Mulattoes, 'Blue'-blacks, Whites, Indians, Syrians and Chinese alike. This is not to say that the society is at present or has been in the past free from racially defined conflicts; it is merely that given the frequent inter-marriages across these ethnic boundaries, no individual or group can be free of blood-ties with other ethnic groups.

The Mulatto/'Blue'-black traditional jealousy and enmity, although still evident, is dying a slow death, firstly because given inter-marriage mulattoes cannot remain pale for long - they soon become brown. It is often the disease of mental inferiority-complexes disguised by superiority-complexes and evident in statements such as: "My grandfather was white and white people are much better than black people"[79] which present the past and present areas of potential conflict in St.Lucian society for all ethnic groups.

Although this seems extra-linguistic, it is of paramount importance in the consideration of African- influenced Patwa in St.Lucia which has traditionally been looked at as the language of the 'inferior' blue-blacks[80], the 'savages', the dreaded link with the African exported [nɛgʒɛ̃ne], and was officially discouraged, for example "the Mico teacher who used to go in the street by night flogging any boy heard speaking Patwa" [81], and the Barbadian educationalist who referring to Patwa said: "... After all Patwa is not a language". [81].

However, given what we all know about the past structure of West Indian societies: whites at the top ruling the blacks at the bottom, with the miscegenated mulattoes as the 'middle' class, it is not surprising that this past and present attitude to Patwa is the logical consequence. However, it is easy for an educationalist to see the uselessness and psychological drag consciously and unconsciously placed upon the minds of the future leaders of St.Lucian society - the present-day children, by negative and hostile attitudes to Patwa.

This attitude towards Patwa is, logically, extended to the [vudu] and [kɛ̃-bwa] practices in the island; these vestiges of African religions are looked on with fear and again characterized by all that is 'evil' and 'blue-black' in St. Lucia; for example, the St.Lucian priest who took it as his God-given duty to warn an islander about his grandfather, becuase his grandfather is a local herbalist.[82].

However, this overtly hostile attitude to these religions,many of whose rites are conducted in Patwa, is often only traditional African lip-service, as even some of the educated élite, though Western-educated, also find that some of their needs can only be satisfied by the herbalist.

Further, as Alleyne[83] points out, this hostility to Patwa can be given the indices of class, in which case the élite often speak Patwa as a second language while the mass speak in Patwa most of the time. This has the result that the mass, when not needing to pacify their inferiority-complexes by saying that [vudu] and Patwa are bad, in the presence of a social superior, are themselves practitioners ov [vudu] and Patwa; all the petty scandals of the colonized destroying themselves instead of the originators of their colonization only find fulfilment in paying the herbalist to send a spell on their 'enemy' or to get rid of a spell sent upon them by their 'enemy' and are all avidly conducted in Patwa.

Patwa-orientated [vudu] and the associated practices of faith-healing are not always in terms of doing harm; for example, the majority of herbal medicines in St.Lucia, their mixture and their uses are often locked in the secrecy-orientated brains of St.Lucian herbalists while faith-healing by prayer and rubbing with soft-candle are also successful practices without evil consequences [84].

Alleyne, in giving his class-indices to the use of Patwa, however, suggests that because of traditional dislike of Patwa preached by the élite, Patwa will die

out. I agree with him that Patwa could die out but not for this reason. As long as the society is as rigidly stratified as it is, with upward mobility being extremely exceptional, then this traditional alienation of Patwa by the élites as the language of the poor only serves to perpetuate Patwa among the poor, who will have no alternative language or culture as long as class structure is as rigid and upward mobility as unlikely as Alleyne suggests. The social rejection of one group by another often only serves in making that group look within itself for the things that it desires. In linguistic terms as long as English-taught education is reserved for the élites only, the mass will have no part to play in it, and will consequently only use the language in which they conduct most of their social intercourse - Patwa.

Sadly, the alienation of some of the élites from Patwa culture only marks thier alientation from their own history, characterized as it was by all the exuberance of African and Latin culture as indicated for example in the traditional dress of St.Lucian women: "... you have the head-dress set-off by the brilliant colours of the Madras henkerchief, erected into a pyramid or cone... the embroidered bodice... the striped jupe... a profusion of bracelets and bouquets of foulards and favours" [85].

The whole tragedy of anyone alienated from their past is that they may not be able to propose solutions to problems of the present; there is no doubt in any linguist's mind that some of the past and present difficulties of St.Lucian children in the acquisition of the English language are derived from negative attitudes by the educational system to their mother-tongue - Patwa.

The Administration Reports of 1895-1904 make it clear that this past hostile attitude towards Patwa was firstly part of past language policy:

"Patois is to be used as little as possible" [86]

in primary schools, which, although recognizing the necessity to have recourse to Patwa for:

"... better understanding of an item"

"... where the explanation of a word or sentence cannot be conveyed in English it is certainly allowable to explain it in Patois"

was still unfortunately based upon limited information; for example, the linguistic phenomena of simplification [87] which characterize both the historical derivation and the morphology of many creole languages seem to be totally lost upon the administrator who possibly despairingly writes of the linguistic behaviour of St. Lucian children in primary school:

"...the omission of initial and final letters is still too common".

A linguistic analysis would indicate that a population who, from their very origins as slaves in Senegambia possibly learnt Crioulo - a modified Portuguese, then in St.Lucia learnt Patwa - a modified French, would possibly find it normal

to modify English by dropping the inflections which would play no part in the non-inflected African or creole languages they were used to. The ironic fact is that even if Patwa does die as a result of this past language policy, it is extremely likely that a creolised English having Patwa structure will result. The tragedy of the West Indian linguistic Othellos, both past and present, is that they love the languages of their past slave-masters "too well".

However, as to the results of the linguistic aspect of educating the St. Lucian child in English, the Administration Reports indicate a detailed knowledge on the part of the administrators; although the children: "know their books by heart... it was possible to take away the book, and he or she would continue to the end of the lesson without missing a word". Yet "when particular words were pointed to here and there, they could not tell what they were". Given that English was a foreign language to these children, it is only logical, for me at any rate, that though they were as adept in oral retention as were the present older generation of St.Lucian Catholics in fervently reciting the Latin Mass, they had as little background in this foreign language as did the older generation of Latin.

However, as long as social structure in the West Indies is based upon the psychologically false premise that the white race is superior to the black race: "In the third vital statistics for the West Indies..... the proportion of Blacks was higher than the census figures reveal"... "this is due to preference for the designation 'Coloured' to the designation 'Black'" [88], then hostile and ignorant attitudes are the logical consequence, after all where such a psychology is prevalent, who would be so illogical as to admit to being a [nɛg ʒẽne], an ancestor of [nɛg mawɔ̃], practitioner of [vudu] and a speaker of Patwa. This inferiority complex of the man is indexed by the labelling of his language as inferior.

To believe that one has been made in the image of the devil with 'bad' hair with a 'dark' complexion is to believe also that one speaks a 'bad' language. Our ancestors, African, French, Indian, Carib and Arawak deserve a better future: [nu ni pu vĩnĩ pli kɔ̃fɔtab ã lapo nu ɛk ã laŋ mãmã nu epi laŋ papa nul - Patwa.

NOTES

1. Ridgeway, A., 1945.
2. According to Ridgeway, they were totally wiped out, but even as a child in St. Lucia, I was under the impression that they were to be found in the area around Canaries, and were skilled at making implements in clay such as pots. Being myself part-Carib, I am slightly doubtful that they were "wiped out"; and further, Kuczynski, in his Demographic Survey of the British Empire, gives census figures for St.Lucia in 1946 where he alludes to 13% Carib population.
3. Martin, G., 1948: 14.
4. Ridgeway, A., 1945. Presumably this is a reference either to the Caribs who were supposedly "wiped out", or to factional wars among the Barbadian invaders.
5. Martin, G., 1948: 133.
6. Rinchon, D., 1929: 96.
7. Frossard, 1789: Volume 1, page 346.
8. Rinchon, D., 1929: 103.
9. Curtin, P.D., 1969: 65-66.
10. The Public Records Office, henceforth P.R.O.
11. Reports of the Protectors of Slaves from July 1826 to December 1829, pp.58-59.
12. Ibid., page 61.
13. See Alleyne, M.C., 'Language and Society in St.Lucia', 1961: 1-2.
14. See the experience of Montejo in 'Autobiography of a runaway slave'.
15. Reports of the Protectors of Slaves, 1826-1829: 21.
16. Ibid., pages 31-32, 40, 7.
17. Ibid., page 4.
18. Ibid., page 35.
19. Ibid., page 8.
20. Ibid., page 47.
21. Records of the Privy and Executive Councils (P.R.O.), 1826-1834: 24-25, 30, 38.
22. Ibid., page 46.
23. Ibid., pages 46-47.
24. Ibid., page 25.
25. Ibid., pages 46-47.
26. Records of the Privy and Executive Councils, 1826-1834: 7.
27. See Breen's 'History of Saint Lucia'.
28. Curtin, P.D., 1969: 65-66.
29. Records of the Privy and Executive Councils, 1826-1834: 52.
30. Ibid., page 9.
31. Ibid., page 11.
32. See Alleyne, M.C., 'Language and Society in Saint Lucia', 1961: 1-2.
33. Dalphinis, M., 1977, 'A synchronic Comparison the Verbal System of Saint Patwa and Guinea Crioulo , seminar paper, S.O.A.S., Africa Department.
34. Rodney, W., 'A history of the Upper Guinea Coast'.
35. Comhaire-Sylvain, S., 1936.
36. Personal communication.
37. Records of the Privy and Executive Councils, 1826-1834: 58-60.
38. Ridgeway, A., 1945.
39. Alleyne, M.C., 1961: 2.
40. Records of the Privy Council, 1826-1834: 43.
41. Ibid., page 46.
42. Ibid., page 24.
43. Records of the Privy Council, 1826-1834: 36-37.
44. Ibid.and the Records of the Minutes of the Executive Council from its formation in March 1832 to February 1834.
45. Records of the Privy and Executive Councils for 1827, page 14.
46. Records of the Privy and Executive Councils for 1832, page 27.
47. Ibid., page 97.
48. Ibid., page 89.
49. Ibid., page 11.
50. Ibid., page 53.
51. See Alleyne, M.C., 1961: 3.
52. Césaire, A., 1969: 47. This 'Catholic' practice is part of both Martiniquan and St.Lucian culture. See also the 'Petit Larousse' dictionary: "veine".

53. Apart from the tables, there was nothing else in the room; the doors were kept wide open, and anyone wanting to celebrate could enter, dance, chant and leave whenever he/she felt like it. See also Breen's reference to [la wɔz].
54. See Breen's 'History of Saint Lucia' and Alleyne's article of 1961.
55. Records of the New Legislative Council for 1832, page 57.
56. Records of the New Legislative Council for 1832: pages 53-56.
57. Ibid. Note, however, that the 'errors' may have been simple mistranslations in the text.
58. Ibid, page 60.
59. Ibid., page 64.
60. Ibid., page 68.
61. Ibid., page 80.
62. Ibid., page 42.
63. Ibid., pages 11-12.
64. Ibid., page 11.
65. Another advantage in running away to another island would be that no one on the 'new island' would be able to identify the immigrant slave. If the slave had committed any 'crimes' on his home island then going to a new island would have been a very sensible strategy.
66. This word indexes the wide area of West Africa called the Guinea([dʒine]) Coast during the Atlantic Slave Trade, that is unless the word is taken to mean Djenna, where there was a slave port.
67. Records of the New Legislative Council, 1832: 11.
68. Records of the New Legislative Council's sitting of May 1832, page 75.
69. Records of the Legislative Council, 1835-1839, page 5.
70. Ibid., page 49.
71. Ibid., pages 39 and 42.
72. Ibid., page 23.
73. Ibid., page 39.
74. Ibid., page 47.
75. Ibid., page 46.
76. See Dr.Eric Williams' 'Capitalism and Slavery' for an excellent economic analysis of the transformation from a slave-based economy towards a more proletariat-orientated economy in the West Indies.
77. Journals of the Legislative Council, 1835-1839: 90.
78. Ibid., page 88.
79. Conversation in St.Lucia, 1972.
80. Dalphinis, M., 'Various approaches to the study of creole languages, with particular reference to the influences of West African langauges upon these creole languages'; paper given to the Africa Society, S.O.A.S., 1976.
81. Alleyne, M.C., 1961.
82. Personal communication.
83. Alleyne, M.C., 1961.
84. Personal communication.
85. See Breen's 'History of Saint Lucia'.
86. Administration Reports, 1895-1904: 20.
87. I am using 'simplified' in a purely linguistically defined and non-pejorative manner.

88. Kuczynski, R.R., 1948, gives the following census figures for 1946: "70,113 persons; ...343 were White, ... 58·07% Black, ... 37·63% mixed; 2,651 (2,635 East Indian) or 3·79% Asiatic; 13% Carib". This figure of 13% Carib testifies to my disagreement as to their total extinction in St.Lucia, and, if in recent times they have 'disappeared', they are still, like all the other ethnic groups in St.Lucia "Natives of [our] Person".

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